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The 11 Reports (1823-1855) make a complete set of the Annual Reports of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

The list is continued by the Annual Reports of the Massachusetts & Society, commencing with 1855 for 1855, which covers a period of 2 years. }

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

PRESENTED JAN. 9, 1833.

Massachusetts A. S. S. Co. 1833

WITH AN APPENDIX.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY GARRISON & KNAPP.

1833.

FIRST

ANNUAL REPORT

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OF THE

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

The name of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society was changed, after its third Report, PRESENTED JAN. 9, 1833. to "the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society." See the annual Report, p. 5. The meeting was held on Jan. 27, 28, 29, 1833.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

BOSTON:

PRINTED BY GARRISON AND KNAPP.

1833.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
AT ITS
FIRST ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of this Society was held at Boylston Hall, in Boston, on Wednesday evening, January ninth. A numerous audience was assembled.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. **TYLER THACHER.**

Mr. BUFFUM, President of the Society, made a few remarks, in which he stated the plans and objects of the Society.

Delegates from auxiliary societies having been requested to present their credentials, **Mr. DAVID T. KIMBALL**, of the Andover Theological Seminary, produced a certificate of his being a delegate from the Andover Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society, which was read by the President.

Mr. GARRISON, the Corresponding Secretary, then read the Annual Report of the Managers. This paper explained at some length the objects of the Society, and vindicated its principles from the unjust reproaches which have been often heaped upon them. It strenuously supported immediate abolition, by showing the true nature of the measure, and its safety and necessity. After exposing the principles of the Colonization Society, and advertng to some other topics, the Report set forth the measures which the Society had adopted, and the gratifying success which had so far attended its exertions.

Mr. ROBERT B. HALL then moved the acceptance of the Report, and supported his motion in a short address, in which he congratulated the Society upon the encouraging prospects before them.

The motion was seconded by **Mr. OLIVER JOHNSON**, and passed.

SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Esq. then proposed the following resolution :

Resolved, That slavery and the traffic in slaves in the District of Columbia, ought to be abolished by the government of the United States ; and that every citizen of every State in which slavery is not tolerated, is bound to use the same exertions to put an end to it in that District, which he would be if it existed in his own State.

Mr. Sewall spoke for a few minutes in support of his resolution. He adverted to the history of the District of Columbia, the cession of its two parts to the United States by Maryland and Virginia, for a seat of government, by means of which it became subject to the exclusive legislation of Congress. He alluded to the wretched system of slave laws which prevailed in the District, showed how negligent Congress had been of the rights of slaves and other persons of color there ; and stated that this District had become one of the greatest slave markets in the country—that slaves were brought into it from the neighboring States, chained in droves, then confined in the public or private jails, and finally shipped to the Southern ports. He pointed out some of the cruel injuries to which free people of color were subjected, by being kidnapped and sold for slaves, in consequence of the toleration of the slave trade in the District ; and concluded by exhorting the audience to exert themselves to put an end to the atrocious system, tolerated by the American nation at the seat of its government.

The Rev. E. M. P. WELLS seconded the motion, and supported it by appropriate remarks. He mentioned the general ignorance which prevailed in this community of the state of things which existed in the District of Columbia. Many people, he said, among us were not aware that slavery and the slave trade were thus directly countenanced and supported by the American government and people. He afterwards spoke of the criminality of slavery, and laid down the following propositions :—
1. Slavery is inconsistent with christianity.—2. It is inconsistent with humanity.—3. It is inconsistent with the principles of a republican government : each of which propositions he sustained by arguments.

DAVID L. CHILD, Esq. next addressed the meeting, in support of the resolution. He bore testimony to the truth of the

statements of the mover of the resolution. He then pointed out how completely the slave in this country is unprotected by law from injury and oppression. He related some atrocious acts in illustration of his position.

The resolution was then passed unanimously.

W. J. SNELLING, Esq. then spoke for a few minutes, and related an anecdote which illustrated very strikingly the remark of the last speaker, that slaves in this country were not in any degree protected by the law.

After a collection had been taken for the benefit of the funds of the Society, the meeting adjourned, to meet again on Wednesday evening, Jan. 16th.

JANUARY 16. The Society met, pursuant to the adjournment. The spacious hall was crowded with a highly respectable assemblage, among which were a large number of members of the Legislature, from various parts of the Commonwealth. The meeting was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Tyler Thacher. Extracts of Letters from Rev. Samuel J. May, of Brooklyn, Conn., Gen. Samuel Fessenden, of Portland, Me., Arthur Tappan, Esq. of New-York, and Mr. Theodore D. Weld, of Hartford, Conn., were then read, commending the principles and objects of the Society.

DAVID L. CHILD, Esq. then proposed the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Free People of Color and Slaves in this land of Liberty and Law, have less liberty, and are less protected by law, than in any other part of the world.

Mr. Child spoke at some length in support of this resolution. He showed how much more favorable the Civil Law was to slaves than the laws of the Southern States ; and stated that in the French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies, the slave codes being based on the Civil Law, the slaves were far more protected in their rights than they are in our Slave States or the British West Indies. He then pointed out the improvements which had been made in the slave laws of the British Islands, especially in the Crown Colonies within a few years, which rendered

the legal condition of the slaves in the British Colonies far superior to what it is in the Slave States. Mr. Child introduced a great variety of topics into his speech, and enforced his arguments by numerous illustrations.

The resolution passed without opposition.

The Rev. Mr. RUSSELL, of Watertown, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the plan of colonizing the blacks in Africa, as explained by its friends, is preposterous in the extreme, and every attempt to put its principles into operation is an unrighteous persecution, levelled against the free people of color, to secure and perpetuate slavery in our country ; and, therefore, calls upon us to counteract its operations by an open, free, and fearless exposition of its policy and effects.

Mr. Russell spoke for a few minutes in support of his resolution. He demonstrated that the efforts of the Colonization Society could never diminish slavery ; that while the Society had removed less than 3000 persons from the country, the slaves here had increased more than 500,000 ; and showed that the true effect of the Society was to perpetuate slavery, by removing from the country a portion of the free colored people who it was supposed might sympathize with the slaves, and might assist them in recovering freedom.

The resolution was adopted.

AMASA WALKER, Esq. proposed the following resolution :

Resolved, That the objects contemplated by the New-England Anti-Slavery Society are in strict accordance with the plainest dictates of Religion, Philanthropy, and Patriotism.

Mr. Walker then addressed the meeting. He adverted to the unfavorable circumstances under which the Society had commenced its operations. Public sentiment was against it. Yet this, he said, did not prove that its principles or objects were wrong, for public sentiment is sometimes mistaken. He examined the principles of the Society, and showed that they were consistent with religion, philanthropy, and patriotism. He compared these principles with those of the Colonization Society, and demonstrated the criminality of the latter. The one Society wishes to banish the people of color, the other seeks to improve them here ; the one declares that slaves are rightful property, the other that they are *men*, and have all the rights of men. He

concluded nearly as follows. Every circumstance but one, is in favor of the Colonization Society, and against the Anti-Slavery Society. The former is supported by a formidable array of great names, of judges, governors, members of Congress, and of course flourishes in wealth under the smiles of public opinion. The latter has nothing to support it, but truth and justice. Yet these are worth all the rest, and must ultimately crown the labors of the Society with glorious success.

The resolution was adopted.

The Rev. MOSES THACHER offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the principles of expatriation, pursued by the supporters of the American Colonization Society, exert an influence in opposition to the highest interests of the Colored People in this country.

The resolution was adopted, after having been sustained by the mover in a brief but highly animated and cogent speech.

The following resolution was submitted by Mr. GARRISON, without any remarks, in consequence of the lateness of the hour :

Resolved, That the exertions made by the free people of color in this country to improve their condition, and to confer the benefits of education upon their children—notwithstanding the obstacles which they have to encounter from the laws and the prejudices of a large part of the community—are highly meritorious ; that these exertions have already produced highly beneficial results, and will, in our opinion, if persevered in, produce others still more desirable.

Adopted.

The following communication from the Massachusetts General Colored Association was presented by Mr. JOSHUA EASTON, read, and accepted :

Boston, January 15, 1833.

To the Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

The Massachusetts General Colored Association, cordially approving the objects and principles of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, would respectfully communicate their desire to become auxiliary thereto. They have accordingly chosen one of their members to attend the Annual Meeting of the Society as their delegate, (Mr. Joshua Easton of North Bridgewater,) and solicit his acceptance in that capacity.

THOMAS DALTON, *President*.

WILLIAM G. NELL, *Vice President*.

JAMES G. BARBADOS, *Secretary*.

The meeting adjourned to Monday evening, Jan. 21st.

Monday Evening, Jan. 21, 1833. The Society met, pursuant to adjournment, at Jefferson Hall, the President, Mr. BURNUM, in the chair.

The Secretary being absent, Mr. OLIVER JOHNSON was chosen Secretary, pro tem.

The Committee appointed to revise the Constitution made their report, which, after some debate, was adopted.

The Society proceeded to ballot for officers for the ensuing year, and the following gentlemen were elected.

PRESIDENT.

JOHN KENRICK, Newton.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

ARNOLD BUFFUM, Boston.

REV. MOSES THACHER, North Wrentham, Mass.

REV. SIMEON S. JOCELYN, New-Haven, Ct.

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY, Brooklyn, Ct.

REV. E. M. P. WELLS, Boston.

EBENEZER DOLE, Hallowell, Me.

Corresponding Secretary,—SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Boston.

Recording Secretary,—OLIVER JOHNSON, Boston.

Treasurer,—JAMES C. ODIORNE, Boston.

COUNSELLORS.

REV. JAMES D. YATES,

DAVID L. CHILD,

MICHAEL H. SIMPSON,

ISAAC H. APPLETON, M. D.

REV. SAMUEL SNOWDON,

BENJAMIN C. BACON.

ELLIS G. LORING,

ABNER FORBES,

FREDERICK HUGHES,

ISAAC KNAPP.

On motion of Mr. B. C. BACON, it was

Resolved, That this Society contemplates the benighted condition of Africa with feelings of christian sympathy ; and although it is forced to protest against the measures and principles of the American Colonization Society, yet it approves every laudable effort to confer upon that quarter of the world the blessings of civilization and Christianity.

On motion of Mr. BUFFUM, it was

Resolved, That we contemplate, with the highest satisfaction, the untiring christian zeal and activity of the friends of immediate and universal emancipation in England, and that we will co-operate with them for the promotion of the great cause in which they are engaged, while God shall bless us with the ability to do so, or until every yoke of bondage and oppression shall be broken.

On motion of Mr. GARRISON, it was

Resolved, That the formation of a National Anti-Slavery Society is essential to the complete regeneration of public sentiment on the subject of slavery, and to the speedy overthrow of that iniquitous system ; and that the Board of Managers be authorized to call a national meeting of the friends of abolition, for the purpose of organizing such a Society, at such time and place as they shall deem expedient.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the President and Secretaries for their services during the last year.

Adjourned *sine die*.

REPORT.

THE Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, in presenting to the public their First Annual Report, deem it proper to make a full developement of the motives which led to the formation of the Society—the principles which govern its actions—and the purposes which it aims to accomplish. It is right that the people of this country, and especially of New-England, to whose countenance and patronage the Society more directly appeals—should understand, fairly and plainly, these motives, and principles, and purposes. Self-defence against the misrepresentations and assaults of ignorance, prejudice, and malice—the success of the cause of truth and justice—imperiously require such an exposition at their hands.

The Managers, while they feel cheered in view of what has been accomplished during the past year, cannot withhold the expression of their regret that there is, in this wide community, such a general aversion to a close, candid and zealous investigation of a subject, which involves the temporal and everlasting welfare of millions of the human family, and the permanency of the institutions of this country. The ignorance which prevails among all classes respecting the nature, extent and withering tendency of slavery, as it exists in the southern states, is as surprising as it is deplorable. Many persons, of good information on other subjects, cannot even guess the number of the slave population ; others are hardly able to designate between the free and slave states ; others seem not aware of the fact, that, in various portions of territory, slavery is maintained by the peo-

ple and government of the United States ; others know so little of the physical sufferings and spiritual deprivations of the slaves, as to receive with incredulity, if not positive unbelief, the most well-authenticated facts ; others possess merely a general statistical knowledge, but have never traced the pernicious effects of slavery upon the prosperity and happiness of slave states, or imagined that it is, and must inevitably be, the source of national division.

Hence, to this general ignorance may be attributed the success of the colonization scheme, which, having been received upon trust, is still viewed by many benevolent individuals as providing a remedy for slavery. Hence, too, the facility with which false and wicked accusations against the cause of abolition, and its advocates, have been circulated throughout the country ; and hence the necessity of the present defence.

The motives which actuated the founders of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society were not those of hostility to the interests or persons of slave-owners. From the statements and complaints of the planters themselves—from the visible curse which rested upon the slave-tilled soil—from the natural unproductiveness of slave labor, the slaves being robbed of all motives for long-continued, well-directed exertions—from the debasing and barbarous tendency of the system—from the fears of insurrection, which always harass the repose and embitter the cup of oppressors—from the solemn lessons which all history teaches, that tyranny cannot always be exercised with impunity—and from the many revolts, which, since the introduction of slaves into this country, had taken place, growing more and more formidable, and ending with terrible massacre at Southampton, in Virginia—they were convinced that the abolition of slavery was the only mode of preserving the lives and increasing the wealth of their southern fellow-citizens. They saw that custom and education, as well as a mistaken policy, had blinded the eyes of the planters to their best interests ; and while they felt and expressed, as christians and philanthropists, the strongest moral indignation, in view of the conduct of the transgressors, they likewise cherished the utmost benevolence of feeling towards them. To deduct aught from the sum of their happiness, in

order to increase that of their victims—or to depress them in proportion to the elevation of the slaves—was not the design of the founders of the Anti-Slavery Society. It was because their good-will and philanthropy were as broad as the earth, embracing all men as members of one family, and estimating the happiness and worth of all by the same standard, that they were impelled, in defiance of persecution and reproach, to put forth every exertion for the overthrow of slavery.

Nor were their motives those of a sectional character. They associated together to maintain, not to destroy the Union, by endeavoring to remove the cause of division. They believed, inasmuch as it is impracticable satisfactorily to legislate for a portion of the people as men, and another portion as cattle, that there could be no end to collisions, until the root of bitterness was taken away ; and that nearly all the troubles and excitements in the land sprang from slavery. There were no difficulties or heart-burnings between the free States : they did not threaten each other, or talk of a separation one from another. The longer slavery was tolerated, the more probable, in their conviction, was a dismemberment of the Union. To seek its utter annihilation, then, became them as wise men, as patriots, as christians, as lovers of their country. They were not so thoughtless, or vain, as to suppose that the formation of an anti-slavery society, such as they contemplated, would excite no opposition ; or that they could go into a free discussion of the question of slavery, without subjecting themselves to great reproach as disorganizers, madmen, and fanatics. All the angry ebullitions which their exertions have elicited, both at the north and the south, they were prepared to meet. They had no alternative but to act the part of the Levite, and steel their hearts and close their ears to the cries of two millions of their fellow-creatures, or, like the good Samaritan, to compassionate the bleeding victims, and seek their deliverance. However high the tempest of passion might rise, on the avowal of their sentiments and designs, they were consoled to believe that it would serve to purify a foul atmosphere which was generating moral death. However unkindly their expostulations, warnings, rebukes and efforts might at first be received by the possessors of

slaves, they could not doubt their efficacy to produce, ultimately, a radical reform. However cruelly the slaves might be treated by the excited masters, in consequence of their benevolent interposition, they knew that that aggravated cruelty would only serve to make slavery more odious in the sight of the people, and hasten its downfall. The expostulation of Moses with Pharaoh only hardened the heart of the tyrant, and induced him to increase the burdens of the Israelites ; for he ‘ commanded *the same day*, the taskmasters of the people, and their officers, saying, Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick as heretofore : let them go and gather straw for themselves.’* Such a result was peculiarly distressing to Moses : even his afflicted brethren upbraided him sharply for his interference. ‘ And they met Moses and Aaron, who stood in the way, as they came forth from Pharaoh : and they said unto them, The Lord look upon you and judge ; because ye have made our savour to be abhorred in the eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hand to slay us.’† History is full of instruction on this point : there is scarcely an instance on record where the exertions of reformers to break the fetters of tyranny were not immediately succeeded by new and grievous disabilities, imposed by the angry oppressor upon their vassals. The guilty Jews were cut to the heart by the faithful preaching of Stephen : ‘ they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him.’‡ All such outrages, however, promote the cause of truth, and defeat the object for which they were perpetrated.

Let abolitionists derive consolation and hope from these reflections. Let them meekly bear the taunts and reproaches of half-way reformers and temporising gradualists, who accuse them of provoking slaveholders to treat their slaves more rigorously than ever. The sin lies not at their doors. Upon the perpetrators of these fresh grievances must punishment be executed by Heaven. Abolitionists deeply regret to perceive no disposition, on the part of the slaveholding States, to cease from their oppression. Within the last two years, the Legislatures

* Exodus v. 6, 7.

† Idem, v. 20, 21.

‡ Acts vii. 57, 58.

of Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama and Tennessee, have passed laws respecting the free colored and slave population of those States, which are in the highest degree atrocious.* The spirit of persecution is abroad, with unexampled malignity; but its violence will prove its destruction.

The New-England Anti-Slavery Society tolerates no compromise of principle. Its demands upon the holders of slaves are as imperative as those of the book inspiration—‘to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free.’ To all the palliatives and excuses which they and their apologists present for their oppressive conduct, it replies in the language of Jehovah—‘Thou shalt not steal’—‘Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor’s house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor’s wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor’s’—‘Behold the hire of the laborers, which have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.’ It regards with dismay and horror the doctrine which is becoming popular in this land, especially in regard to slavery, that ‘the end sanctifies the means’—that expediency is duty, but duty is not expediency—that the guilt of oppression belongs to past generations, and repentance to posterity—that the circumstances of the times, the laws of the States, the preservation of life and property, justify robbery and oppression, and a violation of all the commandments—and that immediate and universal obedience to the requirements of the gospel, on the part of the transgressors, will produce worse results than continuance in sin, or a gradual reformation.

The purposes of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, as declared in the second article of its Constitution, are to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery, to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.

The magnitude, benevolence and importance of these objects may be more readily perceived by a few illustrations.

Since the Declaration of Independence was put forth, nearly two millions of slaves have perished in this country, who were driven all their days under the lash of callous-hearted overseers; whose bodies were liable to mutilation from the brand and the whip—half supplied with the same coarse, unpalatable food—half clad in summer and in winter; but above all, whose minds were watchfully kept from all knowledge of their rights, of their relations to society and to God, of their destiny beyond the grave—heathens in a christian land, forbidden under horrid penalties to peruse the sacred Scriptures, or learn the alphabet of their language!

Would to Heaven that this embodied our wickedness! that our avarice and cruelty had been glutted in the destruction of this great multitude of hapless, inoffensive beings! But we are preying, at this hour, upon a larger number than those already slain. And yet this is called the land of freedom, of republicanism, of christianity! Every year, one hundred thousand infants—a large proportion the offspring of pollution and shame—are born, and doomed to the horrors of bondage—kidnapped from the hour of their birth by patriots and christians!

The New-England Anti-Slavery Society maintains that the slaves ought instantly to be emancipated from their fetters. It acknowledges no claims upon their persons by their masters. It regards the holders of slaves as guilty of a heinous sin. It reprobates the language of those who say, 'we hold their slaves, as we hold their other property, **SACRED**.' It says to every individual—'Let the principle be clearly and firmly established in your mind that there is, and can be, no such thing as *property in man*, and you cannot, as a patriot, a philanthropist, or a disciple of Christ, oppose the immediate liberation of the slaves—you cannot but demand that liberation—you cannot be satisfied with any thing short of an immediate liberation.' It is not for men of christian integrity to calculate how far it is expedient to do wrong. The slaves are either justly or unjustly held in bondage. If justly, let the traffic in their bodies be pursued with fresh activity, and all those laws be repealed which now

make the foreign slave trade piracy. If unjustly, there is no alternative but to disobey God, or to let them immediately go free.

‘But would it be safe to comply strictly with the requisitions of justice, *now*?’ If they were not made to be obeyed, for what purpose were they made? Is it safe for a band of robbers to cease from their robberies, *at once*? Is it safe for the fraudulent to be honest, *at once*? Is it safe to abandon the practice of trading in the bodies and souls of men, *at once*? Is it safe to obey the Most High, by breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free, *at once*? Strange questions from the mouths of a christian people!

A very singular kind of logic prevails at the present day. ‘I concede,’ says one, ‘that slavery in the *abstract* is very wicked; but I am opposed to immediate abolition.’ Slavery in the *abstract*? what does the objector mean? *Abstract* slavery never did, and never can exist. He means, perhaps—his language implies nothing else—that it is most atrocious to *think* of enslaving human beings; but, in fact, to buy, or sell, or hold them in fetters, is by no means sinful!—that is to say, if a man should merely *meditate* the destruction of the houses of his fellow citizens by fire, without any doubt he ought to be hung; but if he should actually set them on fire, and run from street to street with the burning brand in his hand, to destroy others, why then he would not be guilty. It would only be necessary for him to cry aloud to the firemen—‘I am as much opposed to arson, in the *abstract*, as you are; but, see! the houses are on fire! My abstract theory has assumed a practical shape, and therefore I am exonerated from blame. I am opposed to an immediate extinguishment of the fire! Put it out very gradually—a few drops of water may now be thrown upon it—some buckets full next week—and at some future time, I cannot tell when, you may give your engines full play!’

They who are crying, ‘Peace! Peace!’ at this momentous crisis—who are denouncing the active friends of bleeding humanity—who urge a far-off emancipation of the slaves—who would stifle all inquiries into the abominations of slavery—who deny the rights of the slaves to immediate freedom—who attempt to palliate the guilt and cover up the crimes of the plant-

ers—who pursue half-way measures of reform—are the real authors of mischief, the real enemies of their country, although they mean no harm. Their moral vision is imperfect—they have not carefully and candidly examined the subject. They seem to have forgotten that, in this case, as in all others, strict obedience to the law of God is the only ground of safety : they overlook the nature of mind and the constitution of man. Even on the detestable ground of expediency, of carnal policy, what facts can they show to warrant a prolongation of oppression ? The law of God may be thrown aside, and the controversy staked on this single point :—It can be shown that, in all ages and climes, oppression has resulted in carnage and death ; but the deluded advocates of gradual emancipation are challenged to produce any instances in which immediate emancipation from personal thralldom has been disastrous or unwise.

The cause of slave insurrections at the south is the loss of liberty. If the *cause* be removed, can the *effect* follow ? The slaves fight to obtain their personal freedom. If they were liberated, it is pretended, they would destroy their masters !—in other words, they fight to achieve their liberty, and when it is given to them, they fight because they receive it ! This is singular logic. They are so attached to their drivers, it would seem—so pleased with being bought and sold—so contented with their peck of corn per week—so fond of having their wives polluted, and their children driven away to be sold—so hostile to independence—so undesirous of knowledge—that if they were set free, they would be so angry in being employed as hired laborers, in possessing their own wives and children, in losing their fetters, in being placed beyond the reach of slave speculators, in being protected in their persons and earnings, in having an opportunity to get religious and secular instruction, that they would cut the throats of their former masters, burn their dwellings, and desolate the land !

The Board of Managers are satisfied that the doctrine of immediate abolition is opposed by many, not because they really mean to justify crime, but simply through ignorance or a misapprehension of its nature. It is associated in their minds with something undefinable, yet dreadful—they see, in imagination,

cities and villages in flames, and blood flowing in torrents, and hear the roll of drums, the shouts of blood-thirsty savages, and the shrieks of the dying—and thus, bringing upon themselves a strong delusion, they naturally stand aghast at the proposition. All this ruffling of mind is indeed ridiculous ; but as it originates unwittingly in error, it merits a charitable allowance rather than satire.

What, then, is meant by immediate abolition ?

It means, in the first place, that all title of property in the slaves shall instantly cease, because their Creator has never relinquished his claim of ownership, and because none have a right to sell their own bodies or buy those of their own species as cattle. Is there any thing terrific in this arrangement ?

It means, secondly, that every husband shall have his own wife, and every wife her own husband, both being united in wedlock according to its proper forms, and placed under the protection of law ? Is this unreasonable ?

It means, thirdly, that parents shall have the control and government of their own children, and that the children shall belong to their parents. What is there sanguinary in this concession ?

It means, fourthly, that all trade in human beings shall be regarded as felony, and entitled to the highest punishment. Can this be productive of evil ?

It means, fifthly, that the tremendous power which is now vested in every slaveholder to punish his slaves without trial, and to a savage extent, shall be at once taken away. Is this undesirable ?

It means, sixthly, that all those laws which now prohibit the instruction of the slaves, shall instantly be repealed, and others enacted, providing schools and instruction for their intellectual illumination. Would this prove a calamity ?

It means, seventhly, that the planters shall employ their slaves as free laborers, and pay them just wages. Would this recompense infuriate them ?

It means, eighthly, that the slaves, instead of being forced to labor for the exclusive benefit of others by cruel drivers, and the application of the lash upon their bodies, shall be encouraged to toil for the mutual profit of themselves and their employ-

ers, by the infusion of new motives into their hearts, growing out of their recognition and reward as men. Is this diabolical ?

It means, finally, that right shall take the supremacy over wrong, principle over brute force, humanity over cruelty, honesty over theft, purity over lust, honor over baseness, love over hatred, and religion over heathenism. Is this wrong ?

This is our meaning of Immediate Abolition.

Where is the individual in New-England, who is base enough to avow that, on these terms, he is hostile to the liberation of the slaves ? who dares to say, in a public and responsible manner,—‘ I am still for giving to the planters unlimited dominion over their slaves, that they may treat them like cattle, deprive them of instruction, mangle, starve and pollute their bodies, rob them of their earnings, and buy and sell them on speculation, as they do at present ?’ O ! surely there is not that wretch in New-England—if there be, he is a monster, retaining nothing of man but the shape. Where is the individual animated with a soul, having parents, or relations, or children, or friends, who will not exclaim, ‘ I am for the rescue of two millions of enslaved countrymen !’ To talk of the danger or injustice of giving them the protection of wise and equitable laws, and relieving them of their heavy burdens, is an insult to my understanding. I contend for the sacredness of the marriage relations, which are now violated by oppression—for the restoration of stolen property to its rightful owners—for the enforcement of that clause in the Declaration of Independence which asserts “that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”—and for the instant recognition of every American born citizen, as a countryman and brother !’

Having thus briefly defined the extent of immediate abolition, it may be useful to state some of its probable, nay, positive benefits.

It will remove the cause of bloodshed and insurrection. No patrols at night, no standing army, will be longer needed to keep the slaves in awe. The planters may dismiss their present fears, and sleep soundly ; for, by one act, they will have transformed their enemies into grateful friends and servants.

It will give protection to millions who are now at the mercy of a few irresponsible masters and drivers : every man and every woman may then find redress at law.

It will annihilate a system of licentiousness, incest, blood and cruelty.

It will open an immense market to our mechanics and manufacturers ; for these two millions of free persons will need, and will make every exertion to obtain hats, bonnets, shoes, clothes, houses, lands, &c. &c., of which they are now to a great extent, and while they remain in bondage, must be destitute.

It will afford facilities for educating them in morals, science and literature, *which can never be granted to them as slaves.*

It will permit us to supply every one of them with a Bible, and bring them into the house of God.

It will extinguish the fires of division between the North and South, and make the bonds of our Union (which is now held by a hair, if that be not separated at this moment) stronger than chains of iron.

It will enable us to take the one hundred thousand infants, who are annually born of slave parents, and doomed to a life of ignorance and servitude—place them in infant schools, and transfer them into primary and sabbath schools ; from these into high schools and Bible classes ; and, by the assistance of the Holy Spirit, from Bible classes into the christian church. Thus they will become ornaments to society—capable men, good citizens, devoted christians—instead of mere animals.

It will banish the poverty of the South, reclaim her barren soil, and pour new blood into all her veins and arteries. The transformation of two millions of slaves into free laborers, animated in view of a just recompense for their voluntary toil, will renovate the whole frame of society. There is not a slave State but will exhibit the flush of returning health, and feel a stronger pulse, and draw a freer breath. It is, indeed, often urged that the slaves, if freed, would not work. But they, who cherish this belief, disregard the nature of mind. The slaves, in their present condition, have surely no motives for exertion ; and men without motives are mere machines, mere animals, to be watched and driven by physical force: the natural consequence is, they are as indolent as possible : knowing that, whether they

toil much or little, the fruits of their labor will be enjoyed by their masters, they are improvident and lazy. Then comes the whip upon their bodies *to make them industrious*, every stroke of which puts vengeance into their hearts, to be repaid, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and blow for blow, at the first favorable moment. Compensate them fairly for their labor, and every stone in the earth would be a magnet to attract them. They would have all the hopes, and desires, and feelings of men. And here it is proper to refer to a wild notion which is prevalent in this country. Many persons seem to be wonderfully perplexed and appalled, in view of immediate abolition. They talk as if the slaves, on being liberated, must be driven into the woods, or become drones or vagabonds in society. In the first place, this expulsion is physically impracticable; and, secondly, the planters are unable to dispense with their labor. The liberated slaves would be placed under wholesome regulations, and encouraged to act well; there would, of *necessity*, be few changes of masters, but every thing would go on as peaceably as in the case of the slaves in St. Domingo, who, for eight years after their liberation, continued to work with untiring industry, maintaining the utmost order, and were only roused to deeds of violence by the attempt of Napoleon to reduce them again to servitude. The labor of the blacks is invaluable—the south cannot flourish without them; and their expulsion would bring great and everlasting reproach upon the American name.

The immediate abolition of slavery will purify the churches at the south, which are now red with innocent blood, and ‘filled with all unrighteousness.’ It is impossible that religion should prosper, where the pastors and members of churches trade in the souls of men. ‘How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed! The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint.’ Now, abolish slavery, and the gospel will have free course, run, and be glorified; salvation will flow in a current broad and deep; and for a short time only can it be reproachfully said that there exist two millions of slaves in a christian land.

In fine, immediate abolition would save the lives of the planters, enhance the value of their lands, promote their temporal

and eternal interests, and secure for them the benignant smiles of Heaven. It would destroy the market for slaves, and consequently, to a certain extent, destroy the foreign slave trade ; for when the Africans cannot be sold, they will not be stolen.

Whatever ignorance or delusion may advance to the contrary, the guilt of slaveholding is national ; the evil is national ; and ‘ a common evil implies a common right to apply a remedy.’ We, of New-England, deeply participate in the guilt of oppression, having early commenced enslaving the natives of Africa, and up to the last hour of the legality of the traffic, actively prosecuted the foreign slave trade. To the south we are now pledging our physical force, in case of insurrection, and giving our co-operation, without which they could not long retain their victims in servitude. To the slaves, therefore, we are bound to make reparation ; and no pretext or device can release us from our obligations. ‘ Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard.’

The Board of Managers would solemnly protest against the doctrine, that slavery concerns the south alone, and that the people of the free States have no right to demand its removal. They regard it as politically and morally false, calculated to paralyze the consciences and efforts of the people, and giving perpetuity to the system. It is true the people of New-England cannot legislate for the southern states ; that the national compact was so framed as to guarantee the legal possession of slaves ; and that physical interference would be a violation of christian principles. But, so long as slaves are held in the District of Columbia and in the Territories of the United States ; so long as ours is a representative government, subject to the will of the people ; so long as no efforts are made to modify or repeal the present compact, by those who have both the right and the power thus to do ; so long as the interests of the non-slaveholding States are jeopardized by the twenty-five slave votes in Congress ; so long as moral influence, widely and wisely disseminated, is productive of beneficial results ; so long as public opinion is the lever of national reform ; so long as the people of New-England are liable to be called upon to put down slave insurrections at the south ; so long as there is neither the liberty of speech nor of the press, on the subject of oppression, in a

large portion of our country ; so long as southern States deprive the colored citizens of New-England, who may visit them, of their liberty and the rights of citizenship guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States ; so long as slavery mars the harmony, divides the policy, retards the prosperity, and fearfully threatens the existence of the nation ; so long as the commands of Jesus remain binding upon all men, ' Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,' ' Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself ' ; so long as there remains any flesh in our hearts, any physical or moral affinity between us and our enslaved brethren, any love to God or man in our souls ; it never can be true that the people of New-England are not bound to use their moral and political power to overthrow slavery in the United States.

While the Anti-Slavery Society makes the emancipation of all the slaves in this country the primary object of its organization, it aims to achieve a noble work of beneficence, in regard to the free people of color. The condition of this unfortunate class, although perceptibly improving, is eminently deserving of compassion and alleviation. To effect the repeal of these laws, which, in the several States, press them down to the earth, and exclude them from a full exercise of their rights as freemen ; to procure for them mechanical trades, and reputable pursuits, by which they may become highly useful to the country, and banish their general poverty ; to encourage and assist them in all laudable efforts for their moral and intellectual improvement ; to provide schools, from the lowest to the highest grade, for their education ; and to exterminate those prejudices which now reign with such tyrannous sway against them ; these are purposes, for the accomplishment of which the New-England Anti-Slavery Society is pledged to spare no efforts.

The Managers consider the removal of the free colored population of the United States to the coast of Africa—to a land of darkness and barbarism—for the purpose of giving them literary, scientific and moral advantages, as highly reproachful to the good name and fame of this great nation, preposterous in its object, and palpably unjust. This is a christian land ; crowded with churches, schools and colleges ; the abode of science and the arts ; basking in the effulgence of the Sun of Righteous-

ness ; the asylum of the degraded and oppressed of other nations ; renowned for its literary and civil institutions ; possessing, far beyond any other country, the means of elevating the benighted mind of man ; and abundantly able to supply all the physical, intellectual and religious necessities of its population. Now to expatriate the free people of color to Africa, a continent more completely enveloped in gloom than any other, ' which is full of the habitations of cruelty,' and which is utterly destitute, in order to raise them in intelligence and dignity, is not only a burlesque upon moral enterprises, but the acme of folly. The reason, too, which is given by the Colonization Society for this expulsion, is monstrous ; and as often as it is urged in any of its reports, or in its official organ, or by any of its itinerants, should fill the readers and hearers of the base libel with indignation. It is—that the American people are so incorrigibly vile, so lost to all sense of shame, so far beyond repentance, so proscriptive in their feelings, so filled with all malice, prejudice, and hate, that, to the latest generation, they will not cease to treat their free colored countrymen in the most tyrannous and dastardly manner, unless they are separated by a breadth of four thousand miles. And in order to vindicate this ungodly spirit, the Managers of the American Colonization Society, in their last Annual Report, utter this blasphemy : ' The Managers consider it clear that causes exist, and are operating to prevent their improvement and elevation to any considerable extent as a class, in this country, which are fixed, *not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, BUT OF ANY HUMAN POWER.* Christianity will not do for them here, what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man, *nor of the white man*, nor of Christianity ; *but an ordination of Providence, and no more to be changed than the laws of Nature.*'

In other words, when God shall please to make their complexion like ours, then we shall be able to cease from our hatred, contumely and oppression—and *not till then.*

With the doctrines, principles and designs of the American Colonization Society, the New-England Anti-Slavery Society holds no fellowship—viewing them as utterly subversive of sound morality and the law of brotherly love, and calculated to inflame

and strengthen those prejudices which have so long operated against the free colored population of the United States. Submitting the motives of those who support the scheme of African Colonization to the inspection of Him who alone 'searcheth the heart and trieth the reins,' and cheerfully exonerating the people of the free States, generally, from any design to persecute or enslave the people of color in this land, the Managers proceed to state; as comprehensibly as possible, some of the reasons which lead abolitionists to oppose the American Colonization Society.

They denounce and oppose it—

1. Because (as has already been shown) it denies the power of the gospel to overcome prejudice, and maintains that no moral or educational means can ever raise the colored population from their degradation to respectability and usefulness *in this country*.⁽¹⁾ By inculcating this disgraceful doctrine, it measurably paralyzes, in the breasts of those who embrace it, all efforts to improve the character and condition of this unfortunate class.

(1) Vide Fifteenth Annual Report.

'In every part of the United States, there is a broad and impassable line of demarcation between every man who has *one drop* of African blood in his veins, and every other class in the community. The habits, the feelings, all the prejudices of society—prejudices which neither *refinement*, nor *argument*, nor *education*, NOR RELIGION ITSELF, can subdue—mark the people of color, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation *inevitable* and *incurable*. The African in this country belongs by birth to the very lowest station in society; and from that station HE CAN NEVER RISE, *be his talents, his enterprise, his virtues what they may*. . . . They constitute a class by themselves—a class out of which *no individual can be elevated*, and below which none can be depressed.'—[African Repository, vol. iv. pp. 118, 119.]

'We have endeavored, but endeavored in vain, to restore them either to self-respect, or to the respect of others (!!!) *It is not our fault that we have failed*; (!!!) it is not theirs. *It has resulted from a cause over which neither we, nor they, can ever have control* [that is to say, they have colored their skins !!!] *Here, therefore, they must be for ever debased*; more than this, they must be FOR EVER USELESS; more even than this, they must be FOR EVER A NUISANCE, from which it were a blessing for society to be rid. *And yet they, AND THEY ONLY, are QUALIFIED for colonizing Africa*' (!!!)—[Idem, vol. v. p. 276.]

'They constantly hear the accents, and behold the triumphs, of a liberty *which here they can never enjoy*.' . . . 'It is against this increase of colored persons, who take but a nominal freedom here, and *cannot rise from their degraded condition*, that this Society attempts to provide.'—[Idem, vi. pp. 17, 82.]

'Is it not wise, then, for the free people of color and their friends to admit, *what cannot reasonably be doubted*, that the people of color must, *in this country, REMAIN FOR AGES, PROBABLY FOR EVER, a separate and inferior caste*, weighed down by causes, powerful, universal, inevitable; which neither legislation nor CHRISTIANITY can remove?'—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 196.]

2. Because it not only is *not* hostile to slavery, but in its reports and in its official organ, and by its auxiliary societies and principal supporters, exonerates slaveholders from guilt, and represents their *criminality* as their *misfortune*. (2)

3. Because it surrenders the great principle, that man cannot justly hold property in man, and regards the wresting of the slaves from their masters as great an outrage as the invasion of the right of property in houses, cattle and land. (3)

4. Because it openly, actively, uncompromisingly denounces the immediate abolition of slavery as injustice to the masters, a calamity to the slaves, dangerous to society, and contrary to the requirements of Christianity. (4)

(2) 'Slavery is an evil which is entailed upon the present generation of slaveholders, which they must suffer, *whether they will or not*.'—[African Repository, vol. v. p. 179.]

'It [the Society] condemns no man because he is a slaveholder.' * * * 'They [abolitionists] confound the *misfortunes* of one generation with the *crimes* of another, and would sacrifice both individual and public good to an *unsubstantial theory of the rights of man*.'—[Idem, vol. vii. pp. 200, 202.]

'The existence of slavery among us, though not at all to be objected to our southern brethren as a *fault*, is yet a blot on our national character and a mighty drawback from our national strength.'—[Second Annual Report of the N. Y. State Col. Society.]

'They do not perceive the propriety of confounding the crime of the kidnapper, with the *misfortune* of the owner of imported and inherited slaves.'—[North American Review, for July, 1832.]

(3) 'We hold their slaves, *as we hold their other property, SACRED*.'—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 283.]

'Does this Society wish to meddle with our slaves as our *rightful property*? I answer no, I think not.'—Idem, vol. ii. p. 18.]

'It is equally plain and undeniable that the Society, in the prosecution of this work, has never interfered or evinced even a disposition to interfere in any way with the *rights of proprietors of slaves*.'—[Idem, vol. vi. p. 205.]

'To the slaveholder, who had charged upon them the wicked design of interfering with the *RIGHTS OF PROPERTY* under the specious pretext of removing a vicious and dangerous free population, they address themselves in a tone of conciliation and sympathy. We know your *RIGHTS*, say they, *and we respect them*.'—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 100.]

'It was proper again and again to repeat, that it was far, from the intention of the Society to affect in any manner, the tenure by which a certain *species of property is held*. He was himself a slaveholder; and he considered that kind of property as *intiolable as any other in the country*.'—[Speech of Henry Clay—First Annual Report.]

(4) 'The scope of the Society is large enough, but it is in no wise mingled or confounded with the broad sweeping views of a *few fanatics* in America, who would urge us on to the sudden and total abolition of slavery.'—[African Repository, vol. iii. p. 97:]

'What is to be done? Immediate and universal emancipation will find few, if any advocates among judicious and reflecting men.' * * * 'Here, that race is in every form a curse, and if the system, so long contended for by the uncon-

5. Because it advocates a cautious, partial, gradual emancipation—thus allowing that it is not incumbent on *all* oppressors to do justly and love mercy now, and that it is proper to cease from robbery and sin by a slow process. (5)

6. Because, while it professes to remove those emigrants only who go '*with their own consent*' to Africa, it is the instrument of a cruel persecution against the free people of color, by its abuse of their character, representing them as seditious, dangerous and useless : it contends, moreover, that emancipation should not take place without the simultaneous transportation of the liberated—thus leaving to the slave the choice of banishment or perpetual servitude. (6)

promising abolitionist, could prevail, its effect would be to spread discord and devastation from one end of the Union to the other.'—[Idem, vol. iv. pp. 202, 263.]

'Were the very spirit of angelic charity to pervade and fill the hearts of all the slaveholders in our land, it would by no means require that all the slaves should be instantaneously liberated.'—[Idem, vol. v. p. 329.]

'The Society, meeting the objections of the *abolition enthusiast*, in a like spirit of mildness and forbearance, assures him of their equal devotion to the pure principles of liberty and the powerful claims of humanity. . . . 'We protest, *most solemnly protest*, against the adoption of your views, as alike destructive of the ends of justice, of policy, and of humanity.' . . . 'Come, ye abolitionists, away with your *wild enthusiasm*, your *misguided philanthropy*.'—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 101.]

'The inhabitants of the South cannot, and ought not, suddenly to emancipate their slaves, to remain among them free. Such a measure would be no blessing to the slaves, but the very madness of self-destruction to the whites.'—[First Annual Report of the New-Jersey Colonization Society.]

(5) Vide the evidence given in support of the 4th allegation.

(6) 'That the free colored population of our country is a great and constantly increasing evil must be readily acknowledged. Averse to labor, with no incentives to industry or motives to self-respect, they maintain a precarious existence by petty thefts and plunder, themselves, or by inciting our domestics, not free, to rob their owners to supply their wants.'—[African Repository, vol. vi. p. 135.]

'Placed midway between freedom and slavery, they know neither the incentives of the one, nor the restraints of the other; but are alike injurious by their conduct and example, to all other classes of society.'—[Eighth Annual Report.]

'No scheme of abolition will meet my support, that leaves the emancipated blacks among us.'—[African Repository, vol. ii. p. 188.]

'We would say, *liberate them only on condition of their going to Africa or to Hayti*.'—[Idem, vol. iii. p. 26.]

'*I am not complaining of the owners of slaves*; it would be as humane to throw them from the decks in the middle passage, as to set them free in our country.' * * * '*Any scheme of emancipation without colonization*, they know and see and feel to be productive of nothing but evil; evil to all whom it affects: to the white population, to the slaves, to the *manumitted themselves*.'—[Idem, vol. iv. pp. 226, 300.]

'Hundreds who hold slaves, would willingly set them at liberty, were the means of their removal provided. And till those means are provided, the liberation of the slave would neither be a blessing to himself, nor to the public.'

7. Because it confesses that its measures are calculated to secure the slave-system from destruction, to remove the apprehensions of slaveholders, to increase the value of slave property; and thus to perpetuate the thralldom of millions of native Americans. (7) The proposition is self-evident, that as the number of

... 'It is not therefore incumbent upon those who hold slaves, to set them at liberty, till some means are provided for their removal, or at least for their subsistence. They owe it neither to themselves, to their country, nor the unfortunate beings around them.'—[Idem, vol. v. p. 89.]

'If this question were submitted, whether there should be either immediate or gradual emancipation of all the slaves in the United States, *without their removal or colonization*, painful as it is to express the opinion, *I have no doubt that it would be unwise to emancipate them.*' * * * 'Gentlemen of the highest respectability from the South assure us, that there is among the owners of slaves a very extensive and increasing desire to emancipate them. Their patriotism, their humanity, nay, their self-interest, prompt to this; but it is not expedient, it is not safe to do it, *without being able to remove them.*'—[Idem, vol. vi. pp. 5, 110.]

'The idea of emancipating our slaves, and *permitting them to remain within the limits of the United States*, whether as a measure of humanity or of policy, is most decisively reprobated by universal public sentiment.'—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 230.]

'All emancipation, to however small an extent, *which permits the persons emancipated to remain in this country*, is an evil, which must increase with the increase of the operation.'—[First Annual Report.]

'They will annex the condition that the emancipated shall leave the country.'—[Second Annual Report.]

'They require that the *whole mass* of free persons of color, and those who may become such with the consent of their owners, *should be progressively removed* from among us, as fast as their own consent can be obtained, and as the means can be found for their removal and for their proper establishment in Africa.'—[Seventh Annual Report.]

'Colonization, to be correct, must be beyond seas—Emancipation, *with the liberty to remain on this side of the Atlantic*, is but an act of dreamy madness!'—[Thirteenth Annual Report.]

'Emancipation, *without removal from the country*, is out of the question.' * * * 'As long as our present feelings and prejudices exist, the abolition of slavery cannot be accomplished without the removal of the blacks—they cannot be emancipated as a people, and remain among us.'—[Second Annual Report of the New-York State Colonization Society.]

'The abolition of slavery was no object of desire to him, unless accompanied by colonization. So far was he from desiring it, unaccompanied by this condition, that he would not live in a country where the one took place without the other'!!!—[Mr. Mercer's Speech in Congress.]

'The Society maintains, that no slave ought to receive his liberty except on condition of being excluded, not merely from the State which sets him loose, but from the whole country; that is, of being colonized.'—[North American Review, for July, 1832.]

(7.) 'So far from being connected with the abolition of slavery, the measure proposed would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property.'—[Speech of John Randolph at the first meeting of the Colonization Society.]

'The slave seeing his free companion live in idleness, or subsist however scantily or precariously by occasional and desultory employment, is apt to grow dis-

the slaves becomes reduced by transportation, the whole remaining mass will rise in value, and may be held more securely in bondage.

contented with his own condition, and to regard as tyranny and injustice the authority which compels him to labor.'—[General Harper's Letter—First Annual Report, p. 32.]

'The slaves would be greatly benefitted by the removal of the free blacks, who now corrupt them and render them discontented.'—[Second An. Report.]

'Their annual increase is truly astonishing, certainly unexampled. The dangerous ascendancy which they have already acquired over the slaves, is consequently increasing with every addition to their numbers; and every addition to their numbers is a subtraction from the wealth, and strength, and character, and happiness, and safety of the country.'—[Twelfth Annual Report.]

'We all know the effects produced on our slaves by the fascinating, but delusive appearance of happiness, exhibited in some persons of their own complexion, roaming in idleness and vice among them. By removing the most fruitful source of discontent from among our slaves, we should render them more industrious and attentive to our commands.'—[Fourteenth Annual Report.]

'What is the free black to the slave? A standing perpetual incitement to discontent. *Though the condition of the slave be a thousand times the best—supplied, protected, instead of destitute and desolate—yet, the folly of the condition, held to involuntary labor, finds, always, allurement, in the spectacle of exemption from it, without consideration of the adjuncts of destitution and misery.* The slave would have, then, little excitement to discontent but for the free black.'—[Fifteenth Annual Report.]

'By removing these people, we rid ourselves of a large party who will always be ready to assist our slaves in any mischievous design which they may conceive; and who are better able, by their intelligence, and the facilities of their communication, to bring those designs to a successful termination.'—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 176.]

'Here, the African part of our population bears so large a proportion to the residue of European origin, as to create the most lively apprehension, especially in some quarters of the Union. Any project, therefore, by which, in a material degree, the dangerous element in the general mass can be diminished or rendered stationary, deserves deliberate consideration.'—[Idem, vol. ii. p. 338.]

'To remove these persons from among us, will increase the *usefulness*, and improve the moral character of those who remain in servitude, and *with whose labors the country is unable to dispense.*' * * * '*Are they vipers, who are sucking our blood?* we will hurl them from us. It is not sympathy alone,—not sickly sympathy, no, nor manly sympathy either,—which is to act on us; but vital policy, self-interest, are also enlisting themselves on the humane side in our breasts.'—[Idem, vol. iii. pp. 67, 201.]

'It places the attainment of the grand object in view, that is, to withdraw from the United States annually, so many of the colored population, and provide them a comfortable home and all the advantages of civilization in Africa, *as will make the number here remain stationary.*' * * * 'By thus repressing the rapid increase of blacks, the white population would be enabled to reach and soon overtop them. The consequence would be *security.*'—[Idem, vol. iv. pp. 271, 344.]

'They constitute a large mass of human beings, who hang as a vile excrescence upon society—the objects of a low debasing envy to our slaves, and to ourselves of universal suspicion and distrust.' * * * 'If this process were continued a second term of duplication, it would produce the extraordinary result of forty white men to one black in the country—a state of things in which we should not only cease to feel the burdens which now hang so heavily upon us, but actually regard the poor African as an object of curiosity, and not *uneasiness.*'

8. Because it was conceived, perfected, and is managed principally by those who hold thousands of their fellow creatures in cruel bondage, regarding them as cattle, and shamelessly refu-

* * * 'Enough, under favorable circumstances, might be removed for a few successive years—if young *females* were encouraged to go—to keep the whole colored population in check.'—[Idem, vol. vii. pp. 230, 232, 246.]

'They are well calculated to render the slaves sullen, discontented, unhappy, and refractory.'—[Matthew Carey's Essays.]

'But is it not certain, that should the people of the Southern States refuse to adopt the opinions of the Colonization Society, [relative to the gradual abolition of slavery,] and continue to consider it both just and politic to leave, untouched, a system, for the termination of which, we think the whole wisdom and energy of the States should be put in requisition, that they will CONTRIBUTE MORE EFFECTUALLY TO THE CONTINUANCE AND STRENGTH OF THIS SYSTEM, by removing those now free, than by any or all other methods which can possibly be devised?'—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 227.]

'THE EXECUTION OF ITS SCHEME WOULD AUGMENT INSTEAD OF DIMINISHING THE VALUE OF THE PROPERTY LEFT BEHIND.'—[Idem, vol. ii. p. 344.]

'The removal of every single free black in America, would be productive of nothing but safety to the slaveholder.'—[Idem, vol. iii. p. 202.]

'The tendency of the scheme, and one of its objects, is to SECURE SLAVE-HOLDERS, AND THE WHOLE SOUTHERN COUNTRY, against certain evil consequences, growing out of the present threefold mixture of our population.'—[Address of the Rockbridge Col. Society.—Idem, vol. iv. p. 274.]

'If, as is most confidently believed, the colonization of the free people of color will render the slave who remains in America more obedient, more faithful, more honest, and, consequently, more useful to his master, &c.'—[Second Ann. Rep.]

'There is but one way, [to avert danger,] but that might be made effectual, fortunately! It was to PROVIDE AND KEEP OPEN A DRAIN FOR THE EXCESS BEYOND THE OCCASIONS OF PROFITABLE EMPLOYMENT. Mr. Archer had been stating the case in the supposition, that after the present class of free blacks had been exhausted, by the operation of the plan he was recommending, others would be supplied for its action, in the proportion of the *excess of colored population it would be necessary to throw off*, by the process of voluntary manumission or sale. This effect, must result inevitably from the depreciating value of the slaves, ensuing their disproportionate multiplication.

The depreciation would be relieved and retarded at the same time, by the process. The two operations would aid reciprocally, and sustain each other, and both be in the highest degree beneficial. It was on the ground of interest, therefore, the most indisputable *pecuniary interest*, that he addressed himself to the people and Legislatures of the slaveholding States.'—[Speech of Mr. Archer.—Fifteenth Annual Report.]

'None are obliged to follow our example; AND THOSE WHO DO NOT, WILL FIND THE VALUE OF THEIR NEGROES INCREASED BY THE DEPARTURE OF OURS.'—[An advocate of colonization in the Western (Ky.) Luminary.]

'So far from its having a dangerous tendency, when properly considered, it will be viewed as *an additional guard to our peculiar species of property*.'—[An advocate of the Society in the New Orleans Argus.]

'The slaveholder, who is in danger of having his slaves contaminated by their free friends of color, will not only be relieved from this danger, but THE VALUE OF HIS SLAVE WILL BE ENHANCED.'—[A new and interesting view of Slavery. By Humanitas, a colonization advocate. Baltimore, 1820.]

sing to let them go free ; (8) and while they thus estimate and treat their miserable victims, it is a gross fallacy for them to pretend that they cherish any regard for the welfare of the free people of color. They dare to call the rational creatures of the Most High their *property*, and pertinaciously persist in their deeds of violence and robbery. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' As consistently might the distillers, importers, and retailers of ardent spirits unite to banish intemperance from the land, *by colonizing all the drunkards*, and still continue to poison all classes of society ; as well might debauchees associate together to rid the country of a 'great moral evil,' by removing some of the victims of their lust ; as for slaveholders to conspire for the banishment of our free colored population, under the mask of disinterested philanthropy, while they are daily plundering their slaves of every thing precious and sacred. The spectacle is truly revolting.

(8.) 'What greater pledge can we give for the moderation and safety of our measures than our own interests as *slaveholders*, and the ties that bind us to the slaveholding communities to which we belong ?'—[Speech of Mr. Key.—Eleventh Annual Report.]

'The earnestness with which the Legislature [of Virginia] prosecuted their design [of colonizing the free blacks,] may be inferred from the fact, that the Executive was requested to adopt measures of the same character with those just mentioned, at three several times anterior to 1816. But all these, it should be observed, were *private* proceedings ; and *the injunction of secrecy has not been removed*, so far as we know, to this day, excepting as to the fact that such proceedings took place. The first *public* expression of sentiment upon the subject of colonization was also made *by the same body*. This was in Dec. 1816.'

... 'THE SYSTEM ORIGINATED IN THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENT DOMINION. It was generously countenanced by Georgia in its earliest stages. Maryland has done more for it than all the other States. Kentucky and Tennessee have declared themselves ready to support 'any legitimate interposition of the General Government in its favor. Louisiana and Mississippi are beginning to act vigorously.'—[North American Review, for July, 1832.]

'The second objection may be resolved into this ; that the Society, under the specious pretext of removing a vicious and noxious population, is secretly undermining the rights of private property. This is the objection expressed in its full force, and if your memorialists could for a moment believe it to be true in point of fact, they would never, *slaveholders as they are*, have associated themselves together for the purpose of co-operating with the Parent Society ; and far less would they have appeared in the character in which they now do, before the legislative bodies of a slaveholding State.'—Memorial of the Auxiliary Colonization Society of Powhatan, to the Legislature of Virginia.—[Twelfth Annual Report.]

'Nothing has contributed more to retard the operations of the Colonization Society than the mistaken notion that it interferes directly with slavery. This objection is rapidly vanishing away, and many of the slaveholding States are becoming efficient supporters of the national society.'—[From a Tract issued by the Massachusetts Colonization Society in 1831, for gratuitous distribution.]

9. Because it is Janus-faced, presenting one aspect at the South, and another entirely different to the North. Sometimes it is represented by its publications and supporters as the only scheme adapted to abolish slavery and the slave trade, and evangelize Africa ; at other times it denies that it has any reference to either of these objects, but is simply endeavoring to remove such free persons of color as wish to emigrate to Africa. ⁽⁹⁾

‘Your memorialists refer with confidence to the course they have pursued, in the prosecution of their objects for nine years past, to shew that it is possible, without danger or alarm, to carry on such an operation, notwithstanding its supposed relation to the subject of slavery, and that they have not been regardless, in any of their measures, of what was due to the state of society in which they live. *They are, themselves, chiefly slaveholders*, and live with all the ties of life binding them to a slaveholding community.’—[Memorial of the Society to the several States.—Af. Rep. vol. ii. p. 60.]

‘The first great material objection is that the Society does, in fact, in spite of its denial, meditate and conspire the emancipation of the slaves. To the candid, let me say that there are names on the rolls of the Society too high to be rationally accused of the duplicity and insidious falsehood which this implies ; farther, the Society and its branches are composed, in by far the larger part, of *citizens of slaveholding States*, who cannot gravely be charged with a design so perilous to themselves.’ * * * ‘Let me repeat, the *friends of the Colonization Society*, three-fourths of them are *SLAVEHOLDERS* ; the legislatures of Maryland, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee, all slaveholding States, have approved it ; *every member of this auxiliary Society is, either in himself, or his nearest relatives, interested in holding slaves.*’—[‘The Colonization Society Vindicated.’—Idem. vol. iii. pp. 200, 202.]

‘About twelve years ago, some of the wisest men of the nation, *mostly slaveholders*, formed, in the city of Washington, the present American Colonization Society.’—[Address of the Rockbridge Col. Society.—Idem. vol. iv. p. 274.]

‘*Being, chiefly, slaveholders ourselves*, we well know how it becomes us to approach such a subject as this in a slaveholding state, and in every other. If there were room for a reasonable jealousy, we among the first should feel it ; being as much interested in the welfare of the community, and having as much at heart, as any men can have, the security of ourselves, our property and our families.’—[Review of Mr. Tazewell’s Report.—Idem, p. 341.]

‘*Being, mostly, slaveholders ourselves*, having a common interest with you in this subject, an equal opportunity of understanding it, and the same motives to prudent action, what better guarantee can be afforded for the just discrimination, and the safe operation of our measures ?’—[Af. Rep. vol. vii. p. 100.]

‘It is a gratifying circumstance that the Society has from the first *obtained its most decided and efficient support from the slaveholding States.*’—[Sermon, delivered at Springfield, Mass. July 4th, 1829, before the Auxiliary Colonization Society of Hampden County, by Rev. B. Dickinson.]

(9.) ‘Its primary object now is, and ever has been, to colonize, with their own consent, free people of color on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere, as Congress may deem expedient. And, Sir, I am unwilling to admit, under any circumstances, and particularly in this Hall, that it ever has swerved from this cardinal object.’—[Speech of Mr. Benham.—Fourteenth Annual Report.]

‘Our Society and the friends of colonization wish to be distinctly understood upon this point. From the beginning they have *disavowed*, and they do yet *disavow*, that their object is the emancipation of the slaves.’—[Speech of James S. Green, Esq.—First Annual Report of the New-Jersey Col. Soc.]

10. Because it impiously holds that slaveholders are such from *necessity* ; that the atrocious laws which are enacted against the free colored and slave population are justified by sound policy ; and that it is wrong to increase the number of the free blacks by emancipation. ⁽¹⁰⁾

'This institution proposes to do good by a single specific course of measures. Its direct and specific purpose is *not the abolition of slavery*, or the relief of pauperism, or the extension of commerce and civilization, or the enlargement of science, or the conversion of the heathen. The single object which its constitution prescribes, and to which all its efforts are necessarily directed, is, African colonization from America. It proposes only to afford facilities for the voluntary emigration of free people of color from this country to the country of their fathers.'—[Review on African Colonization.—Christian Spectator for September, 1830.]

'It is no abolition Society ; it addresses as yet arguments to no master, and disavows with horror the idea of offering temptations to any slave. IT DENIES THE DESIGN OF ATTEMPTING EMANCIPATION, EITHER PARTIAL OR GENERAL.'—['The Col. Society Vindicated.'—Af. Rep. vol. iii. p. 197.]

'They can impress upon the southern slaveholder, by the strength of facts, and by the recorded declarations of honest men, that the objects of the Colonization Society are altogether pure and praiseworthy, and that it has no intention to open the door to universal liberty, but only to cut out a channel, where the merciful providence of God may cause those dark waters to flow off.'—[Idem, vol. iv. p. 145.]

'The Colonization Society, as such, have renounced wholly the name and the characteristics of abolitionists. On this point they have been unjustly and injuriously slandered. INTO THEIR ACCOUNTS THE SUBJECT OF EMANCIPATION DOES NOT ENTER AT ALL.'—['N. E.'—Idem, p. 306.]

'From its origin, and throughout the whole period of its existence, it has constantly disclaimed all intention whatever of interfering, in the smallest degree, with the rights of property, or the object of emancipation, GRADUAL or immediate.' * * * 'The Society presents to the American public, no project of emancipation.'—[Mr. Clay's Speech.—Idem, vol. vi. pp. 13, 17.]

'It is not the object of this Society to liberate slaves, or touch the rights of property.'—[Report of the Kentucky Col. Soc.—Idem, p. 81.]

'The emancipation of slaves or the amelioration of their condition, with the moral, intellectual, and political improvement of people of color within the United States, are subjects foreign to the powers of this Society.'—[Address of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society to its Auxiliary Societies.—Idem, vol. vii. p. 291.]

'It disclaims, and always has disclaimed, all intention whatever, of interfering in the smallest degree, direct or indirect, with the rights of slaveholders, the right of property, or the object of emancipation, gradual or immediate. It knows that the owners of slaves are the owners, and no one else—it does not in the most remote degree, touch that delicate subject. Every slaveholder may, therefore, remain at ease concerning it or its progress or objects.'—[An advocate of the Society in the New-Orleans Argus.]

'The Society, as a society, recognizes no principles in reference to the slave system. IT SAYS NOTHING AND PROPOSES TO DO NOTHING, RESPECTING IT.' . . . 'So far as we can ascertain, the supporters of the colonization policy generally believe, that slavery is in this country a constitutional and legitimate system, WHICH THEY HAVE NEITHER INCLINATION, INTEREST, NOR ABILITY TO DISTURB.'—[North American Review, for July, 1832.]

(10.) 'Recognizing the constitutional and legitimate existence of slavery, it seeks not to interfere, either directly or indirectly, with the rights which it creates.

11. Because its mode of civilizing and christianizing Africa is preposterous, cruel and wild, and exactly fitted to raise up strong, if not insurmountable barriers to the progress of the gospel in that country ; for the very persons it proposes to remove, it describes as constituting the vilest class on the face of the earth, who nevertheless are well qualified to act as instructors

Acknowledging the *necessity* by which its present continuance and the rigorous provisions for its maintenance are justified, it aims only at furnishing the States, in which it exists, the means of immediately lessening its severities, and of ultimately relieving themselves from its acknowledged evils.'—[Opimius in reply to Caius Gracchus.—Af. Rep. vol. iii. p. 16.]

'IT CONDEMNS NO MAN BECAUSE HE IS A SLAVEHOLDER.'—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 200.]

'There is a golden mean, which all who would pursue the solid interest and reputation of their country may discern at the very heart of their confederation, and will both advocate and enforce—a principle of justice, conciliation and humanity—a principle, sir, which is not inconsistent with itself, and yet can sigh over the degradation of the slave, defend the wisdom and prudence of the South against the charge of studied and pertinacious cruelty,' &c.—[Address of Robert F. Stockton, Esq. at the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Parent Society.]

'We all know from a variety of considerations which it is unnecessary to name, and in consequence of the policy which is obliged to be pursued in the southern States, that it is extremely difficult to free a slave, and hence the enactment of those laws which a fatal necessity seems to demand.'—[African Repository, vol. ii. p. 12.]

'They are convinced that there are now hundreds of masters who are so only from necessity.'—[Memorial of the Society to the several States.—Idem, vol. ii. p. 60.]

'He [the planter] looks around him and sees that the condition of the great mass of emancipated Africans is one in comparison with which the condition of his slaves is enviable.—Hundreds of humane and Christian slaveholders retain their fellow-men in bondage, because THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT THEY CAN DO NO BETTER.'—[Address of the Managers of the Col. Soc. of Connecticut.—Idem, vol. iv. p. 120.]

'Slavery, in its mildest form, is an evil of the darkest character. Cruel and unnatural in its origin, no plea can be urged in justification of its continuance but the plea of necessity.'—[Idem, vol. v. p. 334.]

'How much more consistent and powerful would be our example, but for that population within our limits, whose condition (*necessary* condition, I will not deny) is so much at war with our institutions, and with that memorable national Declaration—"that all men are created equal."—[Fourteenth Ann. Report.]

'Such unhappily is the case ; but there is a *necessity* for it, [for oppressive laws,] and so long as they remain among us will that necessity continue.'—[Ninth Annual Report.]

'Much as we lament the reasons for this sentiment, and the *apparent necessity* of keeping a single fellow creature in ignorance, we willingly leave to others the consideration and the remedy of this evil, in view of the overwhelming magnitude of the remaining objects before us.'—[Address of the Board of Managers of the African Education Society of the United States.]

'Thousands are connected with the system of slavery from necessity, and not from choice.' . . . 'The vast majority of those who would emancipate, we have no hesitation in saying, are deterred from it by a PATRIOTISM and a PHILANTHROPY, which look beyond the bounds of their particular district, and beyond the ostensible quality of the mere abstract act.'—[North American Review, July, 1832.]

and missionaries in Liberia ! * Truly has it been said, that the project of evangelizing a heathenish country, by sending to it an illiterate, degraded and irreligious population, for absurdity and inaptitude, stands, and must forever stand, without a parallel : of all the offspring of prejudice and oppression, it is the most shapeless and unnatural. Men, who are intellectually and

'What but sorrow can we feel at the *misguided piety* which has set free so many of them by death-bed devise or sudden conviction of injustice? Better, far better, for us, had they been kept in bondage, where the opportunity, the inducements, the necessity of vice would not have been so great. Deplorable *necessity*, indeed, to one borne down with the consciousness of the violence we have done. Yet I am clear that, whether we consider it with reference to the welfare of the State, or the happiness of the blacks, it were better to have left them in chains, than to have liberated them to receive such freedom as they enjoy, and greater freedom we cannot, must not allow them.'—[*African Repository*, vol. iii. p. 197.]

'They leave a country in which though born and reared, they are strangers and aliens ; where *severe necessity* places them in a class of degraded beings.'—[*Idem*, vol. v. p. 238.]

'Our great and good men purposed it primarily as a system of relief for two millions of fellow men in our own country—a population dangerous to ourselves and *necessarily degraded here*.'—[*Idem*, vol. vi. p. 295.]

'Slavery is a system for the existence of which, a single moment, no plea can be valid but the plea of *necessity*.'—[Letter of Rev. R. R. Gurley, vide *Hudson (Ohio) Observer & Telegraph*, December 20, 1832.]

'It is a well-established point, that the public safety forbids either the emancipation or the general instruction of the slaves.'—[*Seventh Annual Report*.]

'The managers could, with no propriety, depart from their original and avowed purpose, and make emancipation their object. And they would farther say, that if they were not thus restrained by the terms of their association, they would still consider any attempts to promote the increase of the free colored population by manumission, *unnecessary, premature and dangerous*.'—[*Af. Rep.* vol. ii. p. 58.]

'TO SET THEM LOOSE AMONG US WOULD BE AN EVIL MORE INTOLERABLE THAN SLAVERY ITSELF. It would make our situation insecure and dangerous.'—[*Report of the Kentucky Col. Sec.*—*Idem*, vol. vi. p. 81.]

'POLICY, and even the voice of humanity forbade the progress of manumission ; and the salutary hand of law came forward to co-operate with our convictions, and to arrest the flow of our feelings, and the ardor of our desires.'—[*Review of the Report of the Com. of Foreign Relations.*—*African Repository*, vol. iv. p. 268.]

'Many thousand individuals in our native State, you well know, Mr. President, are restrained, said Mr. Mercer, from manumitting their slaves, as you and I are, by the melancholy conviction, that they cannot yield to the suggestions of humanity, without manifest injury to their country.' * * * 'The laws of Virginia now discourage, and very wisely, perhaps, the emancipation of slaves.'—[*Speech of Mr. Mercer.*—*First Annual Report*.]

'There are men in the southern states, who long to do something effectual for the benefit of their slaves, and would gladly emancipate them, did not PRUDENCE and COMPASSION alike forbid such a measure.'—[*Review of the Reports of the Society from the Christian Spectator.*—*Seventh Annual Report*.]

* 'EVERY EMIGRANT to Africa is a MISSIONARY, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions'!!!—[*Speech of Mr. Clay.*—*Tenth Annual Report*.]

morally blind, are violently removed from light effulgent into thick darkness, in order that they may obtain light themselves and diffuse light among others ! Ignorance is sent to instruct ignorance, ungodliness to exhort ungodliness, vice to stop the progress of vice, and depravity to reform depravity ! All that is abhorrent to our moral sense, or dangerous to our quietude, or villanous in human nature, we benevolently disgorge upon Africa for her temporal and eternal welfare ! (11) We propose to build upon her shores, for her glory and defence, colonies framed of materials which we discard as worthless for our own use, and which possess no fitness or durability ! Admirable consistency ! surprising wisdom ! unexampled benevolence !

'We do not ask that the provisions of our Constitution and statute book should be so modified as to relieve and exalt the condition of the colored people, *whilst they remain with us*. LET THESE PROVISIONS STAND IN ALL THEIR RIGOR, to work out the ultimate and unbounded good of this people. Persuaded that their condition here is not susceptible of a radical and permanent improvement, we would deprecate any legislation that should encourage the vain and injurious hope of it.'—[Memorial of the New-York State Col. Society.]

(11) 'Free blacks are a greater nuisance than even slaves themselves.'—[Af. Repository, vol. ii. p. 328.]

'Although there are individual exceptions distinguished by high moral and intellectual worth, yet the free blacks in our country are, as a body, more vicious and degraded than any other which our population embraces.' * * * 'There is not a State in the Union not at this moment groaning under the evil of this class of persons, a curse and a contagion wherever they reside.'—[Idem, vol. iii. pp. 24, 203.]

'Mr. Mercer adverted to the situation of his native State, and the condition of the free black population existing there, whom he described as a horde of miserable people—the objects of universal suspicion ; SUBSISTING BY PLUNDER.'—[Idem, vol. iv. p. 363.]

'Of all the descriptions of our population, and of either portion of the African race, the free people of color are by far, as a class, the MOST CORRUPT, DEPRAVED, AND ABANDONED.' . . . 'They have no home, no country, no kindred, no friends. They are lazy and indolent, because they have no motives to prompt them to be industrious. They are in general destitute of principle, because they have nothing to stimulate them to honorable and praise-worthy conduct.'—[Idem, vol. vi. pp. 12, 228.]

'The existence, within the very bosom of our country, of an anomalous race of beings, THE MOST DEBASED UPON EARTH, who neither enjoy the blessings of freedom, nor are yet in the bonds of slavery, is a great national evil, which every friend of his country most deeply deplores.'—[Idem, vol. vii. p. 230.]

'The class we first seek to remove, are neither freemen nor slaves ; but between both, and more miserable than either.' * * * 'Leaving slavery and its subjects for the moment entirely out of view, there are in the United States 238,000 blacks denominated free, but whose freedom confers on them, we might say, no privilege but the privilege of being more vicious and miserable than slaves can be.'—[App. Seventh Annual Report.]

'Of all classes of our population, the most vicious is that of the free colored. It is the inevitable result of their moral, political, and civil degradation. Contaminated themselves, they extend their vices to all around them, to the slaves and to the whites.'—[Tenth Annual Report.]

12. Because it is held in abhorrence by the free people of color, wherever they possess the liberty of speech and the means of intelligence, as a scheme full of evil to themselves and to their enslaved brethren ; and to expect a change in their sentiments, after so long a time and the reiterated public expressions of their undying hostility, is gross fatuity. ⁽¹²⁾

(12) RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF PHILADELPHIA.

Resolved, That we view with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of color, by the promoters of this measure, 'that they are a dangerous and useless part of the community,' when in the state of disfranchisement in which they live, in the hour of danger they ceased to remember their wrongs, and rallied around the standard of their country.

Resolved, That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country ; they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong ; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than fancied advantages for a season.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF NEW-YORK.

Resolved, That we view the resolution calling on the worshippers of Christ to assist in the unholy crusade against the colored population of this country, as totally at variance with true Christian principles.

Resolved, That we claim this country, the place of our birth, and not Africa, as our mother country, and all attempts to send us to Africa we consider as gratuitous and uncalled for.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF BOSTON.

Resolved, That this meeting look upon the American Colonization Society as a clamorous, abusive and peace-disturbing combination.

Resolved, That this meeting look upon the conduct of those clergymen, who have filled the ears of their respective congregations with the absurd idea of the necessity of removing the free colored people from the United States, as highly deserving the just reprehension directed to the false prophets and priests, by Jeremiah the true prophet, as recorded in the 23d chapter of his prophecy.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF BALTIMORE.

Resolved, That it is the belief of this meeting, that the American Colonization Society is founded more in a selfish policy, than in the true principles of benevolence :—and, therefore, so far as it regards the life-giving spring of its operations, is not entitled to our confidence, but should be viewed by us with all that caution and distrust which our happiness demands.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Resolved, That this meeting view with distrust the efforts made by the Colonization Society to cause the free people of color of these United States to emigrate to Liberia on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere.

Resolved, That it is the declared opinion of the members of this meeting, that the soil which gave them birth is their only true and veritable home, and that it would be impolitic, unwise and improper for them to leave their home without the benefits of education.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Resolved, unanimously, That the call of this meeting be approved of ; and that the colored citizens of this village have, with friendly feelings, taken into consideration the objects of the American Colonization Society, together with

Finally, abolitionists oppose the Colonization Society, *because it neither calls for any change of conduct toward the people of color, on the part of the nation, NOR HAS IN ITSELF ANY PRINCIPLE OF REFORM.* It confesses to be actuated and governed by strong, vindictive prejudices—‘prejudices, which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, *nor religion itself*, can overcome’—prejudices ‘which are fixed beyond the

all its auxiliary movements, preparatory for our removal to the coast of Africa ; and we view them as wholly gratuitous, not called for by us, and not essential to the real welfare of our race.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF HARTFORD, CT.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the American Colonization Society is actuated by the same motives which influenced the mind of Pharaoh, when he ordered the male children of the Israelites to be destroyed.

Resolved, That it is the belief of this meeting, that the Society is the greatest foe to the free colored and slave population with whom liberty and equality have to contend.

Resolved, That, in our belief, we have committed no crime worthy of banishment, and that we will resist, even unto death, all the attempts of the Colonization Society to banish us from this our native land.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF MIDDLETOWN, CT.

Resolved, That the proceedings of our brethren in Brooklyn, N. Y., meet our entire approbation : they breathe our sentiments in full, and may our voices cheerfully accord with them in protesting against leaving this our native soil.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF NEW-HAVEN, CT.

Resolved, That we will resist all attempts made for our removal to the torrid shores of Africa, and will sooner suffer every drop of blood to be taken from our veins than submit to such unrighteous treatment.

Resolved, That we consider the American Colonization Society founded on principles that no Afric-American, unless very weak in mind, will follow ; and any man who will be persuaded to leave his own country and go to Africa, as an enemy to his country and a traitor to his brethren.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF COLUMBIA, PA.

Resolved, That it is our firm belief, that the Colonization Society is replete with infinite mischief, and that we view all the arguments of its advocates as mere sophistry, not worthy our notice as freemen.

Resolved, That we will not be duped out of our rights as freemen, by colonizationists, nor by any other combination of men. All the encomiums pronounced upon Liberia can never form the least temptation to induce us to leave our native soil, to emigrate to a strange land.

Resolved, That it is the decided opinion of this meeting, that African colonization is a scheme of southern policy, a wicked device of slaveholders who are desirous of riveting more firmly, and perpetuating more certainly, the fetters of slavery ; who are only anxious to rid themselves of a population whose presence, influence and example have a tendency (as they suppose) to produce discontent among the slaves, and to furnish them with incitements to rebellion.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF NANTUCKET.

Resolved, That the call of this meeting be approved of, and that the colored citizens of this town have with friendly feelings taken into consideration the objects of the Colonization Society, together with its movements preparatory for

control of any human power,' which spring 'from an ordination of Providence,' and which are 'no more to be changed than the laws of Nature.' But benevolence and prejudice do not run in the same channel—they are opposed to each other. Hence the Society is not a benevolent institution, according to its own confessions ; and, therefore, does not deserve the confidence or patronage of benevolent men.

our removal to the coast of Africa ; and we view them as wholly gratuitous, not called for by us, and in no way essential to the welfare of our race ; and we believe that our condition can be best improved in this our own country and native soil, the United States of America.

Resolved, That there is no philanthropy towards the people of color in the colonization plan, but that it is got up to delude us away from our country and home into a country of sickness and death.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF PITTSBURG, PA.

Resolved, That it is the decided opinion of this meeting, that African colonization is a scheme to drain the better informed part of the colored people out of these United States, so that the chain of slavery may be riveted more tightly ; but we are determined not to be cheated out of our rights by the colonization men, or any other set of intriguers.

Resolved, That we, the colored people of Pittsburgh and citizens of these United States, view the country in which we live as our only true and proper home. We are just as much natives here as the members of the Colonization Society. Here we were born—here bred—here are our earliest and most pleasant associations—here is all that binds man to earth, and makes life valuable. And we do consider every colored man who allows himself to be colonized in Africa, or elsewhere, a traitor to our cause.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF WILMINGTON, DEL.

Resolved, That this meeting view with deep regret the attempt now making to colonize the free people of color on the western coast of Africa ; believing as we do that it is inimical to the best interests of the people of color, and at variance with the principles of civil and religious liberty, and wholly incompatible with the spirit of the Constitution and Declaration of Independence of these United States.

Resolved, That we disclaim all connexion with Africa ; and although the descendants of that much afflicted country, we cannot consent to remove to any tropical climate, and thus aid in a design having for its object the total extirpation of our race from this country, professions to the contrary notwithstanding.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF HARRISBURG, PA.

Resolved, That we reject the inhuman and unchristian measures taken by the Colonization Society, for the illumination of the colored citizens of the United States, their appropriate home, in a land of sickness, affliction and death, when they are not willing, with few exceptions, to give us a christian education while among them.

Resolved, That this meeting look upon the Colonization Society as a vicious, nefarious and peace-disturbing combination, and that its leaders might as well essay to cure a wound with an argument, or set a dislocated bone by a lecture on logic, as to tell us their object is to better our condition.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Resolved, That we never will remove to Africa ; but should any of our brethren wish to emigrate, we would recommend Canada as a country far more congenial to our constitutions.

To prove the truth of the last allegation, it is only necessary to remember that the reason which is given by the Society for expatriating the colored population is,—*the wickedness of the people*—the determination, on their part, never to cease from persecuting those whom they have so long abused, degraded and enslaved. Yet the Society boasts that it receives the support of a great majority of the nation—that it is cherished by all religious denominations—and that it is hailed emphatically by ‘*the voice of the people.*’ If this be so,—if the friends of the Society constitute an overwhelming majority in this country, and they are actuated by true philanthropy,—if it is opposed only by ‘*a few wild fanatics,*’ otherwise named *abolitionists*, (who, certainly, are ready to give the people of color equal rights and privileges,)—and if, nevertheless, nothing but colonization can

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Resolved, That we view, with unfeigned astonishment, the anti-christian and inconsistent conduct of those who so strenuously advocate our removal from this our native country to the burning shores of Liberia, and who with the same breath contend against the cruelty and injustice of Georgia in her attempt to remove the Cherokee Indians west of the Mississippi.

Resolved, That we will not leave our homes, nor the graves of our fathers, and this boasted land of liberty and christian philanthropy.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF TRENTON, N. J.

Resolved, Whereas we have lived peaceably and quietly in these United States, of which we are natives, and have never been the cause of any insurrectionary or tumultuous movements as a body, that we do view every measure taken by any associated bodies to remove us to other climes, anti-christian and hostile to our peace, and a violation of the laws of humanity.

Resolved, That we view the American Colonization Society as the most inveterate foe both to the free and slave man of color.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF LYME, CT.

Resolved, That it is the sincere opinion of this meeting, that the American Colonization Society is one of the wildest projects ever patronised by a body of enlightened men; and further, that many of those who support it would be willing, if it were in their power to drive us out of existence.

Resolved, That though we be last in calling a meeting, we feel no less the pernicious influence of this Society than the rest of our brethren; and that we will resist every attempt to banish us from this our native land.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF LEWISTOWN, PA.

Resolved, That we will not leave these United States, the land of our birth, for a home in Africa.

Resolved, That we will strenuously oppose the colonizing of the free people of color in Liberia.

BY THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF NEW-BEDFORD.

Resolved, That in whatever light we view the Colonization Society, we discover nothing in it but terror, prejudice and oppression; that the warm and beneficent hand of philanthropy is not apparent in the system, but the influence of the Society on public opinion is more prejudicial to the interest and welfare of the people of color in the United States, than slavery itself.

save the colored population from persecution and servitude,—is it not evident that nothing is wanting to render unnecessary this disgraceful expulsion, but that the supporters of the scheme should abandon their prejudices, clothe themselves with humility, and be christians and republicans indeed ? It is undeniable that the popularity of the Society is immense ; but if it be a benevolent institution, and exercise a wide and powerful moral influence, and is thus populär, how does it happen that no change, but for the worse, has taken place in the legal condition of the people of color, or in public sentiment ? Has one prejudice been eradicated by its operations ? Has it commended itself to the gratitude and confidence of the objects of its *benevolence*, as the Howard Benevolent Society has done to the recipients of its bounty ? Are not all who are hostile to our free colored population, in favor of their banishment ? Is not the design of the Society universally agreeable to the proud, the vulgar, the insolent, the scornful ? Who, but its supporters, descant upon the prejudices which exist against the blacks ? who, but themselves, acknowledge that they are swayed by those prejudices—powerfully and unalterably ?

BY THE NATIONAL COLORED CONVENTION HELD IN PHILADELPHIA, IN 1831.

‘The Convention has not been unmindful of the operations of the American Colonization Society ; and it would respectfully suggest to that august body of learning, talent and worth, that, in our humble opinion, strengthened, too, by the opinions of eminent men in this country, as well as in Europe, that they are pursuing the direct road to perpetuate slavery, with all its unchristianlike concomitants, in this boasted land of freedom ; and, as citizens and men whose best blood is sapped to gain popularity for that institution, we would, in the most feeling manner, beg of them to desist : or, if we must be sacrificed to their philanthropy, we would rather die at home. Many of our fathers, and some of us, have fought and bled for the liberty, independence and peace which you now enjoy ; and, surely, it would be ungenerous and unfeeling in you to deny us a humble and quiet grave in that country which gave us birth.’

BY THE SAME CONVENTION, IN 1832.

Resolved, That we still solemnly and sincerely protest against any interference, on the part of the American Colonization Society, with the free colored population in these United States, so long as they shall countenance or endeavor to use coercive measures, (either directly or indirectly,) to colonize us in any place which is not the object of our choice. And we ask them respectfully, as men and as Christians, to cease their unhallowed persecutions, of a people already sufficiently oppressed, or if, as they profess, they have our welfare and prosperity at heart, to assist us in the object of our choice.

We might here repeat our protest against that institution, but it is unnecessary. Our views and sentiments have long since gone to the world—the wings of the wind have borne our disapprobation to that institution. *Time itself cannot erase it.* We have dated our opposition from its beginning, and our views are strengthened by time and circumstances, and they hold the uppermost seat in our affections.

The American Colonization Society, *even allowing it to be a benevolent body*, HAS UNDERTAKEN TO ACCOMPLISH A PHYSICAL IMPOSSIBILITY—namely, the removal of the entire colored population of this country to Africa. It has been sixteen years in operation ; and with all its immense resources and its exceeding popularity, it has carried off, during that long period, *only the increase of a single fortnight !* More blacks are born *every day*, than it has removed *annually* since its organization ! The slave population has increased more than HALF A MILLION, and been reduced less than FIVE HUNDRED by the Society, since the year 1816 ! When the Alleghany mountains can be cast into the sea by separate particles ; or the sun extinguished by drops of water ; or the ocean dried up by a sun-beam ; or the ravages of the gaunt King of Terrors permanently arrested by the cure of a sick patient ;—then, and not till then, can the American Colonization Society succeed in carrying to Africa the colored population of the United States. It has been weighed in the balance, and found wanting ; and its fall is destined to be like that of Babylon the great.

In view of the events of the past year, the Managers congratulate the real friends of the colored race, both bond and free. One year since, the New-England Anti-Slavery Society commenced its operations, under very discouraging circumstances. Its members were few—its means, trifling. It has rapidly risen to a commanding rank, and is attracting general attention in this country. The fame of its principles neither the winds nor the waves of the Atlantic could drown—it has gone over to England, and given a strong impulse to the cause of abolition in that country. It has brought back the response from that distinguished philanthropist, James Cropper of Liverpool—‘ I did indeed feel it as a cordial to my heart to see a Society established within the United States, advocating the immediate and entire abolition of slavery.’

The pecuniary ability of the Society has been small.* A large amount of funds is not easily accumulated for any moral

* Among the donations which have been made to the Society, the Managers would gratefully acknowledge the following :—*Two hundred and Fifty dollars* (one hundred dollars of this sum to be appropriated to the Manual Labor

enterprise in its infancy. Yet, with feeble means, the Society has produced great results. It has constantly employed its presiding officer as an Agent, for the past six months, to go forth to the people, and urge its claims upon their charities and confidence. His labors, it is believed, have been extensively useful. The Managers bear honorable testimony to his zeal, faithfulness and ability. Other Agents have been successfully employed for a shorter period. Five thousand copies of the Constitution and Address of the Society have been printed for gratuitous distribution. A liberal purchase has been made of Mr. Garrison's 'Thoughts on African Colonization,' for a similar purpose. The Society has effected the emancipation of a young slave boy in this city, by a suit at law.* It is now making strenuous exertions for the establishment of a Manual Labor School, for the education of Colored Youth, and will probably attain its object. It has effected the conversion of a multitude of minds to the doctrine of immediate abolition, and given a wide and salutary check to the progress of the Colonization Society. It has done more to make slavery a subject of national investigation, to excite discussion, and to maintain the freedom of speech on a hitherto prohibited theme, than all other societies now in operation. It has been eminently serviceable in encouraging the free colored population, in various places, to go forward in paths of improvement, and organize themselves into moral and benevolent associations. It has commenced a monthly periodical, with the expressive title of 'THE ABOLITIONIST,' for the purpose of vindicating its principles, and promoting the various objects which it has in view. It is now laying the axe at the root of the tree of slavery in this country; and though some may stand afar off and mock, and close their ears to the sound of its blows, and demand evidence of its efficiency, seeing the tree has not yet fallen; yet in due time this Bohon Upas shall be prostrated, as it were in the twinkling of an eye, and consumed to ashes.

School Fund) from JOHN KENRICK, Esq. of Newton, Mass. ; *Fifty Dollars* (including fifteen dollars to constitute him a life member) from Mr. EBENEZER DOLE, of Hallowell, Me. ; *Fifty Dollars* from Mrs. SARAH H. WINSLOW, and *Fifteen Dollars* from Mrs. C. WINSLOW, both of Portland, Me.

* Appendix B.

An Auxiliary Society has been formed in the Theological Seminary at Andover. A society, based upon the same principles, has also been formed in Hudson College, Ohio, under the auspices of the President and Professors ; and also a kindred association in Lynn, Massachusetts. Other societies, it is expected, will be speedily organized in Portland, Providence, Bath, Hallowell, New-Haven, and other places. The light which has burst forth so auspiciously in the West, is the harbinger of a mighty victory.

In closing their Report, the Managers would earnestly and feelingly conjure abolitionists in this country to maintain their ground, firmly and confidently. The controversy is not, in fact, between them and the oppressors of their fellow men, but between these oppressors and Jehovah. Their cause is based upon the immutable principles of justice and righteousness. It must prevail. Let full reliance be placed upon the promises of Him who has said that he will maintain the cause of the afflicted and the right of the poor ; let every thing be done that may and should be done ; let the heart be inspired but by one principle—love to God and love to man ; let abolition societies be established in every town and village in the free states ; and the speedy emancipation of the slaves is sure.

The blood of the millions who have perished unredressed in this guilty land ; the sufferings and lamentations of the millions who yet remain in cruel servitude ; the groans and supplications of bleeding Africa ; the cries of the suffering victims in the holds of the slave-ships now wafted upon the ocean ; the threatenings and judgments of the God of all flesh ; all demand the utter and immediate annihilation of slavery.

And let all the people, from the Lakes to the Atlantic, and from Maine to the shores of the Pacific, in one mighty burst, thunder—‘ AMEN, AND AMEN ! ’

APPENDIX.

(A.)

The Legislature of Louisiana has enacted that whosoever shall make use of language, in any public discourse, from the bar, the bench, the pulpit, the stage, or in any other place whatsoever shall make use of language, in any private discourses, or shall make use of signs or actions having a tendency to produce discontent among the colored population, shall suffer imprisonment at hard labor, not less than three years, nor more than twenty-one years, or DEATH, at the discretion of the court!! It has also prohibited the instruction of the blacks in Sabbath Schools—\$500 penalty for the first offence—DEATH for the second!! The Legislature of Virginia has passed a bill which subjects all free negroes who shall be convicted of remaining in the commonwealth contrary to law, to the liability of *being sold by the sheriff*. All meetings of free negroes, at any school-house or meeting-house, for teaching them reading or writing, are declared an unlawful assembly; and it is made the duty of any justice of the peace to issue his warrant to enter the house where such unlawful assemblage is held, for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing such free negroes. A fine is to be imposed on every white person who instructs at such meetings. All emancipated slaves, who shall remain more than twelve months, contrary to law, shall revert to the executors as assets. Laws have been passed in Georgia and North Carolina, imposing a heavy tax or imprisonment on every free person of color who shall come into their ports in the capacity of stewards, cooks, or seamen of any vessels belonging to the non-slaveholding States. The Legislature of Tennessee has passed an act forbidding free blacks from coming into the State to remain more than twenty days. The penalty is a fine of from ten to fifty dollars, and confinement in the penitentiary from one to two years. Double the highest penalty is to be inflicted after the first offence. The act also prohibits manumission, without an immediate removal from the State. The last Legislature of Maryland passed a bill, by which no free negro or mulatto is allowed to emigrate to, or settle in the State, under the penalty of fifty dollars for every week's residence therein; and if he refuse or neglect to pay such fine, he shall be committed to jail and sold by the sheriff at public sale; and no person shall employ or harbor him, under

the penalty of twenty dollars for every day he shall be so employed, hired or harbored ! It is not lawful for any free blacks to attend any meetings for religious purposes, unless conducted by a *white* licensed or ordained preacher, or some respectable white person duly authorised ! All free colored persons residing in the State, are compelled to register their names, ages, &c. &c. ; and if any negro or mulatto shall remove from the State, and remain without the limits thereof for a space longer than thirty consecutive days, unless before leaving the State he deposits with the clerk of the county in which he resides, *a written statement of his object in doing so*, and his intention of returning again, or unless he shall have been detained by sickness or coercion, *of which he shall bring a certificate*, he shall be regarded as a resident of another State, and be subject, if he return, to the penalties imposed by the foregoing provisions upon free negroes and mulattoes of another State, migrating to Maryland ! It is not lawful for any person or persons to purchase of any free negro or mulatto any articles, unless he produce a certificate from a justice of the peace, or three respectable persons residing in his neighborhood, that he or they have reason to believe, and do believe, that such free negro or mulatto came honestly and bona fide into possession of any such articles so offered for sale !

All the above named Legislatures, with one exception, have passed resolutions highly encomiastic of the American Colonization Society !! The Senate of Louisiana has adopted similar resolutions !

(B.)

SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT—DEC. 4, 1832.

Before SHAW, Chief Justice.

CASE OF FRANCISCO. A *habeas corpus* was brought against Mrs. Howard, a lady who had resided in the Island of Cuba, in order to have the body of Francisco, a colored boy 12 or 14 years of age, (whom it was alleged that the defendant intended to carry to the Island of Cuba, and there keep or sell as a slave,) brought before the Court.

The defendant, in her return to the *habeas corpus*, stated in writing, that the boy Francisco was her servant, that he was free, and that she did not claim him as a slave, and submitted herself to such order in the premises as the Court might see fit to make.

To contradict this return, several witnesses were produced, who proved that Mrs. Howard purchased Francisco as a slave, that she had held him as a slave at Havana, and had brought him with her from thence to this country, that she intended to carry him back to Havana, and that she had spoken of him since

she had been here, as her slave, her property, &c., and had exhibited great anxiety lest he should be taken away from her while in this country. The evidence was strong to show that Mrs. Howard intended, or had intended until this *habeas corpus* was brought, to claim him as her slave in Havana, on her return there.

On behalf of Mrs. Howard, evidence was produced to prove that the boy was very much attached to her, and she to him ; that she had treated him with great kindness, and had no design to sell him ; and that before leaving the Havana, she was admonished that he would become free on being brought into this country, and that the boy preferred going with her to remaining here.

Curtis, on behalf of Mrs. Howard, contended, that the court ought not to deprive her of the care of a boy, whom she had treated kindly, and who was attached to her, and desirous of going with her ; that the boy was free, and would still continue to be free, on going to Havana ; that his actual condition would probably be better, if he went with her, than if he was kept in this country ; and her counsel further stated that she was perfectly willing to have the question, whether or not the boy should go with her, left to his own decision. In support of this course, he cited a case decided by Chancellor Kent, and another by the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, in the matter of a writ of *habeas corpus*, directed to the society of Shakers, to relieve a young person detained by them. The counsel also denied the authority of the court to interfere in a case where the respondent exercised no restraint over the person of the minor, and the minor himself made no complaints of restraint or detainment, but remained with the respondent of his own free will.

Sewall, on the other side, urged that Francisco, on being brought into Massachusetts, became free ; that it was evidently Mrs. Howard's intention to make him a slave again, when she arrived at Havana ; that he was entitled to the same protection of the court as any other free person in Massachusetts ; and that the court ought to interfere to preserve him from slavery. His affection for Mrs. Howard, and his desire of going with her, were no sufficient reasons for sending him to a place where he would inevitably be deprived of his freedom. And the counsel requested, that as Francisco was too young to determine what was for his interest, the court would appoint a guardian to act for him in the case.

SHAW, C. J., after examining Francisco privately, and ascertaining that it was his desire to go with Mrs. Howard, delivered an opinion, of which the following is a very imperfect sketch.

The question before the court is one of great importance. The writ of *habeas corpus* is intended for the protection of per-

sonal liberty. If Mrs. Howard, in her return to the writ, had claimed the boy as a slave, I should have ordered him to be discharged from her custody. But it appears from her return to the writ, that she does not claim him as a slave. The boy, by the law of Massachusetts, is in fact free; and Mrs. Howard having, by her return to the writ, disclaimed to hold him as a slave, has made a record of his freedom, and cannot make him a slave again in the Island of Cuba.

The evidence shows that up to a very recent period, she intended to claim him as a slave on carrying him back to Havana. But after the disclaimer which she has made in her return, ought the Court to interfere to prevent the boy from going to Cuba with her, merely because he will be in more danger of being made a slave there, than if he was retained in this State? I think not. I know of no precedent of a guardian *ad litem* being appointed in a case of this kind. The Court must act as the boy's guardian. He appears to be attached to Mrs. Howard, and to be desirous of going with her, and I think it is for his interest to be allowed to do so, if he pleases. He can therefore go with her or not as he chooses. And all persons will be prohibited from interfering or attempting by force to prevent him from going with her, if such continues his wish.—*Boston Atlas*.

REPORT ON THE FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE.

The Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the *Foreign and Domestic Slave Trade*, most respectfully submit the following report :

Notwithstanding the prohibition of the African slave trade by the laws and treaties of all nations, it appears, by the reports of British cruisers who have within the last year captured a number of vessels freighted with African slaves, that the trade is still prosecuted with unabated rigor; and thousands are annually stolen away from their homes in Africa, and transported across the ocean, to supply those Christian markets where men, women and children are bought and sold like brute beasts; fully demonstrating that so long as there is a market for human beings, laws, treaties and navies, aided by the power of moral and christian influence, are insufficient to restrain the avarice of wicked men from tearing from their peaceful homes those hapless victims of their cupidity, and consigning them to a life of bereavement, mourning and wo.

It can hardly be supposed that the statistics of an illicit trade can be very accurately ascertained; but it is universally admit-

ted that the demand for slaves, in the yet unglutted marts of christian states and colonies, has caused the trade to be prosecuted with as much severity and rigor since its legal prohibition as before. And it is contrary to all experience to suppose that it can ever be abolished, but by abolishing the market.

Appalling as is the contemplation of the wickedness, cruelty and sufferings attendant on the *African* slave trade, we turn with deeper horror to the countless woes and more aggravated crimes of the *American* slave trade. Here, where 'the trade in slaves and souls of men' is legalized, and counted honorable, we have more correct data for statistical calculation.

One sixth part of the people of the United States of America are held as property, and regarded as articles of commerce !

One hundred thousand children, annually born in the United States, are raised like cattle, to be sold and transferred from one owner to another, without any regard to their will or welfare !

When a slaveholder dies, his men, women and children are appraised and sold, and there is witnessed one of those heart-rending scenes of human agony, which may be better conceived than described in words. The miserable victims of this inhuman system are brought to the stand, one by one, and each separately knocked off to the highest bidder. Husbands are separated from their wives, parents from children, friend from friend, and lover from lover, and every endearing tie of nature and affection is most unfeelingly sundered, causing the heavens to resound with their cries and their groans. And it is not only at the death of a slaveholder that these scenes of anguish and despair are witnessed ; for 'the trade in slaves and souls of men' is one of the most extensive branches of commerce in our country, and probably amounts to *twenty millions* of dollars in a year. Men sell their own children, and their brothers and sisters ; and every day in which the light of heaven shines upon our guilty land, does it witness the image of God exposed at public sale, and that, too, by men who would be offended were we to call them cannibals. Even in the District of Columbia, under the exclusive jurisdiction of the general government of the Republic, men and women, whose only crime is that they are descended from African parents, are sold to inland pirates, who purchase them for the western market.

In the contemplation of these things, we are compelled to exclaim,—Oh, America ! how long shall it prove a misfortune and a curse to a portion of thy children, that their ancestors were not permitted to remain in a land of heathens ? How long, in this Christian land, shall these unfortunate people be regarded as merchandise, and be denied that instruction which is essential for rational, intelligent and immortal souls ?

May the Christian churches in our land speedily clear their skirts of the stain of blood ! May they make haste to put away from them this abomination, which has so long obstructed their progress, and obscured their glory ; that the glad voices of ransomed millions may unite with those who love the Lord, in ascribing unto Him, who, with a mighty hand and outstretched arm, delivered Israel from the house of bondage, the praise of having, in like manner, delivered his children from oppression in this guilty land !

In behalf of the Committee,

ARNOLD BUFFUM.

CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, we believe that Slavery is contrary to the precepts of Christianity, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and ought immediately to be abolished ; and whereas, we believe that the citizens of New-England not only have the right to protest against it, but are under the highest obligation to seek its removal by a moral influence ; and whereas, we believe that the free people of color are unrighteously oppressed, and stand in need of our sympathy and benevolent co-operation ; therefore, recognising the inspired declaration that God ' hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,' and in obedience to our Saviour's golden rule, ' all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them ; we agree to form ourselves into a Society, and to be governed by the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

ART. 2. The objects of the Society shall be, to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States ; to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.

ART. 3. Any person by signing the Constitution, and paying to the Treasurer fifteen dollars as a life subscription, or two dollars annually shall be considered a member of the Society, and entitled to a copy of all its official publications.

ART. 4. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Sec-

retary, a Treasurer, and ten Counsellors, who shall be elected annually, by ballot, on the fourth Wednesday of January, or subsequently by adjournment, and shall hold their respective offices until others are chosen.

ART. 5. The foregoing officers shall constitute a Board of Managers, to whom shall be entrusted the disposition of the funds, and the management of the concerns of the Society. They shall have power to make their own by-laws, to fill any vacancy which may occur in their Board and to employ agents to promote the objects of the Society.

ART. 6. There shall be a public meeting of the Society annually, on the third Wednesday of January, at which the Board of Managers shall make a Report of their doings for the past year, and of the income, expenditures, and funds of the Society.

ART. 7. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, or in his absence one of the Vice Presidents, or in their absence a President *pro tem*.

ART. 8. The Corresponding Secretary shall receive and keep all communications or publications directed to the Society, and transmit those issued by them, and shall correspond with the agents, or any other bodies or individuals, according to the directions of the Society or the Managers.

ART. 9. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, and keep the records of the same.

ART. 10. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions and donations to the Society, hold all its funds, and make payments according to the directions of the Managers; and he shall keep a true account of the same, and render a statement to accompany the Annual Report of the Society.

ART. 11. Any Anti-Slavery Society, or any association founded on kindred principles, may become auxiliary to this Society, by contributing to its funds, and may communicate with us by letter or delegation.

ART. 12. The Society shall hold meetings on the last Monday of March, June, and September, for the transaction of any business which may be presented by the Board of Managers, or for addresses, or for discussion of any subject connected with the objects of the Society. Special meetings may be called by the Board of Managers, or by the Recording Secretary on application from ten members of the Society.

ART. 13. This Constitution may be altered at the Annual Meeting for the choice of officers, provided the amendments proposed to be made, have been submitted to the Board of Managers, in writing, one month previous.

LETTER TO THOMAS CLARKSON.

LIVERPOOL, 10th Month, 2d, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND :—

It has caused me deep regret to see thy name amongst those of many well-tried friends of humanity as supporters of the American Colonization Society ; though I am not surprised that many under the mask of a voluntary and prosperous settlement of free blacks on the coast of Africa—a measure in which every friend of humanity must rejoice—have been led to support a scheme, the nature and effects of which are of a very different character.

In judging of this scheme, we ought never to lose sight of two facts with respect to the enslaved Africans in the United States, in which the enormities of that free country have exceeded those of any other. The first is, that slaves are regularly bred for sale. The second, that, in many of the States, the laws affecting free blacks are of so violently persecuting a character as to compel those who obtain their liberty to leave those States. From the former of these causes, instances must often occur, (from the state of morals in slave countries,) of fathers selling their own children !! From the latter has originated the Colonization Society ; it arose out of those prejudices against color, and is a direct attempt to extend the same principle to transportation.

Why are slaveholders so anxious to send away free people of color ? Because their slave institutions would be endangered by the competition of respectable free black laborers ; and they dread still more their education and advancement in science. If they were desirous of serving the free blacks, they would instruct them at home, (not a *few* of them, but every one that they send,) and not send them in ignorance to a barbarous country.

To this real scheme of transporting the people of color a professed one is attached, for the ultimate extinction of slavery, by the transportation of the whole black population to the coast of Africa ; and we are gravely told that one hundred thousand slaves are ready to be given up, if means can be found of sending them to Africa ! A most extraordinary statement, and one for which I believe there is no foundation, in either fact or probability. Can it be believed that the slaveholders of the United States are ready to give up their property, worth at least *five millions sterling* ?—a liberality unheard of since the foundation of the world. In all the rest of the United States, enough to

pay the expense of their emigration cannot be raised, and hence it is sought for in England. If there was any truth in this wonderful statement, we must all of us have been sadly deceived about the debasing effects of slaveholding on the minds of those engaged in it. No other occupation ever produced such extraordinary liberality.

It would be interesting to know to what class these men belong. Is it the practice of selling their own children which has produced this extraordinary effect? Or are these men amongst the slave buyers, who purchase them for no other purpose than to give them their freedom so soon as the means of sending them to Liberia can be found? Is it not strange indeed, that any man can be bold enough to make assertions so obviously at variance with truth? To whatsoever extent this transportation of slaves was carried, the slaveholders know that the price of those slaves which remained would be enhanced, and their condition embittered, by the removal of all hopes of liberty, so precious to the human soul. The free colored people being kept few and poor, will be prevented from rising, by fair competition, to the equal rank and honor to which that competition naturally conducts, when not marred in its progress by some such scheme as the American Colonization Society. No wonder that, with the exception of some who do not understand the plan, the planters are friendly to the colonization scheme. But the free people of color are opposed to this scheme. They have committed no crime, and do not like to be transported and suffer the highest penalty of the law next to death.

To whatever extent the United States expatriate their cotton cultivators, they destroy one of the chief sinews of their own prosperity, and increase the temptation to other States to renew the slave trade by fresh importations. The whole revenue of the United States, for thirty years to come, would be required to purchase the slaves, and to transport them and the free blacks to Africa. Such an idea as the extinction of slavery by means of the Colonization Society can never have been seriously contemplated. No! *perpetuation*, and not *extinction of slavery*, is its object!

The first command ever given to man was—'Be fruitful and multiply.' Who can doubt that it is for his interest to obey this and every other command of God? But in no case is it so manifest as when in a state of slavery. The value of men, as of every other commodity, is governed by their plenty or scarcity; where they are so abundant that parishes are willing to pay the expenses of emigration to get rid of them, there must be an end of slavery. Every increase of numbers tends, whilst it is a proof of better treatment, to promote the mitigation and final

extinction of slavery ; and it must be admitted that the Americans evince this proof of better treatment.

The slaves in the United States have rapidly increased, and this increase has been highly beneficial to the cause of humanity. It is estimated that they have increased since 1808, (the time of both our and their abolition of the slave trade,) from 1,130,000 to 2,010,000, and they have more than trebled the growth of cotton since the peace of 1814, and have reduced its price to one third of what it then was, though the Brazils, with all their slave trading, have only added one fourth part to their growth of cotton in the same time. Hence it is plain, that if there has been any increase in the cotton cultivators of Brazils, few or no slaves can have been imported for its cultivation. May we not then say that the increase of the slave population of the United States has done more than all our enormous expenditure for the suppression of the African slave trade ?

It cannot but be interesting to thee to know what would have been the effect of a similar increase in the English West Indian slaves. Had they increased in the same proportion as those of the United States (since the abolition of the slave trade) their numbers would have been 728,317 more than they now are, which, if employed in the cultivation of sugar, would have been sufficient to have produced an increase of 240,000 tons annually, whilst all the slave trading of the Brazils and Cuba and the French colonies have only added 115,000 tons to their growth. Such an increase of sugar would have greatly reduced its price, and consequently the price of slaves, and thereby have destroyed the slave trade for the growth of sugar, as it has long since extinguished that for the cultivation of indigo, and more recently for the growth of cotton.

The disguise is now removing, and the real tendency of the Society is becoming apparent. A bill was reported to House of Delegates of Virginia, for sending the free blacks away by force ; but though this compulsory clause was rejected, it is added that several other motions were made, and decided by majorities which amply proved the determination of the House, to adopt some measure for the removal of the free blacks. These legislators admit that the free blacks will not leave the land without some sort of force ; which may either be absolute, or by rendering their situation absolutely intolerable.

Great injury has been done to the cause of negro emancipation by the encouragement which the agent of this most *diabolical* scheme has received from the sanction of thy name. The term diabolical is not too severe ; for never did Satan, with more success, transform himself into an angel of light, than in the gloss which has covered its deformities.

These persecuted free blacks view the whole plan with the abhorrence which is justly due it, and with which we should view a plan of general transportation from the land of our nativity. The slave-owners are its advocates and supporters. Surely the name of Clarkson will be withdrawn from the ranks of the oppressors, and will be found, as it has ever yet been, amongst the friends of the oppressed African race.

Let us repair the injury which has been done on both sides of the water by this unholy connection between slaveholders and philanthropists; for since this scheme has been on foot, its deadening influence on the energies of the friends of humanity in the United States has been most manifest.

Let there no longer be any doubt which side is taken by the philanthropists of England. Let them declare their deep feeling of sympathy with these sorely persecuted and oppressed people; and such an example will be followed in the U. States, where the friends of humanity will hasten to leave the ranks of the oppressors, and the cause of justice will again flourish.

May I particularly request thy attentive perusal of the following twenty pages, written by my friend Charles Stuart, one of the most devoted Christians I have ever known, and an unwearied advocate of the oppressed Africans.

I am, with great regard,

Thy sincere friend,

JAMES CROPPER.

EXTRACTS.

I.

‘Tell those who would paralyze your exertions in this righteous cause, by anticipations of danger, or considerations of national policy—that, whatever is *moral duty*, can never, ultimately, be a *political evil*—that to do *evil* that *good* may come—or to avoid good, *lest evil* should come, is as crooked a doctrine in Politics as it is in Divinity ; and if a Heathen could exclaim, ‘*Fiat Justitia ruat Cælum*,’ well may the Christian adopt similar language, with his clearer views, and stronger confidence in the superintendence and protection of a Power as Omnipotent as Just !’—*Abolitionist’s Catechism*.

II.

‘Come forward, we beseech you, as men—and as christians ; temperately, but fearlessly—constitutionally, but **DECIDEDLY**—in the support of every legitimate measure for the utter abolition of a System which no prospect of private gain—no consideration of public advantage—no plea of political expediency—can sufficiently justify or excuse :—thus will you extend the blessings of liberty to Hundreds of Thousands of your fellow-creatures—hold up to an enlightened world a glorious and merciful example—and stand among the foremost in the defence of the violated rights of Human Nature.’—*Anti-Slavery Tract*.

III.

‘It is quite evident that our slave system will be abolished, and that its supporters will hereafter be regarded with the same public feelings, as he who was an advocate of the slave trade is now. How is it that legislators, or that public men, are so indifferent to their fame ? Who would now be willing that biography should record of him—**THIS MAN DEFENDED THE SLAVE TRADE ?** The time will come when the record, **THIS MAN OPPOSED THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY**—will occasion a great deduction from the public estimate of worth of character. When both these atrocities are abolished, and but for the page of history forgotten, that page will make a wide difference be-

tween those who aided the abolition, and those who obstructed it. The one will be ranked amongst the Howards that are departed, and the other amongst those who, in ignorance or in guilt, have employed their little day in inflicting misery upon mankind.'—*Dymond's Essays*.

IV.

'I am for speedy, immediate abolition. I care not what caste, creed, or color, slavery may assume—I am for its total, ~~its~~ instant abolition. Whether it be personal or political, mental or corporeal, intellectual or spiritual, I am for its immediate abolition. I enter into no compromise with slavery ; I am for justice, in the name of humanity, and according to the law of the living God.'—*O'Connell*.

SECOND
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

PRESENTED JANUARY 15, 1834.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY GARRISON & KNAPP.

1834.

OFFICERS OF THE NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PRESIDENT.

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VICE-PRESIDENTS.

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REV. SIMEON S. JOCELYN, New Haven, Ct.

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WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
DRURY FAIRBANKS,
JOSHUA EASTON,
ISAAC KNAPP.**

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1834.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
AT ITS
SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

The second annual meeting of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society was held at Boylston Hall, on Wednesday evening, Jan. 15, 1834.

Rev. E. M. P. Wells, of Boston, one of the Vice-Presidents, took the chair.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Aaron Pickett of Reading, Mass.

The Rev. Aaron Pickett and Capt. Jonas Parker of Reading, and Mr. Benjamin Brierly of Amesbury, appeared as Delegates from their respective Anti-Slavery Societies, and their credentials were read by the President.

The Report of the Board of Managers was read by Samuel E. Sewall, Esq., Corresponding Secretary; and also highly interesting letters from the following gentlemen—Arnold Buffum, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. Samuel J. May, Brooklyn, Ct.; John G. Whittier, Esq., Haverhill, Mass.; and Rev. Elam Smalley of Franklin, Mass.

Horace P. Wakefield, Esq. of Reading, moved that the Report be accepted and printed under the direction of the Board of Managers.

He congratulated the Society upon the extraordinary advancement which the sacred cause of emancipation had made under its auspices. It was still going right onward; and no power could make it retrograde or stationary, but that which caused the shadow on the dial-plate of Ahaz to go backwards, and the sun to stay its course in the heavens.

Mr. Garrison said he rose simply to second the motion for printing the Report—not to make a speech. Three years ago, he told the base plunderers of his species, in the slaveholding States, that they should hear him, of him, and from him, in a tone and with a frequency that should make them tremble. How faithful he had been in the performance of his pledge, let a quickened, an astonished, and a repenting nation testify.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

Rev. Mr. Phelps, of Boston, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the condition of the slaves in the United States is such as to make a strong appeal to the sympathy and benevolence of every friend of God and man.

Sir, said Mr. Phelps, in offering this resolution, it is my design to discuss the question of the slave's *treatment*. In so doing, however, I wish to say

distinctly, at the outset, that I do not do it because I suppose the question of the guilt or innocence of slavery is one of treatment merely. It is often so regarded and so discussed. Multitudes seem to imagine that if the slave be kindly treated, his servitude is all very well—there is little or no harm—little or no guilt in it. And nothing more is needed, than to assure them that the slave is thus treated, and all their sympathies are lulled to sleep in a moment. This, however, is a mistaken view of the subject. The question of slavery—its guilt or innocence—is not one of treatment, kind or cruel. It is solely a question of PRINCIPLE, and I wish it to be so understood at the outset. What is it to me, Sir, whether a man robs me in a polite, genteel, gentlemanly way, or in a way somewhat more ruffian-like? That alters not the fact that I am robbed, and that the man who does this, is a robber. He is none the less a robber from the fact of his being a genteel, gentlemanly one. The question in such a case is solely a question of principle—the principle of the thing, not of the manner in which it is done.

Sir, I am not going into the whole question of the treatment of the slaves. I will only take a single item—that of *whipping*. And here it should be borne in mind distinctly, that there are no laws at the south to prevent the master from inflicting any degree of cruelty on his slave—death itself even not excepted—if there be no white person present to witness and testify to the fact. Here are some fifteen different modes of whipping the slaves:

1. What is called *Picketing*—i. e. laying the slave prostrate, tying each hand and foot to a stake drove in the ground, and then whipping him on the bare back. And the whip, sir, you understand, consists of a short stout stick, with a long loaded lash, so that when used by an expert hand, every blow flays the skin from the flesh. Other modes of whipping are these.

2. *Tying the hands under the knees*, in such a way that the slave cannot help himself, and then whipping him at pleasure.

3. *Tying the slave over a barrel*, or something of the kind. One person said he had himself been whipped in this way until the skin was flayed from the flesh, from the small of his back to his thighs, in such a way that he was unable to sit down for several days.

4. *Cobbing*, as it is called. The individual in this case is stretched naked over a barrel, or something of the kind, and the blows are inflicted with a broad paddle, made of hard wood, smooth and perforated with holes of about half an inch in diameter.—At each blow, *every hole raises a blister!*

5. *Catting*. Here the individual is stretched on a ladder, and whipped as before on the bare back, at the pleasure and caprice of the master. Then a cat is taken and her claws drawn down the back, and sometimes the torment is consummated by washing the flayed back down with *salt-water!*

6. Sometimes their feet are fastened to ring-bolts in the floor, and the hands fastened to something overhead. One individual told me he had seen

the walls in the flogging room, in a cotton mill, where slaves were flogged in this way, *all bespattered with blood!*

7. Whipping in the stocks.

8. Whipping with walnut switches, heated in the fire. One said he had known a woman in Maryland, tied up in this way, and whipped on her bare back.

9. Slaves are sometimes tied up by their wrists, free from the ground, the feet fastened together, a heavy pole thrust between the legs, so as to increase the weight upon the wrists, and then whipped, hanging in that position.

10. The slave is made to stand off the length of the whip, and receive any number of lashes the master chooses to inflict.

11. A slave, for some cause, offered to strike a white man, was seized, arms extended and lashed to a stick thus, (†) and then whipped at the corners of the streets in one of the Southern cities. The whipping was repeated for four or five successive days.

12. A slave, who was a husband and father, was made to strip his wife and daughter, and whip them.

13. On the sugar plantations, the overseer, on Monday morning, makes examination to see if the task for the preceding week be done. If not, he lays down the driver and whips him. Then gives him the whip, and orders him to 'go through the field'—i. e. whip the gang.—And he must do it. He refuses at his peril.

14. The women they sometimes put astride a wooden horse, or something fixed for the purpose, breast to breast, and then inflict the blow on the bare back—*on the bare back of women, Sir!*

15. The last mode I shall mention is '*whipping them on spikes.*' A piece of plank is taken, perforated with holes, and sharp wooden pins or spikes inserted therein. This is laid on the floor, the slave is made to stand on it with bare feet, his hands are lashed together over his head, and drawn up just so that he must either rest his whole weight on the sharp wooden pins, or relieve himself by bending his knees and resting his weight on his wrists. In this position he is whipped. In one instance, said my informer, (an intelligent colored preacher,) I have known a man whipped in this way, and left tied up and standing on the pins, *during the whole night!*

And this, Sir, is the comfort of the slaves! These are the beings who are so happy, and contented, and comfortable! Ay, and the half is not yet told. This is mere physical suffering. Their moral condition! Oh, Sir, I have not time to dwell upon it; but to think of two millions and more of immortal souls—two millions lying at our very door, famishing for the bread of life—and yet, such are the laws, we may not, must not, at our peril, give them a single bible—not a morsel of that bread of life eternal! Sir, is not their condition one that makes an appeal, a heart-rending appeal, to the sympathy and benevolence of every friend of God and man? Yes, sir, it does; and however it may for a time be unheeded, rely upon it, it will be

heeded ere long. It will be felt. Slumbering sympathy will be aroused. The scales will fall from off the eye of American benevolence. And a tide of holy indignation will rise, and swell, and roll over this land, and sweep away every vestige of this accursed, abominable thing, and thus turn back from us the indignation and the judgments of a holy God.

Mr. Phelps's resolution was unanimously adopted.

Rev. Mr. Perry, of Mendon, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the immediate Emancipationist is the true friend of the Slaveholders, of the Slaves, and of his Country.

In supporting this resolution, Mr. Perry forcibly remarked—

In his providence God has a voice to man, which none can fail to hear and understand but those who close their ears and steel their hearts against it. And by his providence he has made a proclamation of the sinfulness of slavery: and with that proclamation before me, I hesitate not to consider every pretended defence of slavery from the Bible as a refuge of lies, which will not bide the day of coming retribution. To that proclamation I appeal.

Why, I ask, the sterility that marks some of the fairest and loveliest portions of this fair and lovely land? What is the meaning of arsenals, arms, and a standing army, in the midst of a peaceful population? Why the fear with which the planter opens his door in the morning, and the caution with which he closes it at night? Why those fears which lead him to lock the door of knowledge, and hide the key from his slave? that close even the book of God to his enquiring gaze? Why do men go armed with dirk and pistol? Why the midnight patrol? Why does the fond father, while absent from home, tremble when he thinks of his wife, and children around their own fireside? Why the midnight shriek and the midnight carnage, which have already disturbed the quiet of half our land? Why, sir, these are tokens of the curse which a holy God has written out against oppression. They are His call to immediate repentance. They are the foretaste of coming retribution. And with such a proclamation of the guilt of slavery, shall we stop to reason with those, who, with the Bible in their hands, would fain persuade us that God sanctions slavery? Sir, *slavery is a sin*; and close upon its heels is treading a fearful retribution. And is it not the part of a friend, to urge the slaveholder to break off that sin by immediate repentance, and thus avert that coming retribution?

Sir, the conscientious Abolitionist may bear the name of '*reckless incendiary*;' but while my soul retains the perceptions of right and wrong, I shall deem him the true, though rejected friend of the slaveholder.

Jehovah is a God who hateth oppression—He will not long be trifled with. For the nation and kingdom that will not serve Him shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted. God has long called us to *immediate repentance*; but we have sinned on, until as a nation our judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and our damnation slumbereth not. The dark cloud of God's vengeance is gathering over us. We have heard its distant rumblings, and seen the distant lightnings, and temporised and delayed repentance to a *more convenient time*. And now that cloud of wrath

hangs over our devoted land, and its thunders are breaking in upon our ears, and the lightnings of wrath are flashing around us. And soon, if we hold on in our guilt, it will *burst* upon our devoted heads, and sweep us away into forgetfulness with the guilty nations which have perished before us.

Mr. Perry's resolution was seconded by James C. Odiorne, and adopted.

The Society adjourned to meet at such time as the managers might appoint.

Pursuant to the adjournment, the Society met at the Temple, Tremont Street, on Monday evening, March 10, 1834.

Rev. E. M. P. Wells in the chair.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, of Salem.

Several appropriate hymns were sung with great taste and effect by a choir of colored children, under the direction of Miss Paul and the Misses Yates.

Mr. Garrison offered the following resolution, which was adopted :

Resolved, That the rapid progress which the anti-slavery cause has made within the last two years, is attributable to the divine blessing upon the humble exertions and limited means put forth in its behalf, and encourages the expectation that the day is not far distant when complete deliverance shall be given to that portion of our countrymen now groaning in bondage.

At the close of his speech, Mr. Garrison said—

While God sits upon the throne of the universe, neither the oppressed nor their advocates are authorized to despair. It becomes us to humble ourselves, to exalt his truth, and to glorify his name, at the wonders he has wrought in public sentiment, by the feeblest instruments and the most limited means, within a short period. Let us see, Sir, whether our cause has given us any evidences that it is of God. What have we had to contend against?

A profound and universal moral lethargy, excessive and criminal fear, and total ignorance—All the venomous prejudices cherished toward the people of color—An earnest and general desire for the expulsion of our colored population, operating through a powerful combination—the American Colonization Society—All the wealth of the country—All the intellectual strength of the country—All the great and popular men of the country—All the religious denominations in the country—The legislatures of more than half of the States.

What is now the prospect?

A few pens, a few periodicals, a few tracts, and a few limited agencies, have electrified the nation, and already stirred up a mighty host to plead and labor for the oppressed. Our cause is rapidly getting complete supremacy in New-England. It has received an accession of wealth, of talent, of piety, and of unconquerable zeal, that ensures its speedy triumph. The American Colonization Society, that Babel of prejudice and wickedness, has been overthrown, and upon its ruins has been erected the American Anti-Slavery Society.

In addition to that Society and our own, we have a large number of male and female anti-slavery societies in various parts of our land, which embrace the names of thousands who are pledged to the doctrine of immediate emancipation. These societies are multiplying with a rapidity which is truly astonishing. The glorious cause of Temperance has not been more signally prospered than our own. These are but faint and imperfect outlines of the progress which the truth of God, and the humanity of the gospel, have made within the last three years.

Professor Charles Follen of Cambridge, offered the following resolutions :

Resolved, That this Society has for its sole object the abolition of slavery in the United States, without any reference to local interests, political parties, or religious sects.

Resolved, That it is the object of this Society so to direct public sentiment as to induce the slaveholders to liberate their slaves of their own accord, and to persuade the slaves to abstain from violent means, awaiting patiently the result of the peaceable measures employed by their friends for the restoration of their rights.

These resolutions were sustained in a truly admirable manner by the mover, and unanimously adopted.

Rev. Mr. Grosvenor, of Salem, offered the following resolution, which he advocated in a powerful speech :

Resolved, That in view of the ignorance existing in New-England, on the subject of slavery, it is the duty of the ministers of Christ, of all denominations, to inform themselves in relation to its true character, and to use their exertions for its speedy and entire abolition, as the gospel of Jesus Christ shall direct them.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Rev. Mr. Grew, of Boston, submitted the following resolution :

Resolved, That the apathy which has so long prevailed, and which still prevails in this favored land, in respect to the affecting woes of our colored brethren, in consequence of withholding from them their inalienable rights, is entirely incompatible with all the principles of republicanism, of humanity, and of our holy religion.

The remarks of the reverend gentleman, in support of his resolution, were in the highest degree solemn and impressive.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Yates, it was

Resolved, That the principles and operations of the American Colonization Society are anti-scriptural and anti-republican ; and therefore ought to be execrated by every lover of his country, and friend of the human family.

On motion of Samuel E. Sewall, Esq. it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the juvenile choir, and the ladies who have conducted it, for their very acceptable services this evening.

Adjourned, *sine die*.

REPORT.

It is now two years since the New-England Anti-Slavery Society was formed. During that short period, many events, highly auspicious to the great cause of human rights in which it is engaged, have occurred. The success which has attended our society, and others that are engaged in the same benevolent enterprise, has been rapid far beyond our most sanguine expectations. A retrospect of the past year must, we think, satisfy every candid mind that this opinion is not erroneous.

The operations of the Society, during this period, have been very extensive, considering its limited means. A number of agents have been employed for various terms, in different parts of the country, who, we have every reason to believe, have been highly useful in diffusing correct opinions on the subject of slavery. Among these we mention Arnold Buffum, Oliver Johnson, and Orson S. Murray.

One of the Society's agents, Moses Hadley, was employed for some time in procuring subscribers to petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. He obtained, we believe, more than twenty-five hundred signatures. A general feeling appears to pervade the community that this abominable system ought to be expelled from the seat of our government. A large number of petitions, in addition to those obtained by the society's agent, it is supposed will be presented to Congress at its present session for the same object. We have, it is true, little hope that any decisive measure will be adopted by that body during the present year. But bringing the subject under discussion there, will place it fairly before the nation, and lead to a full expression of that public opinion which really exists, and will never be satisfied until slavery in the District is abolished.

During the past year, a number of lectures on the subject of slavery have been delivered in Boston before the Society and large audiences, by the Rev. Mr. Phelps, and an address by the Rev. Mr. May. These discourses were listened to with deep interest. Mr. Phelps's lectures have just been issued from the press. Professor Wright also had several public discussions with Mr. Finley, on the merits of the Colonization Society, which we believe had a beneficial influence on the public mind.

During the year the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, in connexion with the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society of Boston, has commenced the formation of an Anti-Slavery Library, called the Wilberforce Library. A number of volumes have already been procured by donation and purchase. This institution will, it is believed, prove a powerful instrument in aid of our cause.

The most important measure of the Society during the year, was sending Mr. Garrison to England. The objects of this mission were to solicit aid for the Manual Labor School for Colored Children contemplated by the Society, and to expose the principles and measures of the Colonization Society. In both these objects, the mission has been abundantly successful. Funds to a considerable amount have, in consequence of Mr. Garrison's exertions, been collected for the school, since he left England. The whole amount to be expected from this source is not yet known, but it is supposed that two or three thousand dollars will be realized.

Mr. Garrison, by his public and private labors in England, succeeded in convincing almost all the leading abolitionists in that country, of the injustice and absurdity of the schemes of the Colonization Society. The Protest which he obtained signed by a number of distinguished abolitionists in Britain, deserves great attention in this country as the honest expression of opinion of able men, far removed from the prejudices which operate in the United States. One of the last acts of the long, unstained, and glorious life of the venerable Wilberforce, was putting his name to this protest. We mention this circumstance, because an attempt has been made to represent him as favoring the

Colonization Society, by publishing a letter of his to Elliott Cresson, which was written some time before, at a time when he had adopted favorable impressions in regard to the Society, which fuller information led him to reverse.

During the year, the Society has been deprived by death of its venerable and excellent President, John Kenrick, Esq. He was a man of great benevolence and integrity. He had for many years before his death taken an active part in the anti-slavery cause.

'In the year 1816, he published a small volume compiled by himself, entitled the "Horrors of Slavery." This work is in two parts, the first chiefly composed of extracts from the speeches of British statesmen; the second chiefly of extracts from American writers. It contains also an introduction and concluding remarks by the compiler. He printed 3000 copies of the work at his own expense, which he distributed chiefly among the members of Congress, and of the State Legislatures, and other persons in the Northern and Western States.'*

He was a liberal benefactor of our Society, having given donations to it to the amount of six hundred dollars, including two hundred and fifty dollars to the Manual Labor School.

We trust that the example of this active and devoted philanthropist will animate the surviving members of our Society to renewed exertions in the glorious cause in which they are engaged.

The friends of the abolition of slavery in this country have been far more active during the past year than at any previous period, and are now, undoubtedly, more numerous and powerful than they ever have been. One of the strongest evidences of this fact, is the number of new anti-slavery societies that have been formed. The following are those, accounts of the formation of which have fallen under our notice.

MAINE.—Maine [Portland] Anti-Slavery Society; Bath do.; Waterville do.; Brunswick do.; Augusta do.; Hallowell do.; Portland Female do.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Plymouth do.

VERMONT.—Jamaica do.; Peacham do.; Cabot do.; Craftsbury do.; Waitsfield do.; Walden do.

MASSACHUSETTS.—Reading do.; Amherst College do.; Amesbury do.; Uxbridge do.; Lowell do.; Salem and Vicinity do.; Nantucket Colored

* From the Abolitionist.

do.; Boston Female do.; Reading Female do.; Amesbury Female do.; Boston Young Men's Anti-Slavery Association; Waltham Anti-Slavery Society.

RHODE ISLAND.—Providence do.; Pawtucket do.; Assonet do.

CONNECTICUT.—New Haven do.; Middletown do.; Plainfield and Vicinity do.; Pomfret do.

NEW YORK.—New York City do.; Oneida Institute do.; Rochester do.; Rochester Female do.; Hudson Female do.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Pittsburgh do.; Philadelphia Female do.

OHIO.—Vernon do.; New Garden do.; Medina do.; Western Reserve do.; Paint Valley do.; Lane Seminary do.

ILLINOIS.—Putnam County do.*

In addition to these, the last year has been rendered memorable by the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. This institution was formed by a Convention at Philadelphia under most favorable auspices. Its proceedings are already before the public. The Declaration signed by its members, which has been published, exhibits the holy resolution of martyrs. It is difficult to estimate the effect which this Society is to have on the great cause of abolition. The members of the Convention which formed it, coming from all parts of the country, and all devoted to the work on which they had entered, had their hopes animated and their zeal invigorated by the meeting. Most, we believe all, of those whom we have seen, regard it as one of the most delightful events of their lives. We believe that this Society is to have a permanent and powerful influence in our country, not only from the character of the men who have formed it, but also from the principles which they have embraced. The great truths that to hold slaves is a sin, and therefore that slavery ought immediately to be abolished, are the foundations on which the American Society rests. Founded upon these true principles, its success is certain. It commends itself to the hearts and the consciences of the people.

We have not yet alluded to the event, which, more than all others which have happened during the year, important as they are, is to hasten the abolition of American slavery—we mean the act abolishing slavery in the Colonies of the British empire. This glorious work, for which so many philanthropists have prayed and labored so long, is at last accomplished. It is true that there are great defects in the measure—that the full enjoy-

* Some of these Societies have been organized since the Report was read.

ment of the rights of the emancipated slaves is delayed to them for some years, and that the plan of apprenticing them is liable to serious objections. But after making all deductions, we must admit that a great end has been gained. Eight hundred thousand fellow men, who were slaves, have become freemen.

‘This event,’ we borrow the words of a recent publication,* ‘is an era in the history of the British nation, to which its past records afford no parallel. When the memory of the bloody victories of Cressy and Agincourt, Blenheim and Waterloo, shall become dim in the lapse of ages, future generations of Britons will look back to the abolition of slavery as the brightest and most godlike act in the annals of their country. It is a triumph of the higher principles of our nature,—of justice and humanity, over selfishness, prejudice, and avarice.

‘The apparent apathy with which the news of an event so striking and momentous has been received in this country, would be surprising, if it were not that we had been prepared for the measure by slow and successive stages of information, so that long before the passage of the act was known, the result was considered certain.

‘The abolition of slavery in the British colonies, however, cannot be looked upon with unconcern in the United States. Though the restoration of their natural rights to eight hundred thousand men, however distant from us, is an event interesting on its own account, yet the effects which it is to produce in this and other slaveholding countries, are even more important. When the British king put his name to the statute for abolishing slavery in the colonies, he signed the death warrant of slavery throughout the civilized world.

‘In vain will slaveholders and their adherents attempt to resist the moral influence of Great Britain. The moral courage of the benevolent will be strengthened, the moral sensibility of the lukewarm will be roused, and the moral force of the great body of the people will be called into action, to exterminate at once and forever the system which has so long disgraced manhood and Christianity.’

* *The Abolitionist* for October, 1833.

Among the memorable proceedings of the last year must be ranked the persecution of a lady, Miss Prudence Crandall, for the heinous offence of keeping a school for colored females.

Miss Crandall, who had for some years kept a boarding school for young ladies in Canterbury, Connecticut, with considerable success, about a year ago determined to devote herself to the instruction of young ladies of color. Her intention having been announced, soon occasioned great excitement in the town. A town meeting was in consequence called, at which some violent proceedings took place, and resolutions denouncing the school were passed. Miss Crandall, having formed her plans deliberately, was not to be deterred from what she felt to be her duty, by any personal considerations. She established her school. Since that time, she has been subjected to a bitter persecution from the inhabitants of the town. They petitioned the legislature of the State, and through the influence of a leading man in the town, Andrew T. Judson, Esq., procured the passage of a statute in May last, making it a penal offence to establish any school for the instruction of colored persons not inhabitants of the State, or to instruct or board or harbor such persons coming into the State for the purpose of being instructed.

Miss Crandall, believing this law to be unconstitutional, as a violation of that clause of the constitution which gives the citizens of each state all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States, did not hesitate in the course which she ought to adopt, but persevered in continuing her school.

She was, in consequence, arrested for a violation of the law, carried before a justice of the peace, by whom she was committed to jail, to take her trial at the next session of the County Court. She was there confined in the same room which the murderer Watkins had occupied during the last days of his life.* She was, however, only confined for one day, as bail was given

* There has been some dispute upon this subject. If our memory does not deceive us, Miss Crandall's friends having published that she had been confined in the same cell which Watkins had occupied, they were loudly accused of falsehood and misrepresentation. The fact, however, is as stated in the text, but it seems the persecutors of Miss Crandall think the apartment ought not to be called a cell. We confess ourselves unable to decide whether the room should be called a cell or not, but are ready to grant that the term is inappropriate, if that admission has any tendency to illustrate the humanity of her enemies.

for her the day after she was committed. At the ensuing session of the Court she was tried, but the jury did not agree.

She has since been indicted and convicted for a violation of the black law of Connecticut. And she and her younger sister have since been prosecuted for a further violation of the same law. From the judgment against her, she has appealed to a higher court. If the decision of the highest tribunal of the State should be finally against her, it is intended to carry the constitutional question before the Supreme Court of the United States. Whether free people of color are entitled to the protection of the constitution as citizens, is one of the most interesting and important questions, that has ever been agitated in the courts of law in our country, involving in its decision directly, the rights of three hundred thousand free people of color, and indirectly of more than two millions of slaves. That free people of color, born in the country, are citizens, would seem to us to admit of no dispute, had it not been doubted by respectable lawyers and judges in Connecticut.

In addition to the sufferings to which Miss Crandall has been exposed by these repeated prosecutions, she and her pupils have been subjected to numerous insults, injuries, and indignities from the petty malice of her neighbors. Her character has been traduced. Her property has been attacked and injured, her fences defaced, and her well filled up. She and her pupils have been denied admittance into the neighboring meeting house to attend public worship. For a time, all the traders in the place refused to sell any thing to her, so that she was compelled to send to a considerable distance for her necessary supplies. In short, every thing has been done to render the lives of herself and the inmates of her house uncomfortable.

Under all these disheartening circumstances, this lady has conducted herself with exemplary meekness, discretion, and fortitude. She has felt herself called on by Providence, to maintain the rights of the free people of color, and for this cause she has submitted unshrinkingly to the exposure of a public trial, imprisonment in a common jail, and all the other painful afflictions to which the malice of her enemies has exposed her.

The persecution of this lady, distressing as it must have been to herself and her friends, we regard as highly auspicious to the colored race. It has aided in bringing her school into notice. We are happy to state that this establishment is now in a very flourishing condition. She has, we are informed, about thirty pupils. This rapid success is probably to be ascribed in some degree to the persecution under which she has suffered. But this is not its only good effect. The infuriated proceedings of Canterbury, and of the legislature of Connecticut, have roused a general feeling of indignation, which must be beneficial to the colored race. The solemn decision of the Supreme Court of the United States upon the constitutional question to be submitted to it, must also aid the same cause. And the general discussion of the rights and privileges of the people of color, and of the prejudices against them, must, if any thing can, rouse the American people to a sense of the cruelty and injustice with which they have so long treated this unfortunate race.

The last year has exhibited a rapidly increasing interest in this country in the rights of the slaves and people of color. This interest is not only proved by the number of anti-slavery societies formed, but by many other circumstances. More has probably been written and published on this subject during the last year, than in double the time at any preceding period, except perhaps during the agitation of the Missouri question. Several newspapers and periodicals, devoted entirely to the abolition of slavery and other connected topics, have been carried on during the year; besides which many journals, chiefly occupied by other matter, have entered extensively into the discussion of these subjects.*

* The following is an imperfect list of Newspapers and periodicals in the United States which advocate the cause of abolition:—*Philanthropist*, Brownsville, Pa.; *Observer*, Lowell, Mass.; *State Journal*, Montpelier, Vt.; *Anti-Masonic Enquirer*, Rochester, N. Y.; *Working-man's Press*, New-Bedford, Mass.; *Rights of Man*, Rochester, N. Y.; *Free Press*, Hallowell, Me.; *Gazette*, Haverhill, Mass.; *Friend*, Philadelphia, Pa.; *Emancipator*, New York City; *Massachusetts Spy*, Worcester, Mass.; *Unionist*, Brooklyn, Ct.; *Record*, Lynn, Mass.; *Evangelist*, New York City; *Canonsburg Luminary*, Pa.; *New-England Telegraph*, North Wrentham, Mass.; *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Washington, D. C.; *Christian Watchman*, Boston, Mass.; *Messenger*, Printer's Retreat, Indiana; *Liberator*,

In addition to this, a number of separate works on the subject, of great merit and value, have recently appeared. Among them may be mentioned Paxton's *Letters on Slavery*, Wright's *Sin of Slavery*, Whittier's *Justice and Expediency*, Mrs. Child's *Appeal*, and Mr. Child's *Speech*.^{*} Without going into any critical examination of these works, it is sufficient to say that they are admirably adapted to promote the great cause which they advocate. These works, and other valuable publications on Slavery, both British and American, have been widely circulated during the year.

Other facts might be stated in proof of the assertion, that the situation of the colored race excites an increasing attention in our country. In Lyceums, Debating Societies, and other public meetings, the comparative merits of the Anti-Slavery and Colonization schemes, and other similar questions, have been frequently brought under discussion. Nor is this all. Slavery has become a frequent topic of conversation throughout the country. In taverns, stages, and steamboats, the subject is constantly introduced. A great variety of opinions has, of course, been expressed. But the result of this increasing discussion is, that men of intelligence and virtue are almost daily becoming converts to anti-slavery opinions, or are rapidly approaching them.

The sympathy which has been exhibited towards the free people of color, for the last few years, has led them to feel a greater respect for themselves, and has excited them to great exertions to elevate their condition. Within a very short period, they have formed associations for mutual improvement in Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia, and in other places. The indications of rapid moral and intellectual advancement among this class of our fellow-citizens are numerous and encouraging.

Boston, Mass.; Palladium, Bethania, Pa.; Freeman, Greenfield, Mass.; Reporter, Watertown, N. Y.; Philanthropist, Providence, R. I.; Christian Secretary, Hartford, Ct.; We, the People, Plymouth, Mass.

^{*} Mr. Phelps's Lectures have been published since the Report was written. The Managers cordially recommend this work, as well as those mentioned above, for general circulation.

The progress of anti-slavery principles has recently been very fully attested by the clamor raised against them at the South. Not only have their newspapers complained of Northern abolitionists, but even some of their governors have condescended to attack them.

The Managers have stated a few facts to show how fast the principles of the Society are gaining ground. Many others might have been mentioned. But enough have been adduced to prove that the whole country is gradually awakening to the evils of slavery, and the necessity of a remedy. The secret of this change lies in the truth of the doctrines held by abolitionists.

We contend that man can have no rightful property in man. From this great principle, we draw the conclusion that every slave has an immediate right to his freedom. Since he has this right, it becomes the duty of every master at once to emancipate all his slaves, and of all legislatures to make all bondmen within their jurisdiction free.

To this doctrine of immediate emancipation, many objections have been urged. It is said that though the slaves have a right to be free, yet still their masters have a valuable property in them, of which it would be cruel to deprive them. This objection is inconsistent enough. For if the slaves have a right to freedom, their masters can have no right to deprive them of it. But the right of slaves to be free is so plain, that very few, except slaveholders, ever think of blaming a slave for running away when he has an opportunity. And a person who should reproach a slave for his wickedness in running away, supposing the slave beyond the reach of his master's power, would only be laughed at.

But it is urged that it would be dangerous in the extreme to let loose two millions of ignorant and degraded men to prey upon society ; that they are incapable of enjoying freedom, and require to be kept under guardianship like children and idiots.

The objection deserves to be examined a little in detail. It evidently concedes that the slave is entitled to all the privileges of a freeman, which he can enjoy consistently with the safety of society and his own good. Does he then enjoy all these privileges ? Is he only restrained with a view to the safety of society and his own good ?

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that families should be separated in sales, parents torn from children, and wives from husbands ? No, certainly not. No one will pretend that thus to rend asunder the sacred ties of blood and affection, can render society more secure, or the slaves more happy. On the contrary, is it not evident that these cruel separations are tolerated solely from regard to the interests of slave-owners ? Is it not manifest that by violating the family relations of the slave, you take away one of the strongest pledges of his obedience ?

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that it should be lawful for them to be sent by compulsion from one part of the country to another ? Will it be pretended that you have promoted the earthly comfort of the slave, by tearing him from the home of his love in Maryland, and sending him to perish in the cultivation of the cane on the pestilential banks of the Mississippi ? Can it be said that the safety of society is promoted by such a measure, when it is notorious that these transported slaves excite the greatest apprehension in their new abodes, by their violence, plots, and insurrections ? No. The internal slave-trade in this country, which, in its principles, is as nefarious, and in its practice nearly as atrocious, as the African slave-trade, is tolerated solely because it promotes the pecuniary interests of the masters of slaves in Virginia and the other slave States.

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that they should be bought and sold at all ? No, certainly not. It may be for the pecuniary interest of the slaveholder to be able to sell his slaves. But the slaves themselves would evidently be more quiet and contented, supposing them still to continue to labor without wages, if they could be transferred only with the estates to which they belong, and could not be compelled to labor anywhere else.

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that they should be deprived of all personal rights, should be denied the right to hold property, and to maintain actions for injuries done them ? No, certainly not. At first sight, it seems that to give the slaves a secure property in their hard earnings gained by hours of extra exertion, and to allow them to appeal to the laws for redress when their persons or property were vio-

lated, would tend to make them more happy and contented. We should not suppose that they would be more dissatisfied, because their reasons for dissatisfaction were diminished.

But it is contended, and not without some show of reason, that the moment any rights are conferred on the slaves, they will begin to understand how valuable are the rights from which they are still debarred, and will never be contented till they have gained them all. We perceive the full force of the argument ; but it leads us to a conclusion directly opposite to that of those who urge it. The uneasiness of the slaves would not arise from some rights being conceded to them, but from others being denied them. We should therefore say, remove all cause of dissatisfaction, by granting them all the rights of white men.

Again, does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that they should be liable to be flogged at the arbitrary discretion of their masters and overseers ? Again, we must answer, certainly not. The slaves would undoubtedly be much better satisfied, if they could only be punished by the order of a magistrate, after the hearing of the complaints against them. Perhaps it may be said, that if slaves could only be punished in this way, they would become indolent from not having the fear of a prompt application of the lash constantly before them. We are not prepared to admit that this would be the case, if all punishments were taken from the hands of the master ; but admit that it would be, it only shows that the pecuniary interests of the master would suffer from the change of system, not that society would be endangered by the excesses of the negroes, or that they themselves would be less contented.

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that they should be compelled to labor without wages ? It cannot be pretended that the community would be unfavorably affected by having the negroes paid for their labor, except so far as it might make labor more expensive. But it seems obvious that a change of this kind would render the slaves more satisfied with their situation, and less likely to violate the peace of the community.

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that to teach them to read and write should be made penal of-

fences ? No. It is not kindness to the slaves, it is not the safety of society, but love of slave property, and the safety of the slave system, which dictate the laws for this purpose.

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that their offences should be punished with far greater severity, than the same acts when committed by white persons ?—

But it is needless to pursue these inquiries. It would be easy to examine every part of the existing system of slavery in the same manner. What has been already said, however, is sufficient to show that the objections against each particular change are not, in truth, that such a change would endanger the peace of society, or prove really injurious to the slave himself, but that it might occasion a pecuniary loss to slave owners, or help to undermine the whole system. It must be obvious that the cruel laws and the oppressive practices engendered by slavery, are defended not from any tender regard for the slave, but from a determination of slaveholders not to suffer their property to be impaired. The whole system, so far from being intended to protect the slave, is constructed for the manifest purpose of perpetuating itself, and maintaining the privileges of slave owners, regardless of the rights and feelings of their unfortunate victims.

Let the advocates of slavery point out any important parts of their laws, which are made with a single eye to the good of the slaves ; show the benevolent statutes which consider these ignorant and helpless men as wards under the guardianship of kind friends. It is a base and heartless mockery of the names of justice and benevolence, to claim their countenance for Southern oppression. It is monstrous to contend, as slaveholders do, that because the slaves are not fit to enjoy all the privileges of enlightened and intelligent freemen, therefore, their bloody statutes and atrocious cruelties are justified. Can any one doubt, for a moment, that if the majority of southern planters had a sincere desire of making their slaves free, they could accomplish the work without any danger ?

But it is urged that notwithstanding no objection may be apparent to some particular changes in the system of slavery, yet if the whole system should be overthrown at once, terrible dis-

asters would inevitably ensue—the slaves, freed from their present restraints and having no new ones in their place, would run riot, refuse to labor, and subsist by plundering the peaceable citizens. Let us admit this objection in its full force, and what is the conclusion ? that injustice, cruelty, and oppression, are to be tolerated and fostered forever, because their abandonment may produce temporary evils ?

Perhaps we have paid the arguments of slaveholders more attention than they really merit ; for any one, who considers the subject of emancipation candidly, must, we think, be satisfied that our opponents, like other men who are defending themselves against charges which they are ashamed of, put forth not the reasons which really influence their conduct, but those which seem to them most likely to strike their antagonists. Thus, while slaveholders defend their perseverance in the present system on the ground of humanity, and the fear of creating disturbance by a change, the animating motive to their conduct is, with most of them, a sense of their own interest.

When abolitionists call for immediate emancipation, they do not mean that legislation should at once abandon all caution and discretion in carrying the measure into effect. They are far from denying that any restraints may be imposed upon the newly emancipated slaves, which their own good or the safety of society may require. They are contending for a great principle, namely, that colored men have equal natural rights with white men. They would applaud any Southern State, which conscientiously regulated its laws by this principle, even if it accompanied the gift of liberty with temporary restrictions which they could not approve.

It is not to be disputed that when a large number of persons are enfranchised at once, new and peculiar legislation would be required by the emergency. Under such circumstances, a strict police, and prompt and efficient modes of compelling able bodied vagrants to work, would probably be necessary. It might also be advisable to exclude ignorant blacks from the elective franchise. Any disabilities, however, peculiar to people of color, should be temporary. Indeed, there seems great reason for thinking that though the new laws would, from their character,

apply chiefly to people of color, yet the laws themselves should make no distinction between the white and colored races. Thus, instead of enacting that no colored person should be allowed to vote, who could not read and write, it would be well to provide that no person should be allowed to vote, who could not read and write. So, instead of empowering magistrates under certain circumstances to compel able bodied colored vagrants to labor, it would be well to give magistrates this power over all vagrants. By this sort of legislation, while society would be protected against the misconduct of the newly emancipated slaves, the laws would not regard them as a distinct and degraded caste—every colored man would be, in the eye of the law, equal to a white man.

Though this is not the place to enter into the details of legislative plans, it ought never to be forgotten, that emancipation would be a very imperfect measure, if provision were not at the same time made for the intellectual, moral, and religious education of newly emancipated slaves.

The opposers of slavery are not so unreasonable as to suppose that its abolition is to work a miracle, and prevent the evils which inevitably spring from ignorance and degradation. The southern States cannot by any legislation escape entirely the visitation of calamities, which the oppression of a great part of their population is calculated to produce. But by a change of system, they may avoid the greatest evils which now impend over them—they may preserve themselves from insurrection and bloodshed, and by a general diffusion of education through every part of society, may, in the course of years, enjoy the blessing of being filled with industrious, enlightened, and moral freemen.

Some of our friends say, Why insist on immediate emancipation? Leave out that word, and many would join your ranks, who now consider you visionary enthusiasts. But take away that word, and you take out the soul of our cause. You deprive it of its moral life and energy. If, as it has already been remarked, to hold slaves be a sin—to emancipate them immediately is a duty. If we admit that it is right to emancipate slaves gradually, we admit that to hold them for a time in their present state is not sinful.

We say that their natural rights are violated when they are made property, subjected to the arbitrary will of others, and made to work without wages, and we must claim for them immediate emancipation, until we shall see clearly that the safety of society and the good of the slaves can only be established by continuing their fetters. We say to the advocates of slavery, it is not sufficient for you to assert, in general terms, that emancipation would destroy the south and injure the negroes ; but you must prove it clearly, fully, and beyond doubt, before you have made out your case. The humanity of our law will not allow an individual to be put under guardianship on the ground of insanity, without giving him an opportunity of being heard, and every presumption is in favor of his competency to act for himself. And yet the friends of slavery would condemn two millions of persons and their descendants to abject servitude, on the bare suggestion of their incompetency to take care of themselves,—a suggestion which all history contradicts.

We entreat the friends of human rights, for we cannot here enter into a detail of facts which would fill a volume—we intreat them to examine carefully the history of the abolition of slavery wherever it has taken place, in our Northern States, in Mexico, in Hayti, and we are satisfied that the more thoroughly they examine the facts, the more will they be convinced of the safety of immediate emancipation.

The argument which is most frequently and seriously urged against all attacks upon slavery from this quarter, is, that the citizens of the Northern States have no right to interfere with the Southern States—that slavery is their business—and no concern of ours.

This argument deserves a passing notice—not from its intrinsic difficulty, but from the warmth and confidence with which it is advanced, and the influence which it apparently has upon the minds of many conscientious persons.

The position which abolitionists in this country assume is not generally understood. They claim for the United States government the power of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, and the Territories, and of putting an end to the slave-trade between the States, as rights clearly vested in the govern-

ment by the Constitution.* But they have never asserted or intimated, it is believed, that Congress had any power to abolish slavery in the Southern States, or to legislate respecting their slaves, except in regard to the slave-trade carried on between the States.

They do, however, claim the right to express their opinions on the subject of slavery in the Southern States, freely and openly, and to address to slaveholders every fair argument in regard to it, which they think calculated to produce in them a change of principles and practice. They claim the right to remonstrate and expostulate with slaveholders on their conduct, and to declare the criminality of owning or dealing in human flesh and blood.

This right of attempting to exert a moral influence upon our southern brethren, is claimed by abolitionists on many grounds. They are freemen, and the freedom of the press is guaranteed to them by the constitution ; and they consider the subject of slavery no more beyond the limits of legitimate discussion, than any other topic of legislation or morals. This right they would claim, even if the Southern States were occupied by foreign nations. They think there is no impropriety in discussing the law of primogeniture, or the benefit of a reformed parliament in

* The Constitution gives Congress the power 'to exercise exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever, over such district, (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States.' The jurisdiction of Congress over the District of Columbia, which was obtained for the seat of government under this provision, does not admit of dispute.

Congress has also power by the constitution, 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States.' The slave-trade carried on between the States, evidently falls within this provision. It is under this provision that Congress had power to prohibit the foreign slave-trade. The constitution in the next section declares that 'the migration or importation of such persons, as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Congress, prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight ; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.' This is a declaration of the constitution that, without this exception, Congress under the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, would have had an immediate right to abolish the foreign slave-trade. The right to abolish the slave-trade between the States follows as clearly from the power to regulate commerce among the States.

The power of Congress over the territories is given in explicit language by the 3d Section of the third Article of the Constitution.

England. May they not discuss similar questions in relation to their own country ?

But many considerations occur which render exertions to put down slavery at the South by moral means, not merely a right, but a duty. The Northern States suffer directly from the existence of slavery at the South. The institution is the perpetual source of jealousy and irritation between the two sections of the country. No true harmony can subsist between them as long as it exists. If the Union is divided, slavery will be the cause of the rupture. The moral sensibility of the people of the North is constantly shocked by seeing runaway slaves, who have entered on their territories, carried back to the South : it would be still more wounded should they be called on to march to the South to quell an insurrection of the slaves, as they are liable to be under the Constitution. Besides all this, the moral principles of a large part of the citizens of the North in regard to slavery, are corrupted and impaired by the contagion of Southern example. Too many at the North apologize for slaveholding, forgetting that it is a sin, in language current at the South. Has not every one here a right to attempt to reform the morals of his fellow citizens ?

Not only is slavery at the South sustained by the moral influence of the North, but the riches of the North are the greatest supports of the system. When we consume the cotton, the tobacco, and the rice of the South, are we not contributing to maintain slavery ? If we and others did not purchase the productions of the planters, would they continue to raise them ? It is true, they sell a part of their productions to foreign nations, but as far as we purchase them, we support the slave system. The slave who cultivates the cotton which we wear, or the rice which we eat, works for us as really, as if we were his owners or overseers, and drove him to his daily toil.

It is not necessary, in this place, to adduce all the particular reasons which justify the exertions making to extend at the North, correct opinions in regard to slavery. The society justifies them on the broad ground of a common humanity. In whatever part of the globe we see men suffering from poverty, ignorance, or oppression, they are entitled to our sympathy and compassion,

and our duty to assist in improving their condition, is only limited by our means of usefulness.

Great good, it is believed, may be effected in the Southern States by the exertions of this and kindred Societies. It is therefore a duty to continue these exertions. A strong hostility to slavery is already growing up in some of the Southern States, among a large part of the white population. It would be increased by a powerful expression of opinion on the subject from the North. Nay, it is believed that if the great mass of the population at the North were to adopt Christian principles on the subject of slavery, and to assert them boldly, it would strike the fetters from the slaves as certainly, as if the Northern States had the power of legislating for the South. In a country like ours, enjoying throughout a common language, and frequent and rapid means of communication, moral principles spread like other opinions. Slavery exists at the South, because the North has adopted the low standard of Southern morality on the subject. Let the North correct its opinions, and the reform must extend to the South. We do great injustice to our Southern brethren, if we suppose that they will all be obstinately deaf to the appeals of justice and humanity. The consciences of many of them may be roused and their principles corrected, if a loud voice from the North should direct their attention to the subject of slavery. We do injustice to our religion in doubting its power, to convince men of the iniquity of holding their fellow men in bondage.

Suppose that the opinions of the Northern States should be changed, and that all the members of Congress from the Northern States, following the people, should be convinced that slaveholding is a sin, and that the slaves have a right to immediate freedom, and should express these convictions with the frequency and earnestness which would be almost unavoidable in such a case, could slavery, under these circumstances, continue for many years in the Southern States ?

It is, however, insisted that the measures of anti-slavery societies tend to produce disaffection and insurrections among the slaves. No one who has fairly examined the publications of these associations in this country will pretend that they have any

design to excite the slaves to outrage and violence : the utmost that can be charged against them is, that their course has a tendency to produce this effect.

It is not necessary to deny that the exertions of anti-slavery societies may have, in some degree, the tendency which is ascribed to them, and yet when the nature and amount of this tendency is considered, the objection deserves little attention.

Astronomy teaches us that every particle of matter in creation attracts every other particle. If we should assert that the fixed star Sirius not only tended, but did in fact, affect the motion of the earth in its orbit, no philosopher probably would dispute the truth of the assertion ; but yet this effect is so slight and inappreciable as never to be taken into account in astronomical calculations. So it is with anti-slavery movements, though their tendency to excite servile insurrections may be indisputable, yet this tendency is so unimportant that it ought to be entirely disregarded by any one who wishes to ascertain the efficient causes of the undeniable disaffection of the slave population.

Every thing that the slave sees or hears which leads him to compare his condition with that of a freeman, or to reflect upon his wrongs and sufferings, every thing which fans for a moment in his bosom the love of liberty, a flame which is never extinguished, has a tendency to excite disaffection and revolt. The very names of liberty and freedom, a statue of Washington, a fourth of July celebration, a history of the revolution, an account of the free schools of New England, the Bible—nay, the very west wind which braces his limbs, and invigorates his body,—may any one of them serve as a spark to kindle an unquenchable conflagration. But these good things are not to be blamed as the great causes of the mischief. No. It is in vain to deny it, the chief, the only important cause of the slaves violating the peace of society, is the oppression under which they are groaning. Plots and insurrections are its natural and inevitable results. They have frequently taken place in this country before anti-slavery Societies were formed, and they will still continue to take place until slavery is abolished, whether the subject is discussed at the North or not. It is most unjust to accuse anti-slavery Societies of being the causes of evils, which they merely

predict ; and endeavor to conceal the true causes—injustice and oppression.

The publications of these Societies are branded as incendiary, but publications which are ten-fold more inflammatory are freely circulated in the Southern States, with the approbation of their governments. If it is thought that pamphlets and newspapers in which slavery is attacked, on being read by slaves, (very few of whom, by the way, can read,) would excite them against their masters, one would suppose that the slave codes of Virginia and South Carolina, written, as they are, in blood, would drive them to acts of frenzy and desperation.

The Managers might say much more in vindication of the measures and principles of the Society, but to embrace every thing which the subject demands, would require volumes. They again congratulate their friends on the auspicious situation of the great cause in which they are engaged. They may be sure that Heaven smiles upon it, and that no exertion to promote it will be lost. The final success of truth and justice is certain. Every one who will devote himself to the object, can do something to promote its more speedy accomplishment.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

New-England Anti-Slavery Society in account with James C. Odiorne, Treasurer.

1833.	<i>Dr.</i>	
April.	To cash paid W. L. Garrison, for expenses in part of his mission to England	\$380,00
Oct.	Cash paid sundry Agents	904,80
	Cash paid for printing	454,00
	Paid for use of Halls for public meetings	106,25
	Incidental expenses	47,57
Dec.	Balance on hand	266,21
		<u>\$2158,83.</u>

1833.	<i>Cr.</i>	
Jan.	By balance of last year's account	\$ 9,24
	Annual assessments from members	164,00
	Cash received to constitute Life Members	240,00
Feb.	Cash received of John Kenrick, Esq. towards Manual Labor School fund	250,00
Dec.	Cash collected by Agents	496,00
	Maine Anti-Slavery Society	100,00
	Other Anti-Slavery Societies	59,86
	Contributed at public meetings	107,61
	Publications sold	17,50
	Sundry small donations	304,62
	Amount of a loan to the Society	410,00
		<u>\$2158,83</u>

JAMES C. ORDIORNE, *Treasurer.*

Boston, January 14, 1834.

BOSTON, JANUARY 15, 1834.

I certify that I have examined the above account, and find it correct and properly vouched.

JOHN S. WILLIAMS, *Auditor.*

APPENDIX.

MISSION TO ENGLAND.

Extracts from Mr. Garrison's Report to the Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

IN obedience to a resolution of the Board of Managers, passed March 7, 1833, I left New York in the packet ship *Hibernia*, Capt. Wilson, on the 1st of May ensuing; for Liverpool, and arrived at the latter port on the 22d of the same month.

Two great objects were embraced in the mission—first, the obtainment of funds for the establishment of a Manual Labor School for Colored Youth—and, secondly, an exposure of the real character of the American Colonization Society to the people of England. An incidental object was to gain the acquaintance and secure the correspondence of the leading philanthropists of that country, and to accumulate such anti-slavery periodicals and tracts as had been instrumentally blessed to the advancement of the great cause of human rights. Each of these objects was deemed of sufficient importance to authorize the mission; but, owing to the limited means of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, my private instructions from the Board forbade a protracted visit, unless I were successful in procuring funds for the School, or unless circumstances scarcely anticipated should seem to require delay.

The subject of the mission was agitated by the Board as early as November, 1832. Aware of their desire that I should appear as their representative in England, it was not until after the most extensive consultation among the friends of emancipation—the strictest personal examination—the most enlarged survey of the whole ground of duty—and the most earnest supplications for Divine guidance—that I felt willing to acquiesce in their decision. From the first moment that the enterprise was projected, it appeared to me not only desirable but imperative. A clear acquittal of the anti-slavery party in this country from blame, and a prompt discharge of duty toward that party in England, evidently demanded just such a mission. An agent of the American Colonization Society had been travelling nearly three years in its behalf, and by his misrepresentations had extensively succeeded in making the British public believe that its primary object was the emancipation of all the slaves in the United States. Hailing

it, therefore, as a grand ABOLITION SOCIETY, they had liberally contributed to its funds, and given its advocate the right hand of fellowship. To have permitted this deception to prevail, without making strenuous efforts to remove it, would have been a base connivance at dishonesty. Epistolary correspondence would not answer. The urgency of the case was such as to require something more than apocryphal and private testimony. A living agent, speaking by authority and clothed with official power, was needed to insure the triumph of TRUTH and HONESTY OVER FALSEHOOD and FRAUD.

But, although I was persuaded of the necessity of the mission, I came very slowly, nay, reluctantly to the conclusion, that it was my duty to embark for England and engage in this sacred strife. The task was a mighty one, and painfully and unfeignedly did I feel my incompetency to meet it. It was unpleasant, moreover, to engage in a contest which must assume, positively and unavoidably, an invidious and personal aspect. Humble as was the post which I filled, the thought of even a temporary abandonment of it filled me with disquietude. I desired to remain in the battle-field at home, where the peril was imminent, where blows fell fast, where personal exertions were so much needed, and where the movements of the enemy could be readily perceived and counteracted. But other considerations arose to outweigh these:—Either I must go, or the mission must be abandoned at least for a time, because no other person could be found willing to assume its responsibilities. Occurrences had conspired to identify me with the anti-slavery cause in the United States, and, consequently, my name and exertions had become more familiar to the leading abolitionists in England, than perhaps those of any other individual: this was a desirable and signal advantage. Moreover, no one was better acquainted with the principles, or had more narrowly watched the tendencies of the American Colonization Society, than myself; and as it was not a brilliant display of talent, but a simple exhibition of truth, which the mission exacted, I felt reconciled to a separation from my friends in the discharge of a high and solemn trust.

I have made these explanatory remarks, because justice to the Board and to myself seems to require them as proofs of the caution, deliberation, and wisdom, with which the mission was undertaken.

In a Report like the present, it will be difficult to shun the appearance of personal hostility and personal egotism. References to Mr. Elliott Cresson (the agent of the American Colonization Society) and myself must be frequent, but they shall be as dispassionate and unostentatious as practicable.

Agreeably to my instructions, on landing at Liverpool I called at the hospitable dwelling of JAMES CROPPER,—the distinguished friend of the human race,—but failed to see him, as he was then in London. His sons, however, received me with great cordiality, by whom I was introduced to several worthy friends of both sexes, all of whom hailed my visit as singularly providential. Having tarried in Liverpool three or four days, by their

advice I hastened to 'the capital city of mankind,' in order to lay my credentials before the Anti-Slavery Society, and to secure its advice and co-operation.

Before I proceed to state my reception in London, I wish to indulge in a brief but delightful episode.

Travellers have told us that in England, (and so throughout Europe,) the malignant prejudices which reign in this country against persons of a colored or black complexion, do not exist; or, if cherished at all, they are scarcely perceptible and practically inert. This assertion has never been denied, except by such of our countrymen as have remained always at home, and who, filled with these prejudices and deeming them incurable, are democratically and religiously persuaded that white men and black men never can and never ought to live together on terms of equality. For myself, I had three good reasons for believing the report; and these were drawn from our oppression of our colored population, and their consequent debasement and servitude. First; the wonderful variety of shades which were observable in the complexions of that population proved that there was no mutual repugnance to *color* between the white and sable races: the amalgamation was voluntary and reciprocal. Second; every day brought me indubitable evidence that black people became offensive only as they became enlightened and independent: if they were servants or slaves, they found no difficulty in procuring seats in stage coaches, or in freely mingling with the passengers on board of steam-boats, or in serving at the tables of the fastidious and opulent. Persons seldom thought of disliking their complexion, or quarrelling with their presence, under such circumstances. But whenever they appeared in a handsome garb, in a dignified mien, as intelligent and wealthy citizens, they invariably excited the ridicule of their white contemners, and were rudely thrust out from all the conveniences and privileges of society; the pretence for such treatment being found in their color. Third; as the African race had not been subjected to slavery in Europe, and as 'men naturally hate those whom they have injured,' I was not surprised to learn that colored persons were treated with as much courtesy in England, France, Spain, &c. &c. as the white inhabitants; any more than I am to perceive the haughty disdain with which they are treated by those in this land whose republicanism and christianity permit them to defraud and brutalize millions of these sable victims with impunity.

Still, powerful as are well-authenticated facts, their impression deepens upon the mind by a visible exemplification to the eye. Hence, although I was prepared, on my arrival in England, to see colored men on terms of equality with the whites, yet the novelty of the spectacle called up involuntary surprise, as well as pleasurable emotion.

On attending public worship in the Rev. Dr. Raffles' church, I was politely conducted to an eligible seat in the broad aisle. In a few moments afterward, by a singular, and certainly to me a very agreeable coincidence,

a colored man was bowed into the same pew with as much courtesy as I had been : next came a fashionably dressed lady and gentleman, and soon the pew was completely occupied. Ah ! thought I, what an anomaly is this ! how it would disturb and annoy a religious congregation in republican America !—But here I perceive no repugnance, no hostility, no pushing into a remote corner, persons of a sable complexion. Have the people in England no eyes ? Can they not discriminate between white and black ? Why do they not shrink from a juxta-position like this ? Where is that aristocratic refinement and despotic taste, of which the democracy of my native country vaunts itself ? Are they not aware that ‘causes exist, and are operating, to prevent the improvement and elevation’ of black men, to any considerable extent, as a class, in England,—‘causes which are fixed, not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, but of any human power ?’ Do they not know that ‘Christianity cannot do for them here, what it will do for them in Africa ?’—that this is ‘an ordination of Providence, no more to be changed than the laws of Nature ?’ Thanks be to God, such barbarity finds no place in the hearts, such impiety dwells not on the lips, of this truly great and noble people. The black man has never been enslaved in England, and therefore the prejudice which arises, not from the color of the skin, but from the degradation of its victim, is not known. The services of the sanctuary seemed to acquire new interest—the spirit of the gospel to excel in amiability—and my soul to derive new strength. Here was demonstrative proof that no change of the skin, but only an end of slavery, is necessary to make the people of color in the United States respectable and happy.

Before I pass from this topic, I will anticipate the regular occurrence of similar incidents, by stating that in travelling in various parts of the kingdom, I found that colored persons were as readily admitted into the coaches as white persons ;—I met them in circles of refinement and gentility—at the tables of opulent and reputable individuals—on the platform in public meetings with the peers of the realm—as spectators in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords—arm-in-arm with gentlemen in the streets, &c. &c. Nay, while I was in London, a colored American (the Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL) was united in wedlock to a white lady of respectability, talent and piety. What an uproar such an occurrence would create in this country !—Even in Massachusetts, the marriage would by law be null and void, and the clergymen performing it would be fined £50 !

Indeed, so far from prejudice against a colored complexion abounding in England, I often found it extremely difficult to make our trans-atlantic brethren credit my statements, respecting the persecution to which the colored people were subjected in the United States, on account of their color. It seemed, by the surprise and incredulity which they manifested in their countenances, as if they suspected me of indulging in playful exaggeration, or of exploring the whole extent of their credulousness. All such statements were perfectly astounding and inexplicable to them, be-

cause they saw nothing, even remotely, to confirm them in England. When I told them that in the United States, even in those parts where actual slavery does not exist, and where learning, intelligence and piety stand pre-eminent, a black man is not permitted to occupy a pew on the floor of a meeting-house, or to travel in a coach, or to enjoy any cabin privileges in a steam-boat; astonished, they would inquire, '*Why?*' My answer invariably was—'Because he is a *black* man.' This I thought would solve the enigma, but it seemed only to add to their perplexity; for they would with great simplicity ask, 'What of that?' Truly, it is no good reason whatever; and I was happy to confess it, and to unite with them in deploring and execrating that brutal prejudice which is so diametrically opposed to brotherly love, and to all the injunctions of our holy religion. But that love and that religion shall yet conquer it, not only in this country, but throughout the world!

Having spent four days in Liverpool, in a manner so agreeable as to make me deeply regret my inability to return to it again, I took a seat in one of the rail-road cars, and was almost too impetuously conveyed to Manchester. Tarrying only a few hours in that dense and bustling city, I went from thence in a coach directly to London, and soon had the happiness of surveying that august abode of the congregated humanity of the world.*

As in duty bound, both by my instructions and my obligations of gratitude, I immediately called upon JAMES CROPPER, in Finsbury Circus, at whose hands I experienced the utmost hospitality and kindness, and from whose lips I received congratulations upon my arrival at the very crisis of the anti-slavery cause in England. He informed me that a large number of delegates, from various anti-slavery societies in the kingdom, were then in London, vigilantly watching the progress of the Abolition Bill through Parliament; that they took breakfast together every morning at the Guildhall Coffee House, and from thence adjourned to the anti-slavery rooms at No. 18, Aldermanbury, for the purpose of devising plans and discussing propositions for the accomplishment of their grand design; and that if I would attend, he would give me a general introduction.

My heart was full of gratitude to him for his kindness, and to God for ordering events in a manner so highly auspicious.

Accordingly, I was prompt in my attendance at the Coffee House the next morning. About sixty delegates were present, most of whom were members of the Society of Friends.† After the reading of a portion of

* As my object, in this Report, is to give as concise an account of my mission as will serve to develop its most important features, I shall purposely avoid all descriptions of the country, the habits of the people, &c. &c.

† It is remarkable that while the Friends in England have been the courageous pioneers, the undaunted standard-bearers, in the anti-slavery conflict, and have liberally expended their wealth, and given their time and talents, to achieve a victory more splendid than any yet recorded in the pages of history, those in this country, as a body, seem to have degenerated from their parent-stock, to have measurably lost their primitive spirit on the subject of slavery, and to have become ensnared by wicked prejudices, and by a cruel scheme to banish our colored population from their native to a foreign and barbarous land. There are many noble exceptions to this remark; and I am confident that ere long, the example of the Friends in England will stimulate the great mass of those who reside in this country to 'go and do likewise.'

the Scriptures, breakfast was served up, at the close of which Mr. Cropper rose and begged leave to introduce to the company, William Lloyd Garrison, the Agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, from America. He then briefly stated the object of my mission, and expressed a hope that I would be permitted, at a suitable opportunity, to lay my purposes more fully before them. This request was afterwards readily granted. They individually gave me a generous welcome, and evinced a deep interest to learn the state of public opinion in the United States, in relation to the subject of slavery and the merits of the American Colonization Society.

Having ascertained that Mr. Elliott Cresson, the Agent of that Society, was in London, I addressed the following letter to him :

'To Mr. Elliott Cresson, Agent of the American Colonization Society.

SIR—I affirm that the American Colonization Society, of which you are an Agent, is utterly corrupt and proscriptive in its principles; that its tendency is to embarrass the freedom and diminish the happiness of the colored population of the United States; and, consequently, that you are abusing the confidence and generosity of the philanthropists of Great Britain. As an American citizen, and the accredited Agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, I invite you to meet me in public debate in this city, to discuss the following

PROPOSITIONS.

1. The American Colonization Society was conceived, perfected, and is principally managed by those who retain a portion of their own countrymen as slaves and property.

2. Its avowed and exclusive object is, the colonization of the *free* people of color, in Africa, or *some other place*.

3. It is the active, inveterate, uncompromising enemy of immediate abolition, and deprecates the liberation of the slaves, except on condition of their being simultaneously transported to Africa.

4. It maintains that possessors of slaves, in the southern States, are not such from *choice* but *necessity*; and that, of course, they are not, under present circumstances, blameworthy for holding millions of human beings in servile bondage.

5. Its tendency is, to increase the value of the slaves, to confirm the power of the oppressors, and to injure the free colored population, by whom it is held in abhorrence, wherever they possess liberty of speech and the means of intelligence.

6. It is influenced by fear, selfishness, and prejudice, and neither calls for any change of conduct on the part of the nation, nor has in itself any principle of reform.

7. Its mode of civilizing and christianizing Africa is preposterous and cruel, and calculated rather to retard than promote the moral and spiritual improvement of her benighted children.

These charges, Sir, are grave and vital. I dare you to attempt their refutation. Let them be taken up in their present order, and each discussed and decided upon separately. And may God prosper the right!

Yours, &c.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

18, *Addle-street, Aldermanbury*, June 4, 1833.'

It will be perceived that I made the strongest allegations against the Society, and, therefore, that if they were in the least degree untrue, they would completely ensure my defeat, and give Mr. Cresson the victory.

Here let me premise two things:

1st. Nothing but the official authority with which he was clothed, elevated him to the level of my notice. . Aside from his connexion with the Society which he represented, no independent position assumed by him could have attracted my attention, or challenged my resistance.

2d. As he had pre-occupied the ground in England nearly three years, and made his statements *ex parte*, I was not strictly obligated to invite him to a public debate ; but I chose to do so, in order to epitomize the controversy, as I felt confident that he would advance my objects faster than I could myself.

To prevent any miscarriage of my letter, I entrusted it to my esteemed friend Mr. JOSEPH PHILLIPS, by whom it was presented to Mr. Cresson, who, in the most offensive manner, refused to receive it from Mr. Phillips. It was then tendered to him by Mr. WILLIAM HORSENAIL, of Dover, but he declined taking it, stating that arrangements had been made with Dr. HODGKIN and JOSEPH T. PRICE for an interview with me. Afterwards, it was presented a third time by Mr. JEREMIAH BARRETT, and again rejected. Mr. Cresson was finally induced to receive it from the hands of Mr. Phillips, in the presence of Messrs. J. T. Price and Emanuel Cooper. His answer to it was as follows :

‘Elliott Cresson wishes W. L. Garrison informed, in reply to his letter of the 4th, and note of to-day, that having agreed to follow the course which J. T. Price and Dr. Hodgkin should recommend, as to a private or public discussion of the merits of the American Colonization Society, with reference to slavery in the U. S. and the slave trade in Africa—E. C. awaits their recommendation for the government of his conduct on the occasion. 6 mo. 6, 1833.’

On the receipt of the above note, I immediately addressed the following to the gentlemen selected by Mr. Cresson to save him from a public overthrow :

‘London, June 7, 1833.

Messrs. Price and Hodgkin :

Gentlemen—I have received, this morning, a note from Mr. Elliott Cresson, acknowledging the receipt of my letter to him of the 4th instant ; in which he informs me ‘that having agreed to follow the course which J. T. Price and Dr. Hodgkin should recommend as to a private or public discussion of the merits of the American Colonization Society, with reference to slavery in the United States and the slave trade in Africa, E. C. awaits their recommendation for the government of his conduct on the occasion.’

I wait to learn the course, which you may recommend Mr. Cresson to adopt, as to my proposition to him for a public discussion. An answer this day, as so much time has already elapsed in this negociation, will much oblige

Yours, respectfully,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.’

A copy of the following letter was sent to Mr. Cresson and myself—

‘Guy’s Hospital, 2 o’clock, 7 of 6 mo. 1833.

To Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Elliott Cresson :

In reply to your notes to us, we recommend, that with a view to the advantage of you both, and to the cause of humanity, an interview between

you, in the presence of a few friends impartially chosen, would be desirable in the *first* instance—open to a more public discussion, should it *then* be deemed proper; but that this need not impede either of you from taking your own measures for giving publicity to your views as to the best mode of assisting the blacks.

We are your friends,

THOMAS HODGKIN,
JOSEPH T. PRICE.'

I rejected this proposal for a private interview with Mr. Cresson, for two reasons—first, I saw it was a mere *ruse* on the part of Mr. C. and his friend Dr. Hodgkin, to obviate the necessity of a public meeting; and secondly, my business was exclusively with the British people, and with Mr. Cresson in his public capacity as the Agent of the American Colonization Society.

Having thus fairly and earnestly invited Mr. Cresson, by letter, to defend the Society which he represented, and finding that he shrunk from the offer, I addressed a letter to him in the *London Times*, repeating the challenge; but he was too pusillanimous, or too wary, to accept of it.

On Monday and Tuesday evenings, June 10th and 11th, I gave two public lectures, explanatory of the principles and tendencies of the American Colonization Society, in the Rev. Mr. Price's Chapel in Devonshire Square, Bishopsgate-street, the use of which was generously granted to me without any charge. JAMES CROPPER, Esq. took the chair. The audience was select and most respectable. Mr. Cresson, with a few friends, was in attendance at the first lecture. On my accusing him of having misrepresented the object of the Society, in asserting that it aimed at the abolition of slavery—

'Mr. James Cropper, the Chairman, observed, that this was a grave charge to bring against a man, and as Elliott Cresson, the Agent, was present, he would call upon him to admit the charge or deny it, as he pleased. Did he ever make use of those words?

Mr. Cresson.—What words?

The Lecturer repeated them.

Mr. Cresson.—Undoubtedly it is most true, certainly.

The Chairman.—This is not a meeting for discussion; but I thought it fair that Elliott Cresson should be allowed to rebut the charge if he thought it false.

Mr. George Thompson.—I saw some placards advertising a meeting issued by Mr. Cresson, and headed, 'American Colonization Society, and the Abolition of Slavery.' (Hear, hear.)

The Lecturer here handed a pamphlet to the Chairman, who, on opening it, said—I mentioned that this meeting was not intended for a discussion between two parties; but I did wish to give the person accused—because the charges are very grave—an opportunity of saying "Yes," or "No." The introduction of this pamphlet is signed by Elliott Cresson, who states that "the great object of the Colonization Society is, the final and entire abolition of slavery, by providing for the best interests of the blacks, and establishing them on the coast of Africa," &c.

A Gentleman, who sat next to Mr. Cresson, rose and said, I think this is calculated to cause a discussion.

The Chairman.—I wish, when a charge is fairly brought against an individual, to give him an opportunity of denying it, if he can. (Hear.) We want discussion; we are anxious for discussion; because we believe until that Society is put down, there will be no progress made towards the abolition of slavery in the United States. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, if Elliott Cresson wishes for discussion, we will have a meeting for that purpose, and we will hear what he has to say. (Hear.)’*

It was very proper, on the part of my esteemed friend, Mr. CROPPER, to give Mr. CRESSON an opportunity to deny the truth of my assertion, if he could. The following extract from Mr. Cresson’s Introduction to the report of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, for 1831, which was widely circulated in England, will show how grossly he attempted to impose upon the generous confidence of the British nation:

‘The great objects of that Society were, THE FINAL AND ENTIRE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, providing for the best interests of the blacks, by establishing them in independence upon the coast of Africa, thus constituting them the protectors of the unfortunate native against the inhuman ravages of the slaver, and seeking, through them, to spread the lights of civilization and christianity among the fifty millions who inhabit those dark regions.’

As the proceedings of these meetings have been minutely laid before the public, through the medium of the *Liberator*, it is deemed unnecessary to swell this Report by their insertion. I beg leave, however, to introduce a few quotations from the eloquent speeches which were delivered on that occasion by GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. and the Rev. Mr. PRICE. Mr. Thompson remarked—

‘I was one of those persons who was deceived by the accredited Agent of the American Colonization Society; for I wrote to him, and put the question frequently as to the object of that institution, and he declared to me again and again that it was abolition. (Hear.) He also calumniated Mr. Garrison to me, and gave me such an account of him, that he made me regard him as a pest of society. There is another amiable individual whose character he injured, I mean Captain Charles Stuart; but I have discovered that his description of both these excellent men is foul slander; and step by step I have been convinced that the plan is bad; that the means used to carry it into operation are dishonest; and that the supporters of the Society, in this country at least, have been deceived. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Garrison has fully demonstrated the fiend-like design of the American Colonization Society. He has shown that its object is not the civilization of Africa—not the humanization of her wild inhabitants—but the annihilation of that connecting link between the free and enslaved population of the United States, which is constituted by the free people of color, lest, happily, the electric shock of freedom should be conveyed to the two millions of their wretched slaves; and, from the condition of brutes, they should spring up into the loftiness and dignity of immortal beings. (Applause.) What is the pretext of the Colonization Society for the course it is pursuing? It is, that there exists a prejudice too strong for humanity, legislation, and religion, to overcome. And shall this doctrine be preached in England, from whose shores a Morrison went forth to grapple single-

* From the Report of the meeting in the London Patriot of June 19, 1833.

handed with the prejudices of China? Shall this doctrine be preached to the people of England, who sent forth a Henry Martyn, freighted with their prayers and their blessings, to wage war with the prejudice of India? Shall this doctrine be preached in England, who has her missionaries amongst the cannibals of New Zealand and the Caffres of South Africa? No. It may be cherished by miscreant Americans, but can never be received by a Christian-minded Briton. (Applause.) It is an impious doctrine. It is opposed to that faith which removes mountains. It defies the omnipotence of God. It libels that everlasting gospel which is to triumph over all the prejudices and superstitions of men, and all the abominations that defile the earth. If the influence which is now exerted to banish the men of color from America, were directed with equal energy, in a Christian spirit, to grapple with this prejudice, who is there who does not believe that Heaven would smile upon and bless such an effort? and, in seventeen years, instead of having to show a small colony on the coast of Africa, which, when described by its most partial friends, is contemptible in comparison with what might be achieved at home, they might point to prejudice and slavery expiring together, and call upon us to hail the dawning of a day of jubilee for two millions of slaves. (Cheers.)

The Rev. T. PRICE (an eminent Baptist clergyman of London) said—

‘It devolves upon me to state a negotiation which has been carried on, during the course of this meeting, and which I do in the presence of the gentleman who, on the part of Mr. Cresson, has conducted it, and who will correct my representation, if it be inaccurate in any point. I received, soon after I entered this place, the following communication from Mr. Cresson:—

‘Elliott Cresson presents his respects to the Rev. — Price, with his thanks for the offer made after E. C. left the chapel last evening, in order that he may be fairly and fully heard in defence of himself and the American Colonization Society. E. C. proposes the evening of the 14th inst., provided it meets the convenience of the Rev. Mr. Price.

6th mo. 11, 1833.’

I requested to see the gentleman who brought the communication, and asked, whether Mr. Cresson referred to a discussion on Friday evening, or wished to deliver a lecture by himself? I was told that he did not contemplate a discussion, but wished to deliver a lecture, as Mr. Garrison had done. I at once stated, in reply, that I could not give the loan of my place for any such purpose. I should consider that whatever influence was associated with my name, as the minister of this place, amongst my own people, would in that case have been prostituted; for I am now constrained, by overwhelming evidence, to regard the Society as a most anti-christian scheme. At the same time, I told the gentleman that the place was at the service of Mr. Cresson and Mr. Garrison, for a discussion on any evening of any day that they may fix. I inquired of the gentleman, whether Mr. Cresson could be communicated with, during the course of the lecture? He replied in the affirmative, and said that he would convey to him my opinion, and would bring back his reply. He had just returned, and has informed me that Mr. Cresson thinks it proper not to accept the offer on the terms proposed, but thinks that he ought to have it for the purpose of delivering an exposition of his own case. Now, with my present views of the Colonization Society, I could no more grant the use of this place for the delivery of a lecture advocating its interests, than I could for the publication of any other views, or the advocacy of any other system, however reprehensible it might be. I should have been happy, in past times, to have seen any discussion, in this place, between an advocate for abolition and an advocate of the West Indian system; but I would never

have given the use of the place for the delivery of a lecture by a *pro-slavery* man. On the same principle, I feel constrained to refuse its use for the delivery of a lecture by Mr. Cresson, who has declined it for a discussion. If my statement be not correct, the gentleman who has conducted the negotiation will state to the meeting any point in which I am inaccurate.

The Gentleman referred to, said the statement was perfectly correct.

The Rev. T. PRICE resumed. I think the meeting should be distinctly informed on this point, in order that there may be no misapprehension in future. Before I sit down, I would submit for your adoption a resolution. I should not do justice to my own feelings, and to the conviction of my judgment, if I did not propose something of this sort. I have admitted, with extreme reluctance, the convictions which at present possess my mind. There was a time, when I regarded the Colonization Society with feelings of admiration, and with thankfulness to God. I esteemed it as the dawn of better days for the sons of Africa. I beheld it as the germ of a system more comprehensive than itself, which should embrace not merely one portion of the American colored population, but whose ample fold should enclose all the section of the family of Africa included in the United States. Subsequent examination has served to satisfy my mind, that the system is based on an unrighteous and detestable principle, and that in its proceedings, and in the influence which it exerts upon all classes of American society, whether white, or black, or colored, it must indicate by its fruits the nature of its origin, and must add strongly to the amount of that sorrow which sin has created in our world. I formerly wrote on behalf of the Society, but I shall now feel bound to employ all my energies in opposition to it. I am sorry to observe that in the present number of the *Baptist Magazine* there has been some communication inserted from Mr. Cresson. I shall feel bound, as a member of that denomination, to put a paper in the next number, correcting, as far as I am able, its numerous misrepresentations (cheers.) The resolution which I have to propose is this:

Resolved, That this meeting, having attentively listened to the statements of Mr. Garrison, in support of his propositions, is of opinion that he has fully established their truth by evidence drawn from the Reports and other publications of the American Colonization Society; and therefore most earnestly entreats all the friends of civil and religious liberty to withhold their sanction and assistance from the said Society.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Defeated in his efforts to secure the confidence and approval of the English philanthropists, in relation to the American Colonization Society, Mr. Cresson now artfully exerted himself to organize a British Colonization Society which should co-operate, indirectly at least, with his darling association. For this purpose, he held a secret meeting with a few individuals, none of whom had ever acted with the abolition party; the result of which was, the calling of a public meeting at Freemason Tavern, over which, it was ostentatiously announced, his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex would preside. At this time, I was on a visit to Mr. WILBERFORCE, at Bath, a distance of about 100 miles from London. The following note from my watchful friend, CHARLES STUART, Esq. first apprised me that my presence was needed in the city:

‘MY DEAR GARRISON:

If engaged at all seriously, so as to render returning to town imme-

diately *unadvisable*, do not come. But if not so engaged, *do* come up immediately, as, in such case, there is occasion for your presence.

Ever yours affectionately,

London, Wednesday, June 19.

C. STUART.'

Having completed my interviews with Mr. WILBERFORCE, I immediately returned to London, and arrived there on the morning of the day which had been announced for the meeting. Punctual to the hour, I went to the meeting, accompanied by my friends Capt. STUART, JOSEPH PHILLIPS, WILLIAM HUME, Esq. of Dublin, and other gentlemen, expecting to find a large audience. Mr. Cresson and six or eight of his friends constituted the whole company in attendance, excepting those who went with me!—The Duke of Sussex was absent, and Mr. Cresson therefore moved that the meeting be adjourned!

As soon as I ascertained that, pursuant to adjournment, another meeting was to be held, I immediately transmitted the following letter to the Duke of Sussex:

To His Grace the Duke of Sussex: MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE—

I perceive by the Times of yesterday morning, that you are expected to preside at a meeting which is to be held at the Hanover Square Rooms, on Wednesday next, the 3d of July, the object of which is to give currency to the scheme of the American Colonization Society. I am sure that your Lordship is actuated by pure and benevolent motives, in thus consenting to occupy the chair on the occasion above alluded to; and just as sure that, if you can be satisfied that the Agent of that Society is imposing not only upon your generous confidence, but upon the British community, you will give no countenance to the proposed meeting. I affirm that Mr. Elliott Cresson is a deceiver; I have challenged him, in private and public, (vide the 'Times' of this morning,) to meet me before a British assembly, in order to vindicate his own cause, and the Society of which he is the Agent. I further affirm that the American Colonization Society is corrupt in its principles, proscriptive in its measures, and the worst enemy of the free colored and slave population of the United States; and as an American citizen—as the accredited Agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, I hold myself in readiness to convince your Lordship of the truth of these charges, from the official documents of the American Colonization Society, if your Lordship will grant me the privilege of conferring with you a single hour between the receipt of this letter and Wednesday evening. As an individual whose life is dedicated to the cause of negro emancipation in the United States, and who has suffered much in its prosecution; and as the representative of the abolitionists of that country, I beseech your Lordship to grant me a private interview; or, at least, to make some further inquiries into the merits of the African Colonization enterprise, before you appear publicly in its support. Permit me to recommend T. F. Buxton, Z. Macaulay, and James Cropper, (who rank among the best friends of the colored race,) as gentlemen who will satisfy you of my official character, and of the design and tendency of the American Colonization Society. I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Grace's obd't serv't,

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

18, Aldermanbury, June 28, 1834.

To the above letter, no answer was returned.

Notwithstanding the indefatigable efforts which were made to collect a large assembly on this occasion, not more than one hundred and twenty persons were present, one third of whom were on the platform by special invitation, and another third were abolitionists, opposed to the object of the meeting. Let it be remembered that this was the *third* attempt to get up a meeting for the formation of a British Colonization Society; and, although the Duke of Sussex and Lord Bexley were present, yet out of a population of a million and a half, only 120 individuals were in attendance!! It was a total failure; and the attempt in this country, by the friends of African Colonization, to magnify its importance, is in the highest degree ludicrous. It was addressed, at some length, by Mr. Cresson, who was forced to declare (as did every other speaker) that it had no connection whatever with the American Colonization Society, neither approving nor disapproving of its principles and measures. The Duke of Sussex, Lord Bexley, J. S. Buckingham, Esq., Lieut. Rosenberg, and T. Crawford, Esq. also addressed the meeting in favor of a British Society. In opposition to the project, the venerable and eminent philanthropist, ZACHARY MACAULAY, GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. and Capt. CHARLES STUART, spoke in the most impressive and eloquent manner. The tone of the discussion was vehement, and even boisterous, but only a partial hearing was given to the abolitionists. I endeavored to show, by a simple statement of facts, that it was a delusion to think of suppressing the foreign slave trade by means of colonies on the African coast, while slavery—or, in other words, the market for slaves—was suffered to exist in any part of the world. T. Crawford, Esq. having offered a resolution, to the effect, that a Society be formed under the name of the British African Colonization Society, for the purpose of abolishing the slave trade, and diffusing the benefits of civilization and religion among the natives of Africa—George Thompson, Esq. proposed an amendment—to wit, that there was no necessity for forming such a Society. On dividing the assembly, there were against the amendment 33—for it, 26—majority against it, 7!!—The original resolution was then put and carried—and thus ended the farce. Had a very trifling effort been made, a thousand abolitionists could have been mustered on the occasion, in a few hours, to crush the proceedings of the meeting.

Here it is pertinent to remark, that, with a single exception, not an abolitionist was seen on the platform, or gave any countenance to the project. The real friends of African freedom and civilization received no invitations to attend the meeting. Mr. Buxton, Mr. Cropper, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. O'Connell, and all the other distinguished champions of the colored race, were overlooked by Mr. Cresson: he was associated with another party, and surrounded himself with other men, who cherished the feeblest desires for the abolition of colonial slavery.

In order to counteract, and effectually nullify, this impudent attempt to impose upon the credulity of the British nation, and also to terminate the controversy on the merits of the American Colonization Society, a public

meeting was held at Exeter Hall on the 13th of July, at which two thousand persons were present. Never was a more highly respectable assembly convened in London. JAMES CROPPER, Esq. took the chair. The proceedings of that memorable meeting have been extensively spread before the American people, and therefore it is unnecessary to insert them here. To that noble patriot DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. and to GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL, of Wilberforce Settlement in Upper Canada, J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq., J. C. EVANS, Esq., and the Chairman, I am under heavy obligations for the powerful support which they rendered me on that occasion. Their speeches, reported in full, are before the public.

Previous to the meeting, I transmitted the following epistolary invitation to the Duke of Sussex :

18, ALDERMANBURY, July 13, 1833.

May it please your Royal Highness :

The enclosed Circular and Ticket will inform you that a meeting is to be held to-morrow, at 12 o'clock, at Exeter Hall, for the purpose of exposing the real character and object of the American Colonization Society. Although your Royal Highness generously declared, at the meeting in the Hanover Square Rooms, that you regarded the Agent of that Society as a gentleman who was above attack ; yet, with the utmost deference to the opinion of your Royal Highness, it is possible that he may not be impeccable. Many great and good men, who, a few months since, were captivated by his fanciful and false statements, are now led, by a careful investigation of the subject, to regard him as a public deceiver. Surely, there is no one more disposed to weigh evidence and examine facts than your Royal Highness ; especially in a case so momentous as the present. If your Royal Highness could make it convenient to honor the meeting to-morrow with your presence, I should not only regard the act as exceedingly magnanimous, but it would unquestionably be a source of sincere pleasure to the auditors.

In my note of the 29th ultimo, I addressed your Royal Highness by the title of ' Your Grace.' As the error, though trivial in itself, might seem to imply intentional disrespect, I must here apologize for the same. An American citizen, in Europe, is ever liable to err, through ignorance, in the application of hereditary titles, as they do not obtain in his own country.

I am confident that your Royal Highness will most cheerfully pardon the blunder.

With sentiments of the highest respect for the benevolence and goodness of your character, I am Your Obed't Serv't,

(Signed) WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
Representative of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

To this letter, also, no answer was returned, and therefore I am under no special obligations to the courtesy of royalty.

On the 19th of June, it was my privilege to be introduced to the venerable WILBERFORCE in Bath. He gave me a very gracious reception, as did also his excellent lady and son. I spent about three hours in his company, during which time his cautious and active mind was very inquisitive on the subject of slavery in the United States, and particularly in reference to the American Colonization Society. I endeavored to communicate, as briefly and clearly as possible, all the prominent facts relating to our great

controversy. In expressing to him the grief which was felt by American abolitionists, and particularly by our free colored population, in seeing the name of WILBERFORCE enrolled among the friends of the Colonization Society, he said that his commendation of the enterprise had been restricted to the colony at Liberia; that, relying upon the information which Mr. Cresson had given him respecting the flourishing condition of that colony, he had been induced to believe that it was aiding essentially in the civilization of benighted Africa; that he never regarded the Society as providing a remedy for slavery; that he viewed with abhorrence the doctrine of the Society, denying the practicability of elevating the colored race in the United States to an equality with the whites; and that he had repeatedly contested that wicked position with Mr. Cresson, and told him that he considered it fundamentally false and unchristian. He expressed much anxiety to learn how far Mr. Cresson had made use of his name to give currency to the Society, and desired his son to write down the following queries as he dictated them:

‘1. How far has Mr. Elliott Cresson made use of Mr. Wilberforce’s name? Has he merely stated that Mr. Wilberforce approved of the *colony* as calculated to benefit *Africa*; or has he said that Mr. Wilberforce approves of the *principle* of the SOCIETY—namely, that the blacks ought to be removed *for the advantage of America, as well as for their own*?’

2. Did Mr. Cresson (aware that it must be considered as the fundamental principle of the American Colonization Society, that there is a difficulty, amounting to a moral impossibility, in the blacks and whites living together in prosperity and harmony, as members of the same free community) make it clear to those to whom he professed to state Mr. Wilberforce’s sentiments, that the two classes MIGHT AND OUGHT TO LIVE TOGETHER, as one mutually connected and happy society?

3. Has Mr. Elliott Cresson made it publicly known in England, that the American Colonization Society has declared that it considers that *colonization* ought to be a *sine qua non* of *emancipation*?’

These queries were given to me to make such use of them as I might think proper.

At his urgent solicitation, I visited him the next morning, and sat down with him and his family to breakfast, which was served up in patriarchal simplicity. After an interview of about five hours,—too delightful and too important ever to be forgotten by me,—I bade him farewell, expressing my fervent wishes for a long continuance of his valuable life, and my hope to meet him in that world of glory, where change, and decay, and separation, are unknown. I impressed upon his mind, tenderly and solemnly, the importance of his bearing public testimony against the American Colonization Society, if he was satisfied that its claims to the confidence and patronage of the British nation were preposterous and illusory; especially as he was constantly quoted as the friend and advocate of the Society. ‘I offer you,’ I said, ‘no documents or pamphlets in opposition to the Society, upon which to form an opinion of its true character. Here are its Fifteenth and Sixteenth Reports: the former contains an elaborate defence of the Society

by its managers, which, in my opinion, is alone sufficient to seal its destiny. Read it at your leisure, and, judging the Society out of its own mouth, let your verdict be given to the world.'

Immediately after the meeting at Exeter Hall, I rode to Ipswich to see THOMAS CLARKSON, accompanied by my esteemed friend, the Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL. Here it is proper to state in what manner the mind of this venerable philanthropist became so strongly impressed in favor of the Colonization Society and of Liberia. It happens that the individual, who, of all others in England, exerts the most influence over Clarkson's mind, is the main pillar of Mr. Cresson's support—namely, RICHARD DYKES ALEXANDER, a wealthy and respectable member of the Society of Friends. As Clarkson has entirely lost his sight, this gentleman reads and answers many of his letters, and is emphatically his mouth-piece. He has therefore acquired a powerful control over the judgment, and secured the entire confidence of Clarkson. Mr. Cresson succeeded most effectually in duping Alexander, and Alexander in misleading Clarkson. Care was taken, both by Mr. Alexander and Mrs. Clarkson, to read chiefly to the sightless philanthropist, those statements which served to represent the Colonization Society and Liberia in glowing colors, and to place their opposers in a disgraceful attitude. Under these circumstances, little authority or value ought to be attached to his opinions in favor of the Society and its colony.

On arriving at Ipswich, we found that we could easily gain access to Clarkson, only through the medium of Alexander—of him whose mind we knew was strongly prejudiced against us both, in consequence of the flagrant misrepresentations of Mr. Cresson. But we did not hesitate to call upon him, and state the object of our visit to Ipswich. He treated us politely; and as Clarkson resided at Playford Hall, a distance of two or three miles from the town, he offered to postpone another engagement which he had made, and accompany us in his carriage.

The retreat, chosen by the aged friend of the colored race in which to spend his few remaining years on earth, we found to be very beautiful. On alighting at his door, Mr. Paul and myself, at the request of Mr. Alexander, strolled about the serpentine paths of the park, while he went in to ascertain whether Clarkson's health would permit an interview at that time—as, a few days before, he had injured one of his legs severely against the shaft of his carriage. In about twenty minutes we were called into the house, and were met by Clarkson totteringlly supported by Mr. Alexander. His mind was evidently full of distress: my own was deeply affected, almost beyond the utterance of words. In taking me by the hand, he observed—'I cannot see your face—I have now wholly lost my sight—but ——' and here his emotion overpowered his feelings—'I believe I have lost it in a good cause.' My introductory remarks were few and simple. A burden of gratitude for his noble services in the cause of bleeding humanity, and of sympathy for his present affecting condition, pressed mightily upon my soul, which I earnestly desired to throw off by the power of

speech ; but, lest it might seem like premeditated flattery and artful condolence, I was awed into silence.

He immediately began on the subject of colonization ; and, with a vividness of memory which surprised me, minutely stated the substance of all his conversations with Mr. Cresson from their first interview, and the circumstances which had led him to give his sanction to the Colonization Society. He had never regarded that Society as capable, in itself, of effecting the abolition of slavery in the United States, but only as an auxiliary to its abolition. Did he suppose that compulsion, either directly or indirectly, was used to effect the removal of the free people of color and such as were liberated from bondage, he should deprecate the measure as unspeakably cruel and wicked. Finding that his approval of the Society was regarded with grief by many of his dearest friends, in whose opinions he could not unite as to its evil character,—and in order to obtain that repose of mind which his bodily infirmities imperiously demanded,—he had resolved to occupy neutral ground, and did not wish to be ranked on either side of the controversy. He saw no reason to change his decision.

Having listened to him with becoming deference, I spared no pains to correct the erroneous views which he had formed—beginning with the origin of the Society, and tracing it through all its ramifications ; explaining its direful tendencies to corrupt the public mind, obscure the moral vision of the people, inflame their prejudices, deceive their hopes, and sear their consciences—and to perpetuate, by pruning, an overgrown system of oppression. I showed him that it was cruel mockery to say that the persecuted and oppressed exiles to Liberia had gone with their own consent, cheerfully and voluntarily ; that the doctrines of the Society were abhorrent and impious ; that it was the enemy not merely of the colored race, but of all genuine abolitionists ; that good men who had taken it upon trust, on ascertaining its real purposes, were abandoning it in crowds, and using mighty exertions to overthrow it ; and that all its doctrines, measures, and designs, were evil, and only evil continually. I also endeavored to convince him that he did not occupy neutral ground, but that he was every where, both in England and in the United States, regarded as the unfaltering friend of the Society ; and that, until he publicly requested to be considered as neither approving nor opposing the Society, he could not possibly be neutral in this great controversy.

The Rev. Mr. Paul also appealed to him in the most solemn and pathetic manner, and stated in what light the Society was universally regarded by his colored brethren, and in what manner it was operating to their injury. His disclosures seemed powerfully to agonize the mind of the venerable man, and sincerely did we pity him.

After an interview of about four hours, we took our leave of him, lamenting that he should still feel it to be his duty to occupy what he considered neutral ground.*

* A more minute account of Mr. Garrison's visit to Wilberforce and Clarkson will appear in the *Liberator*.

A short time after this visit, I unexpectedly received, to my exceeding joy, from a distinguished member of Parliament, duplicate copies of the Protest against the American Colonization Society, signed by WILBERFORCE and eleven of the most distinguished abolitionists in Great Britain, which has fallen like a thunderbolt upon the Society, and riven it in twain. In getting up this Protest, I had no agency whatever. It was altogether unexpected by me; but to obtain it was alone worth a trip across the Atlantic.

Having now effectually succeeded in routing Mr. Cresson and crushing his darling scheme; having obtained the acquaintance and secured the friendship of the leading friends of the colored race; having received, from various sources, large quantities of anti-slavery publications for gratuitous distribution in the United States; and having been advised to postpone any pecuniary appeals at that juncture, in consequence of the feverish state of the public mind in relation to the emancipation of the slaves in the British colonies, but assured of liberal assistance on the termination of the anti-slavery struggle in England; I deemed my presence no longer needed, and accordingly took passage in the ship Hannibal, Capt. Hebard, at London, and arrived at New-York on the 2d of October, having been absent precisely five months from the time of my embarkation.

**LIFE AND HONORARY MEMBERS OF THE NEW-
ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.**

LIFE MEMBERS.

JOHN KENRICK,* Newton, Mass.	WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Boston.
EBENEZER DOLE, Hallowell, Me.	ISAAC KNAPP, "
JOHN TAYLOR, Bath, "	DANIEL GREGG, "
Rev. HENRY JONES, Cabot, Vt.	SAMUEL E. SEWALL, "
PRINCE FARMER, Salem, Mass.	ELLIS GRAY LORING, "
JOHN REMOND, " "	CHARLES STUART, England.
Rev. DAVID T. KIMBALL, Ipswich.	FRIEND FROM ENGLAND.
Dr. INGALLS KITTRIDGE, Beverly.	PRUDENCE CRANDALL, Canterbury.
WILLIAM OAKES, Ipswich.	Mrs. S. H. WINSLOW, Portland, Me.
SUSAN PAUL, Boston.	Mrs. C. WINSLOW, "

* Deceased.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, New-York.	JOHN RIDGWAY, Staffordshire, Eng.
WILLIAM RAWLE, Philadelphia.	WILLIAM RIDGWAY, "
Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, Brooklyn, Ct.	JOSIAH WEDGEWOOD, "
Rev. S. S. JOCELYN, New Haven, Ct.	Capt. CHARLES STUART, London.
Rev. GEORGE BOURNE, New-York.	JOSEPH PHILLIPS, "
Hon. SAMUEL CRAFTS, Craftsbury, Vt.	WM. WILBERFORCE, "
Hon. A. CLARK, Danville, Vt.	THOMAS CLARKSON, "
Rev. WM. A. CHAPIN, Craftsbury, Vt.	HENRY NEWMAN, England.
HAZEN MERRILL, Esq. Peacham, Vt.	WM. CRAWFORD, "
MOSES BROWN, Providence, R. I.	HENRY ABBDY, "

CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, we believe that Slavery is contrary to the precepts of Christianity, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and ought immediately to be abolished; and whereas, we believe that the citizens of New-England not only have the right to protest against it, but are under the highest obligation to seek its removal by a moral influence; and whereas, we believe that the free people of color are unrighteously oppressed, and stand in need of our sympathy and benevolent co-operation; therefore, recognizing the inspired declaration that God 'hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,' and in obedience to our Saviour's golden rule, 'all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;' we agree to form ourselves into a Society, and to be governed by the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, and shall be auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

ART. 2. The objects of the Society shall be, to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States; to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.

ART. 3. Any person by signing the Constitution, and paying to the Treasurer fifteen dollars as a life subscription, or two dollars annually, shall be considered a member of the Society, and entitled to a copy of all its official publications.

ART. 4. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor, and ten Counselors, who shall be elected annually, by ballot, on the fourth Wednesday of January, or subsequently by adjournment, and shall hold their respective offices until others are chosen.

ART. 5. The foregoing officers shall constitute a Board of Managers, to whom shall be entrusted the disposition of the funds, and the management of the concerns of the Society. They shall have power to make their own by-laws, to fill any vacancy which may occur in their Board and to employ agents to promote the objects of the Society.

ART. 6. There shall be a public meeting of the Society annually, on the fourth Wednesday of January, at which the Board of Managers shall make a Report of their doings for the past year, and of the income, expenditures, and funds of the Society.

ART. 7. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, or in his absence one of the Vice Presidents, or in their absence a President pro tem.

ART. 8. The Corresponding Secretary shall receive and keep all communications or publications directed to the Society, and transmit those issued by them, and shall correspond with the agents, or any other bodies or individuals, according to the directions of the Society or the Managers.

ART. 9. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, and keep the records of the same.

ART. 10. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions and donations to the Society, hold all its funds, and make payments according to the directions of the Managers; and he shall keep a true account of the same, and render a statement to accompany the Annual Report of the Society.

ART. 11. Any Anti-Slavery Society, or any association founded on kindred principles, may become auxiliary to this Society, by contributing to its funds, and may communicate with us by letter or delegation.

ART. 12. The Society shall hold meetings on the last Monday of March, June, and September, for the transaction of any business which may be presented by the Board of Managers, or for addresses, or for discussion of any subject connected with the objects of the Society. Special meetings may be called by the Board of Managers, or by the Recording Secretary on application from ten members of the Society.

ART. 13. This Constitution may be altered at the Annual Meeting for the choice of officers, provided the amendments proposed to be made, have been submitted to the Board of Managers, in writing, one month previous.

THIRD

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

PRESENTED JAN. 21, 1835.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY GARRISON AND KNAPP.
NO. 31, CORNHILL.

1835.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
AT ITS
THIRD ANNUAL MEETING.

The Third Annual Meeting of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society was held at Julien Hall, on Wednesday evening, January 21, 1835, at 7 o'clock.

The President being absent, Rev. Prof. Follen, one of the Vice Presidents, took the chair.

Before the hour of meeting had fully arrived, the Hall was crowded to suffocation, and hundreds of persons who came to the door, were forced to retire without being able to enter.

A letter from Rev. Mr. Wells, first Vice President of the Society, expressive of his ardent desire for the continued prosperity of the cause, and disappointment that he was not able, on account of indisposition, to attend the meeting, was read by the Secretary.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. William C. Munroe, late of Portland, Me.

The Report of the Board of Managers was read by S. E. Sewall, Corresponding Secretary.

On motion of Rev. Cyrus P. Grosvenor, Agent of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society, seconded by Rev. Baron Stow of Boston,

Resolved, That the Report be accepted, and printed under the direction of the Board of Managers.

On motion of Rev. Amos A. Phelps, General Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, seconded by George Thompson, Esq.,

Resolved, That it is essential to the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause, that its friends should understand and maintain its great distinctive principles, in all their purity and strength.

Interesting addresses were made by the gentlemen who moved and seconded the above resolutions, which were listened to with deep attention.

Several hymns suited to the occasion, were sung by the Colored Juvenile Choir, under the direction of Miss Paul.

Voted, That this meeting be adjourned for one week.

Wednesday, January 28.—The Society met pursuant to the adjournment, at the Society's Hall, over 46, Washington-street, at 8 o'clock, P. M.

In the absence of the President and Vice Presidents, Amasa Walker, Esq. was called to the chair.

Voted, To amend the third article of the Constitution, by inserting after the words, '*annual subscription*,' '*one dollar*,' instead of '*two dollars*.'

The following gentlemen were elected officers of the Society for the present year :—

PRESIDENT.

JOSEPH SOUTHWICK, Danvers.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

REV. E. M. P. WELLS, Boston.

REV. MOSES THACHER, N. Wrentham, Mass.

REV. AMOS A. PHELPS.

DAVID L. CHILD, Boston.

PROF. CHARLES FOLLEN, Cambridge.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Boston.

JOHN G. WHITTIER, Haverhill, Mass.

REV. O. SCOTT, Springfield, Mass.

WILLIAM OAKES, Ipswich, Mass.

REV. BARON STOW, Boston.

Corresponding Secretary—**SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Boston.**

Recording Secretary—**BENJAMIN C. BACON, Boston.**

Treasurer—**JAMES C. ODIORNE, Boston.**

Auditor—**JOHN S. WILLIAMS, Boston.**

COUNSELLORS.

ELLIS GRAY LORING,

DRURY FAIRBANKS,

ISAAC KNAPP,

S. G. SHIPLEY,

JOHN R. CAMBELL,

ABNER FORBES,

JOSHUA EASTON,

JOHN E. FULLER,

C. C. BARRY,

CHARLES DREW.

Voted, That this meeting be adjourned for one week.

Wednesday, Feb. 4.—The Society met at their Hall, on Wednesday evening, Feb. 4th, pursuant to the adjournment.

Amasa Walker in the chair.

Voted, To amend the 13th article of the Constitution, by striking out the words '*one month*.'

Voted, To amend the 1st article, by inserting the word '*Massachusetts*,' instead of the words '*New-England*.'

Adjourned sine die.

REPORT.

In consequence of the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and of the design contemplated to form State Societies in the New-England States, a design which has already been accomplished in Maine, New-Hampshire, and Vermont, the operations of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society during the past year, have been very much confined to Massachusetts. And hereafter, it will be only a State Society.*

Though the comparative importance of this association, has, owing to the causes just mentioned, been, in some measure diminished, the zeal, activity, and numbers of its friends, have not been at all impaired, while the principles on which it is founded, have spread through the country with unexampled rapidity. Every day, and almost every hour, has brought intelligence of new converts to them, in every part of our land.

Some additions have been made to the Wilberforce Library, during the year. This institution has already proved very convenient to persons prosecuting inquiries on the subject of slavery, and it is believed will hereafter become still more useful.

About seven months ago, the Society hired the large hall over No. 46, Washington-Street, Boston. This hall is now divided into two apartments, one of which is used as a lecture room, and the other as the Society's office, and a depository for anti-slavery books, tracts, and other articles. The Society has employed Mr. Benjamin C. Bacon to take charge of the Rooms, and act as general agent of the Society. This gentleman has performed the laborious duties of his office, including an extensive correspondence, with great zeal and assiduity. The sale

* Since the Report was read, the name of the association has been changed to that of the *Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society*.

of anti-slavery publications, has been very much promoted by this establishment ; and the demand for them appears to be constantly increasing. The Society's office has, as was expected, proved a centre of attraction for abolitionists visiting the city, from all parts of the country ; and has thus extended the intercourse of the friends of liberty.

It would be most ungrateful, not to acknowledge the aid which females have every where given to the cause in which we are engaged. This Society is especially indebted to a number of ladies, who held a fair in Boston in December last, for its benefit. The amount of sales at this fair was about \$360. The money brought into the Society's Treasury from this source, proved a welcome supply to its exhausted finances. The taste and ingenuity of many of the articles sold on this occasion, and the whole arrangement of the exhibition, afforded the highest gratification to those who visited the Hall. Few could have gone there without having their hearts touched with fresh compassion for the slave, and a new zeal to vindicate his rights. But the good produced by the fair, is not merely momentary. Many of the articles purchased on the occasion, will probably serve as perpetual mementoes to the owners and their friends, of their duties to their oppressed countrymen.

In Massachusetts, anti-slavery principles are becoming prominent objects of public attention. Several county, and several town societies have been formed during the year. In other States, the cause has met with similar success. The following is an imperfect, probably very imperfect, list of new Anti-Slavery Societies.

Maine.—State Society ; Portland Young Men's ; North Yarmouth.

New-Hampshire.—State Society ; Concord (2—male and female) ; Windham ; Campton ; Great Falls.

Vermont.—State Society ; Ferrisburgh ; Ryegate and Barret ; Starksborough ; Lincoln.

Massachusetts.—Salem Female ; Lowell (2—male and female) ; Haverhill (2—male and female) ; South Reading ; Holden ; Newburyport (2—male and female) ; Cambridge ; Sandwich ; Scituate ; Middlesex County Society ; Millbury ; Plymouth ; Woburn ; Essex County ; Ashburnham ; New-
Bedford ; Plymouth County.

Connecticut.—Brooklyn Female ; Norwich Female ; Wethersfield.

New-York.—Rochester (colored) ; Whitestown ; Auburn Theological Seminary ; Hamilton Institute ; Utica ; Peterborough ; New-York (City) Young Men's.

Pennsylvania.—Clarkson Anti-Slavery Association, Lancaster and Chester County.

Ohio.—Columbiana ; Lexington ; Munroe County ; New Lisbon County ; Ashtabula County ; Zanesville ; Western Reserve ; Nelson.

Michigan Territory.—Farmington.

Total—53.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, in this connection, that the exertions and success of the American Anti-Slavery Society, have surpassed even the glowing auguries of its most sanguine supporters.

While new friends of the colored race are thus springing up in every quarter, no old ones desert them. It is indeed one of the strongest marks of the truth and importance of our opinions, that those who have once adopted them in earnest, rarely, if ever, recede from them, but, on the contrary, usually grow more and more zealous in their support.

A convention of delegates from Anti-Slavery Societies in New-England, was held in Boston in May last. The proceedings of this Convention, having been published in a pamphlet form, it is only necessary to observe in this place, that the proceedings of this body, have apparently given a great impulse to the anti-slavery cause throughout New-England.

The subject of a Manual Labor School, to be open to persons of color, was brought before this Convention. Some subscriptions were obtained for the purpose. We trust that at some not very distant date, such a Seminary will be opened in New-England. The Academy at Canaan, in New-Hampshire, now receives colored youths on equal terms with white.

The last year has been marked, not only by the rapid spread of anti-slavery principles, but equally, by a violent and ferocious opposition to them. The peaceable and orderly meetings of our friends, have been interrupted in many places by the assaults of the populace. In a number of instances, the rioters have

not been contented with disturbing meetings, but have also attacked and destroyed property.

In New-York, savage mobs interrupted two meetings of abolitionists on July 4th, and among other acts of violence, on successive nights, sacked the house of Mr. Lewis Tappan, and destroyed his furniture ; attacked and seriously injured the house of Dr. Cox ; merely to punish them for their obnoxious opinions. The rioters also attacked and damaged several churches in the same place, sacked St. Phillips' Episcopal Church in Centre-street, demolished the African school house in Orange-street, and twelve adjacent houses, principally occupied by colored people. For a number of nights, the mob seemed to be masters of the city.

In Philadelphia, the riots were more destructive than even those in New-York. For several successive nights in last August, the entire command of the city was, as in New-York, in the hands of an infuriated multitude. In the course of this time, the rioters attacked and destroyed the houses and furniture of many unoffending people of color, and treated their victims with brutal inhumanity. Forty-four houses, and their furniture, and two churches, were either destroyed or damaged during these riots.

Various riots and outrages of a similar character, have been committed in other places, upon the unfortunate colored race, and their supporters. But time would fail, should it be attempted, to enumerate them all.

It is with great regret that the managers record that an attack was made on the house of Miss Crandall, in Canterbury, by some heartless ruffians in the night, in October last, who so much injured the building, that it was thought expedient to discontinue the school, rather than to expose her pupils to renewed outrages.

The frantic and barbarous proceedings to which we have adverted, though boldly reprobated in some newspapers, have in others been met with so feeble a tone of remonstrance, as to amount to encouragement ; while some have gone so far as explicitly to recommend force to punish such persons, as have dared to advocate unpopular doctrines too freely and too loudly.

The friends of slavery are much deluded, if they suppose that the opinions of its opponents can be extinguished by per-

secution. They ought to know that the love of truth and justice, in generous minds, is only kindled by opposition. In fact, as might have been expected, the proscriptive measures pursued against abolitionists, so far from diminishing, have multiplied their numbers, and filled the whole body with the invincible fortitude and resolution of martyrs.

While in the North, the opposition to anti-slavery principles has become thus virulent, they have been widely spreading both here and at the South and West.

During the last winter, a debate was carried on by the students of the Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, on the following questions :

‘ 1. Ought the people of the slaveholding States to abolish slavery immediately ?

‘ 2. Are the doctrines, tendencies, and measures of the American Colonization Society, and the influence of its principal supporters, such as to render it worthy of the patronage of the Christian public ?’

After a debate of nine evenings, every vote was in favor of the affirmative of the first question, four or five of those present, however, excusing themselves from voting at all.

At the end of another debate of the same length, the second question was decided in the negative, with only one dissenting voice. Four or five persons declined voting at all.

The result of this debate is equally gratifying and surprising, when it is recollected, that eleven of the students were born and brought up in slave states, every one of whom adopted anti-slavery principles. The readiness with which young men, whose early prejudices were probably strongly enlisted in favor of the slave system, have thus been led to abandon them, affords unanswerable evidence, if any were wanting, that the hearts of slaveholders are accessible to the pleadings of justice and humanity.

The Trustees of the Seminary, taking the alarm at the rapid spread of truth among the students, and yielding to the influence of popular clamor in the vicinity, on Oct. 6, 1834, adopted the following resolutions, rules, and orders.

Resolved, That this Board approve and adopt the Report of the Subcommittee of the Executive Committee, ‘relative to the proceedings among the students on the subject of slavery,’ and the proceedings of the Executive Committee thereon, of the 20th of August, 1834.

STANDING RULES. '*Rule 1.*—Societies or Associations of the students shall not be organized in the Seminary, without the approbation of the Faculty: and where such organization shall be desired, the Constitution and the object and general regulations of such Society, shall be submitted to the Faculty for their consideration.

'*Rule 2.* The students shall not hold general meetings among themselves, other than those of a religious or devotional character, or for purposes associated with the course of studies; nor deliver public addresses, or lectures, at the Seminary or elsewhere, in term time, other than those connected with ordinary religious exercises; nor make public addresses or communications to the students when assembled at their meals, or on other ordinary occasions: nor be absent from the Seminary in term time—without the approbation of the Faculty, or of such person as they shall designate for that purpose.'

ORDERS. '*Order 1.*—Whereas, the Anti-Slavery Society and the Colonization Society lately organized in the Seminary, are considered by this Board, in the present state of public excitement on the subject of slavery, as tending to enlist the students in controversies foreign to their studies, and to stir up among themselves and in the community, unfriendly feelings and useless hostilities, thereby counteracting the great objects of the institution: therefore, ordered, that the students be required to discontinue those Societies in the Seminary.

'*Order 2.*—Ordered that the Executive Committee have power to dismiss any student from the Seminary, when they shall think it necessary so to do; and to make any rules and regulations for the admission of students, or for the government and management of the Seminary, or any of its concerns, not inconsistent with the charter and the regulations of this Board, which they may deem expedient.'

On these tyrannical and inquisitorial proceedings, little comment is necessary. It is manifest, that the object of these rules and orders was, to prevent, as far as possible, free discussion on the subject of slavery. The fathers of an important seminary, established for the express purpose of disseminating Christian truth, have boldly endeavored to stop all inquiry on some of the most serious questions of religion and morals. They have shamelessly dared to say to young men, who are preparing for the gospel ministry, 'It is no part of your business to examine what course a christian minister ought to adopt in respect to slaveholding'—the crying sin of the age and nation.

How wonderful is the uniformity in the proceedings of tyranny! Associations, public meetings, and public addresses, are always special objects of fear to arbitrary governments. It has been so in Europe. And it is remarkable, that public meetings of slaves, and preaching to them, are also denounced by law and public opinion in the slave States.

The Trustees of Lane Seminary, however, have found that they were not dealing with slaves: They thought, probably, that they were putting out a dangerous flame in their institution,

but they have done it by scattering the burning brands far and wide over the country. Thus they may, perhaps, prove the unwilling instruments in the hands of Providence, of aiding to kindle a moral conflagration in our country, which neither trustees of Seminaries, nor even governors and legislatures, will be able to extinguish.

The arbitrary enactments just recited, have been so far successful, as to lead nearly all the students to leave the Theological Class, and to prevent many others from entering it. It is said that the Theological Class last year consisted of forty, only two of whom had entered the fourth day after the commencement of the term in October. In the Literary department, the diminution had been similar. Out of sixty of last year, only five had entered.

It is to be hoped, that few young men will be found willing to enter an institution, in which they are debarred the liberty of thought and speech on one of the most momentous subjects which can come before them.

The young men who have thus been driven from their studies, published during the last month, a statement of 'the reasons which induced the students in Lane Seminary, to dissolve their connection with that Institution.' It is signed by fifty-one persons. Others who agreed in opinion with the document were at such a distance, that their names could not be affixed to it. It is written with great ability, and unanswerable force of argument.

The Faculty have also published their statement respecting the difficulties in Lane Seminary.

The students of Lane Seminary are far from being alone in their opposition to slavery. The young men in a considerable number of Colleges and Theological Seminaries, have engaged with great ardor in the same cause. When the influence which these young men, who, in the usual course of things, will become lights and guides of the people, will have upon society, is considered, we may reasonably hope that the time is not far distant, when the whole American people will become sensible of their duty to the colored people of the country.

The increasing interest felt in every part of the United States for the oppressed, is also proved by the proceedings of various ecclesiastical bodies.

The Synod of Kentucky, at a meeting held at Danville, Oct. 8, spent the greater part of several days in discussing the subject of slavery. They finally adopted a paper, of which the following is the introduction :—

‘This synod, believing that the system of absolute and hereditary domestic slavery, as it exists among the members of our communion, is repugnant to the principles of our holy religion, as revealed in the sacred scriptures, and that the continuance of the system, any longer than is necessary to prepare for its safe and beneficial termination, is sinful, feel it their duty earnestly to recommend to all presbyteries, church sessions, and people under their care, to commence immediate preparation for the termination of slavery among us ; so that this evil may cease with the present generation ; and the future offspring of our slaves may be free.’

The New-York Evangelist, from which this account is borrowed, states that the synod then proceeded to advise ‘that emancipation be universally extended to all slaves hereafter born ;’ but without discouraging that of others ‘whose condition would be greatly improved by emancipation,’ or who ‘might be prepared for freedom by the use of remarkable efforts.’ Far as these opinions of the Synod of Kentucky are from being sound, they are remarkable as coming from a slave state, and exhibit a growing improvement in public sentiment.

The Synod of Illinois, at a meeting held in Springfield, in that State, in October last, after discussion unanimously adopted the following resolution :—

Resolved, That this Synod do most earnestly recommend to the churches under our care, the use of all proper means to effect the speedy emancipation of the slaves in these United States, and especially in the Presbyterian Church. *Synod do consider the existing system of holding in involuntary slavery their fellow men, as a crime of no ordinary character, against which they do hereby most earnestly and solemnly testify.*

Various other religious bodies have in a similar manner, during the year, published their testimony against slavery.

During the past year, many strong indications have been given, that the desire to abolish slavery is becoming more active and extensive in the Western slave states. A few of them will be mentioned.

A society has been formed in Kentucky, it is believed within the year, called ‘The Kentucky Society for the gradual relief of the State from slavery.’ We regard this Society, though based on unsound principles, as springing from benevolent feelings, and as the harbinger of a brighter day. It cannot be, that conscientious men, who are earnestly seeking to benefit their

oppressed fellow citizens, can long continue, at the present day, blind to the right of the slave to immediate freedom, blind to the duty of the master to give him immediate emancipation.

In November, 1833, a Convention being soon to be held to amend the Constitution of Tennessee, a meeting of citizens of Athens and its vicinity was held, at which a resolution was adopted, among others, not to support any candidate for the Convention, who would not give an assurance to use his utmost exertions, if elected, 'to abolish the existing slave law in such a manner, as to accomplish the emancipation of the slaves of this State, as speedily as may be practicable.' The committee who publish the resolutions, say 'that a considerable number of highly respectable citizens' gave their names to the resolutions.

It is scarcely necessary to say, that the Constitution of Tennessee was not amended in the manner proposed, but on the contrary, if we have been rightly informed, was made more favorable to slaveholders, by prohibiting the enfranchisement of any slave, without the owner's consent. The meeting at Athens, however, shows that just principles are spreading in Tennessee; while the amendment of the Constitution, said to have been adopted, proves that the present majority in the State, in favor of slavery, fear that they shall not long continue so, and therefore endeavor to guard against the coming danger of abolition, by a constitutional provision.

A petition to the General Assembly of Missouri for the gradual abolition of slavery, received many signatures in Boone County.

Although the advocates of abolition, in the three States just named, are evidently far from just views on the subject, yet these movements are sufficient to demonstrate, that a spirit is at work in them, which will never rest till it has purified and enlightened the great mass of society, and destroyed every vestige of the system of private despotism within their limits.

It is impossible in this report, to specify all the indications of a change of opinion rapidly approaching at the South. One, however, cannot be passed over. James G. Birney, Esq. of Kentucky, lately a distinguished supporter of the Colonization Society, has within a few months burst the iron fetters of prejudice, and come forth an uncompromising abolitionist. Since

his conversion, he has published two letters, one on Colonization, addressed to the Rev. Thornton J. Mills, Corresponding Secretary of the Kentucky Colonization Society, the other on Slavery, addressed to the Ministers and Elders of the Presbyterian Church. These letters are masterly performances, and have been widely circulated throughout the country. Mr. Birney has given the best proof of the sincerity of his opinions, by emancipating all his slaves. It is almost impossible to estimate the influence which a man, like Mr. Birney, will have upon the minds of his fellow citizens at the South.

In looking back on the past year, it is impossible to forget that our shores have been honored, by the arrival from England of two distinguished philanthropists, Charles Stuart and George Thompson. These gentlemen, who have done much to promote the abolition of slavery by Great Britain, have come to America with the benevolent design of aiding in the same work in this nation. They have already shown themselves powerful auxiliaries in the great work on which they have entered. Our country should be deeply grateful to these benevolent men, whose zeal in the cause of the oppressed has led them to forsake their homes and their country.

The success of these gentlemen has, of course, procured for them abundance of abuse from the newspapers, and some violent and contemptible efforts have been made in different places, to prevent them from being heard.

The most serious charge brought against them is, that they are foreigners ; and it is urged, that foreigners ought not to interfere with our institutions. This feeble argument has been most fully answered by Mr. Thompson, in a torrent of irresistible eloquence ; it need not, therefore, be discussed here at length. Christianity makes all men our neighbors and our countrymen. Men, wherever they may be, who are suffering from ignorance or oppression, are entitled to our sympathy and assistance. Our duty towards them is only limited by our means of usefulness. These gentlemen, therefore, will receive the thanks and applause of every man, who is filled with the spirit of our religion.

On the first of August last, all the slaves in the British Colonies became free. The gift of freedom, however, was by the

insanity of the British Parliament, connected with a provision which made the emancipated negroes, apprentices or semi-slaves, for a term of years—that is, required them to work for their former owners during the greater part of their time, without wages. This attempt to poison the life of liberty, by a noxious distillation from slavery, has, as might have been anticipated, rendered the operation of the measure very unsatisfactory in the islands where the new system has gone into operation. Though nothing very disastrous has as yet occurred, the slaves are discontented and unwilling to work, feeling themselves defrauded, by being made nominally free, while they are debarred from the free exercise of their powers for their own benefit.

In Antigua, the Bermudas, the Virgin Isles, St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat, and Dominica, where the apprentice system was not introduced, but the slaves were made absolutely free, there is every appearance that no difficulty or disturbance will follow from immediate abolition. It is to be hoped, that the other colonies will, before it is too late, abandon the apprentice system. But if the slaves are forced to submit to it, its consequences inevitably will be dissatisfaction and exasperation among the black population, perhaps to be succeeded by rebellion and bloodshed.

The principles of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society have been so fully discussed in former reports, and other publications on the same topics have been so generally circulated, that it seems scarcely necessary again to defend them. But it may not be amiss, to examine some opinions which are now current in regard to abolitionists, not only among their enemies, but even among their friends.

X It is frequently said, that abolitionists ought not to form themselves into a political party—that they should rely solely on moral influence for effecting their purposes. They are often warned, even by their well wishers, to keep themselves aloof from the arena of political contention.

Though these cautions are well meant; they seem to originate from an imperfect view of the rights and duties of citizens. When many men have a common object, one of the best means of attaining it, is to associate themselves together. When thus associated, there is, no doubt, danger, that the power acquired

by union, will be abused for selfish purposes. But this is no sufficient reason for abandoning all united efforts for obtaining any moral or political object.

A large number of persons think that slavery ought to be abolished in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and that no new State ought to be admitted into the Union, without providing against the toleration of slavery within its borders. They also think that the slave-trade between the States, ought to be abolished by Congress.

Holding these opinions of the duties of the National Government, it becomes not only their right, but their duty, to endeavor in every mode sanctioned by law and religion, to procure the action of Congress on these subjects. How is this to be done? It is answered, by diffusing information among the people, and petitioning Congress. These are, no doubt, efficacious measures. But another, equally important, is to endeavor to send to Congress, men who think rightly on these subjects, and to oppose others. If abolitionists, by exerting themselves to obtain a sound representation in Congress, should be subjected to the charge of being a political party, they ought not to be deterred from their duty, by an odious name. It seems an ill-judged course for moral and religious men to shrink from exercising their privileges as citizens at elections, because others make a bad use of these privileges; or to hesitate to unite for effecting a moral and religious purpose, merely because it is at the same time a political one.

But, while in voting for candidates to offices, in which the persons elected are likely to be called on to act on important questions in regard to slavery, it is earnestly recommended to abolitionists, to support those only in whose principles they can confide; the Managers would caution their friends against making anti-slavery opinions, the test of qualification for other offices, where similar questions cannot arise. Thus, though no representative to Congress should be supported, who is not in favor of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, it would be most unjust and absurd to refuse to support a person for a municipal office, unless he held the same opinions.

The course recommended, is the same which was pursued successfully by abolitionists in Great Britain. They never be-

came a political party, but merely by giving their support to such candidates for parliament only, as were in favor of abolishing slavery, they finally succeeded in accomplishing their object. The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories, can be effected by a similar course, if the end be pursued with steadiness, and undoubting confidence that it will be eventually gained.

Abolitionists are often charged with using language unjustifiably harsh, when they speak of holding slaves as being a sin or crime. But it should be recollected that in so doing, we are not measuring the comparative guilt of individual slave owners, but merely declaring our opinion of the abstract moral quality of their acts. Circumstances of education and prevailing custom, may make slaveholding a smaller offence in one man, than in another who sees his duty more clearly. But the act of holding a human being as property, is as clearly a violation of his rights, as to rob or murder him. Our object in using such language, is to awaken the guilty to a sense of their transgressions. Those who commit the most aggravated injustice and fraud, in withholding from other men the liberty which is their most precious birthright, in compelling them to labor, yet giving them no wages, in buying and selling their brethren,—men stamped like themselves with the image of their Creator,—ought not to be permitted to dream that they are free from guilt, merely because they treat the subjects of their oppression with comparative kindness,—because they are not engaged in the internal slave trade, because they have not separated husband from wife, and the infant from its mother in their sales, because they have never hunted a runaway slave with bloodhounds, or whipped a negro to death.

We are bound as fellow-men and fellow Christians, to present the standard of duty to southern planters in so clear a light that they cannot fail to see it. We should avoid all language intended merely to give offence and provoke irritation. But while we regard the holding of property in man an enormous crime,—to be ranked with highway robbery and piracy,—we should be false to our duty, if we allowed slaveholders to suppose that we thought otherwise.

Robbery and piracy, we know, have among some nations, under certain circumstances, not been regarded as criminal. The guilt of ignorant perpetrators of these offences, was less than it would have been, had they been more enlightened. But undoubtedly the best mode of effecting a reform in those nations, would have been to declare the aggravated character of these crimes, in earnest and pointed language.

Why is it that robbery and piracy are so rare among civilized nations? It is because the common opinion of society regards them as criminal. The greater part of men are not deterred from theft and robbery, by supposing it is for their interest to refrain from these crimes, or even by the fear of the laws, but chiefly by the feeling that they are wrong, operating in greater or less degrees on different minds, and supported and confirmed in the majority, by a knowledge of the general opinion of the community on the subject.

The same state of public sentiment can be created in regard to slavery. Thousands and tens of thousands of conscientious persons, are already beginning to look upon slaveholding in its true light, as an atrocious crime. This opinion will inevitably continue to spread and gain ground, till it has embraced the great mass of the nation. The time, indeed, is not far distant,—it is present even now,—when a person's owning a slave will be considered by vast numbers, as a serious impeachment of his moral and religious character. The number of persons who emancipate their slaves from conscientious motives, will every year increase; but long before slavery is put an end to by the gradual work of individual emancipation, it will have been abolished by the State legislatures. After this is accomplished, future generations of Americans will look back upon the present condition of our Southern States, with the same mingled emotions of pity and abhorrence, with which we are accustomed to regard the piracies of Barbary and the robberies of Arabia.

In addressing our white Southern brethren, we ought never for a moment to forget, that men are moral beings, that conscience, in by far the greater part of our race, is a powerful principle of action, to which avarice, the great support of the system of slavery, can be made to yield. It is the predominance of the moral principle which is the strong foundation of human society. A com-

munity could not exist for an instant, where every member of it was urged on by a blind love of gain, uncontrolled by any superior principle. The God who made us intended that conscience should rule in man. He has not failed in his work. Every man has a conscience, however much he may have neglected its promptings. An appeal to this principle, in a large body of men, always makes an impression. And we know, in point of fact, that the pleadings of abolitionists have already produced their appropriate effects at the South, in leading masters to emancipate their slaves.

Let us go on then in the glorious enterprise which we have undertaken. Let us not doubt for one moment, that truth, and justice, and humanity, must triumph in the conflict with selfishness, avarice, and cruelty. Though slavery has enlisted all the baser passions of our nature, let us never believe that they can overcome its higher principles, which we have summoned to our service. However discouraging our prospects may at any moment appear, let us never doubt that there is a superintending Deity who watches over our efforts. The past success of Christianity in enlightening and humanizing mankind,—in putting an end to slavery in Western Europe—in abolishing the slave-trade in the greater part of Christendom, and slavery itself throughout the colonies of the British empire, and a large part of the Christian world—the rapid progress of anti-slavery principles in America, unparalleled in the history of moral reforms—should animate and encourage us to new and greater exertions.

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH JAMES C. ODIORNE, TREASURER.

Dr.

Cr.

1834.		1834.			
Jan.	To Cash paid M. Hadley, Agent,	\$ 28 33	Jan. 14.	By Balance of old account,	\$ 266 21
"	" " Treasurer, for amount loaned the Society in 1833,	410 00	Dec. 31.	" Annual Assessments,	130 00
Dec. 31.	" " Garrison & Knapp, for publishing Reports, &c.	510 00	"	" Donations,	414 73
"	" " A. Buffum, to balance account,...	156 00	"	" Friends in England, by C. S. Esq.	322 13
"	" " B. C. Bacon, for sundries,	44 25	"	" Executor on Estate of J. Kenrick, deceased, ..	200 00
"	" " Rent of Society's Office, and Public Halls,	266 29	"	" Proceeds of Ladies' Anti-Slavery Fair,	360 00
"	" " Expenses of Office,	262 82		" Contributions, &c.	343 67
"	" " Bills for Advertisements,	35 63			
"	" " B. C. Bacon, Agent, on account, ..	250 00			
"	" " Incidental expenses,	41 56			
1835.					
Jan. 30.	Balance to new account,	11 86			
		\$2036 74			\$2036 74

Boston, January 20, 1835.

E. E. Settled.

JAMES C. ODIORNE, Treasurer.

Boston, January 21st, 1835.—I certify that I have examined the above account, and find the same correctly cast and properly vouched.

JOHN S. WILLIAMS, Auditor.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1834.

Amesbury Ladies A. S. Society	\$5,00	Amount brought up	1336,24
Bacon B. C. by a friend	15,00	Ladies in Wrentham	5,00
Black Moses	2,00	Ladies in Mr. Ide's Parish	6,00
Barry Charles C.	13,00	Ladies	1,50
Barbadoes James G.	5,00	Litchfield Ward	2,00
Blake Mr.	2,00	Lewis Joel W.	2,00
Braman Milton P.	1,00	Munroe Wm. C.	2,00
Brown Thomas	4,00	Mundrucu E. F. B.	2,00
Bullard Dexter	1,00	Nichols Job	2,00
Carlisle James	2,00	(Odiorne Edward Gordon	1,00
Capron Effingham L.	2,00	Osborn Silas	16,07
Capron Wm C.	2,00	Osgood William	1,00
Cash Jonathan	5,00	Osgood Jr. William	1,00
Chamberlain H. M.	2,00	Paul Thomas	2,00
Child David L.	2,00	Pero John B.	2,00
Child Mrs.	1,50	Pitts Coffin	6,00
Colton S. H.	2,00	Pierce John B.	5,00
Colwell Angell	50	Philbrick Samuel	2,00
Cole Thomas	2,00	Phelps Abner	2,00
Col. in Haverhill & Plaistow	6,10	Phelps Mrs. A. A. by Boston Ladies	
do. W. Haverhill by Rev. A. Cross	3,46	Anti-Slavery Society	15,00
Contributions	204,67	Pomeroy Rev. S. L.	2,00
Davis E. S.	2,00	Proctor Sylvester	1,00
Davis John	2,00	Putnam Jesse	2,00
Dresser Samuel	1,00	Putnam Ahira	1,00
Easton Joshua	2,00	Reading A. S. Society	8,58
Edwards Thomas	2,00	Rich Ezekiel	1,00
Ela Mr.	2,00	Rice Asaph	2,00
Elliot James	1,00	Robins Joseph	2,00
Everett Dea. Willard	2,00	Roberts Robert	2,00
Follen Prof. Charles	2,00	Rogers John	2,00
Forbes Abner	2,00	Rupp John	2,00
Foster Edward	1,16	Searlett John E.	2,00
Foster Miranda	10	Scarborough Phillip	1,00
Foster Lucy W. and Miranda	22	Simpson Michael H.	2,00
Friends	1,25	Shore Squier	2,00
Friend by S. E. S.	10,00	Scott Robert	5,00
Friends in England by C. Stuart	322,13	Sharpe George	1,00
Friends in Medway W. Parish	33,82	Sharpe Robert D.	1,00
Franklin A. S. Society	6,33	Sharpe John W.	1,00
Gale Samuel	2,00	Sharpe Elias	1,00
Gaskin Mr.	1,00	Southwick Edward	35,00
Gilbert Increase	15,00	Stone Cloe	12
Gilbert Mrs. Increase	15,00	Stimson John	2,00
Gill Perez	2,00	S.	2,00
Goodridge Bailey	2,00	S. Mr. & Mrs.	30,00
Green Charles	2,00	Taylor John	2,00
Grew Rev. Henry	2,00	Tillson Joseph	15,00
Gregg Daniel	5,00	Tenny Samuel N.	2,00
Grosvenor Rev. C. P.	2,00	Thompson George	15,00
Hayward Wm. H.	15,00	Thompson Mrs. George	15,00
Hildreth Dr. C. T.	15,00	Walton Amos	1,00
Hilton John T.	2,00	Wells Rev. E. M. P.	1,00
Hewes Frederick	2,00	Willson Harvey	2,00
Mollis Thomas	2,00	Wilmington Increase S.	5,00
Holmes Heman	2,00	Williams John S.	2,00
Kenrick John	200,00	Windham A. S. Society	5,75
King John G.	2,00	Wheeler Phineas	15,00
Lackey Albert	3,00	Wyman Rufus	10,00
Ladies Anti-Slavery Fair	350,00	Yates James D.	2,00
Ladies A. S. Soc. in Reading	10,00		
		Total	\$1336,26
	\$1336,24		

LIFE MEMBERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JOHN KENRICK,* Newton, Mass.
 PRINCE FARMER, Salem, Mass.
 JOHN REMOND, do.
 CHARLES STUART, England.
 GEORGE THOMPSON, do.
 EDWARD S. ABDY, do.
 SAMUEL E SEWALL, Boston.
 DANIEL GREGG, do.
 CHARLES C. BARRY, do.
 ELLIS GRAY LORING, do.
 JAMES C. ODIORNE, do.
 ISAAC KNAPP, do.
 WM. H. HAYWARD, do.
 INCREASE GILBERT, do.
 Rev. E. M. P. WELLS, do.
 WM. LLOYD GARRISON, do.
 BENJAMIN C. BACON, do.
 Rev. HENRY JONES, Cabot, Vt.

Rev. D. T. KIMBALL, Ipswich, Mass.
 Dr. INGALLS KITTRIDGE, Beverly.
 Dr. CHARLES T. HILDRETH, Boston.
 SILAS OSBORN.
 WILLIAM OAKES, Ipswich, Mass.
 EBENEZER DOLE, Hallowell, Me.
 JOHN TAYLOR, Bath, Me.
 EDWARD SOUTHWICK, Danvers.
 JOSEPH TILLSON, Boston.
 PHINEAS WHEELER.
 Mrs. GEORGE THOMPSON, England.
 Mrs. CALVIN PHILLEO.
 Miss AMOS A. PHELPS, Boston.
 Mrs. INCREASE GILBERT, Boston.
 Mrs. S. H. WINSLOW, Portland, Me.
 Mrs. C. WINSLOW, do.
 Miss SUSAN PAUL, Boston.
 A FRIEND AND HIS WIFE. ✓

* Deceased.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, New-York.
 WILLIAM RAWLE, Philadelphia.
 Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, Brooklyn, Ct.
 Rev. S. S. JOCELYN, New-Haven, Ct.
 Rev. GEORGE BOURNE, New-York.
 Hon. SAMUEL CRAFTS, Craftsbury, Vt.
 Hon. A. CLARK, Danville, Vt.
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 HAZEN MERRILL, Esq. Peacham, Vt.
 MOSES BROWN, Providence, R. I.
 Rev. ORSON S. MURRAY, Orwell, Vt.

JOHN RIDGWAY, Staffordshire, Eng.
 WILLIAM RIDGWAY, do.
 JOSIAH WEDGEWOOD, do.
 Capt. CHARLES STUART, England.
 JOSEPH PHILLIPS, do.
 WM. WILBERFORCE,* do.
 THOMAS CLARKSON, do.
 HENRY NEWMAN, do.
 WM. CRAWFORD, do.
 EDWARD S. ABDY, do.
 GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. do.

* Deceased.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, we believe that Slavery is contrary to the precepts of Christianity, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and ought immediately to be abolished; and whereas, we believe that the citizens of New-England not only have the right to protest against it, but are under the highest obligation to seek its removal by a moral influence; and whereas, we believe that the free people of color are unrighteously oppressed, and stand in need of our sympathy and benevolent co-operation; therefore, recognizing the inspired declaration that God 'hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,' and in obedience to our Saviour's golden rule, 'all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;' we agree to form ourselves into a Society, and to be governed by the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and shall be auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

ART. 2. The objects of the Society shall be, to endeavor by all means sanctioned by law, humanity, and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States; to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.

ART. 3. Any person by signing the Constitution, and paying to the Treasurer fifteen dollars as a life subscription, or one dollar annually, shall be considered a member of the Society, and entitled to a copy of all its official publications.

ART. 4. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor, and ten Counselors, who shall be elected annually, by ballot, on the fourth Wednesday of January, or subsequently by adjournment, and shall hold their respective offices until others are chosen.

ART. 5. The foregoing officers shall constitute a Board of Managers, to whom shall be entrusted the disposition of the funds, and the management of the concerns of the Society. They shall have power to make their own by-laws, to fill any vacancy which may occur in their Board, and to employ agents to promote the objects of the Society.

ART. 6. There shall be a public meeting of the Society annually, on the fourth Wednesday of January, at which the Board of Managers shall make a Report of their doings for the past year, and of the income, expenditures, and funds of the Society.

ART. 7. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, or in his absence one of the Vice Presidents, or in their absence a President pro tem.

ART. 8. The Corresponding Secretary shall receive and keep all communications or publications directed to the Society, and transmit those issued by them, and shall correspond with the agents, or any other bodies or individuals, according to the directions of the Society of the Managers.

ART. 9. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, and keep the records of the same.

ART. 10. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions and donations to the Society, hold all its funds, and make payments according to the directions of the Managers; he shall keep a true account of the same, and render a statement to accompany the Annual Report of the Society.

ART. 11. Any Anti-Slavery Society, or any association founded on kindred principles, may become auxiliary to this Society, by contributing to its funds, and may communicate with us by letter or delegation.

ART. 12. The Society shall hold meetings on the last Monday of March, June, and September, for the transaction of any business which may be presented by the Board of Managers, or for addresses, or for discussion of any subject connected with the objects of the Society. Special meetings may be called by the Board of Managers, or by the Recording Secretary on application from ten members of the Society.

ART. 13. This Constitution may be altered at the Annual Meeting for the choice of officers, provided the amendments proposed to be made, have been submitted to the Board of Managers in writing, previously.

FOURTH
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING,

January 20, 1836.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY ISAAC KNAPP.
46 WASHINGTON STREET.
1836.

REPORT.

DURING the past year, the operations of this Society have been conducted upon a much more extended scale than before. This will account satisfactorily, we trust, not only for the larger expenditure, which will be reported by your Treasurer, but also for the debt unavoidably incurred, for the payment of which we must appeal to your further generosity.

According to the statement of the Office Agent, our sales have exceeded two thousand dollars; besides which there has been a considerable amount of gratuitous distributions. No one measure has been more promotive of our objects, than the establishment of this Office. It has become the centre of intercourse, and the medium of communication for those, who are co-operating with us. Indeed, it is the local habitation of the Society. We trust its value and importance are so justly appreciated, that we need not plead for its continuance.

Soon after the last anniversary, provision was made for the support of a gentleman, who would devote himself wholly to the Society, as its General Agent and Corresponding Secretary—the business of the Society having become sufficiently laborious to require the devotion of an individual's whole time to the duties of this department. The present incumbent commenced his services on the 1st of April. About the same time, the Rev. C. P. Grosvenor of Salem, was appointed assistant Agent for six months. At the expiration of that term, it was thought advisable to secure his valuable assistance until the end of the year. Both of these gentlemen have labored, as they have had opportunity and were able, in various parts of this and several adjoining States, with

good success almost everywhere, for they have seldom failed to gather large and attentive audiences, wherever they have proposed to lecture.

Our cause has also been very much advanced in Massachusetts by the efforts of Rev. Amos A. Phelps, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and of Mr. George Thompson, respecting whom we shall have much more to say in another part of our Report. Besides the gentlemen already named, we are indebted to Mr. C. C. Burleigh, Rev. Orange Scott, Rev. Shipley W. Wilson, and Rev. P. R. Russell, for occasional but very valuable services. By these living voices, the claims of our enslaved countrymen have been urged upon many thousands of the citizens of Massachusetts, while other faithful friends of the suffering and dumb, have been as diligent and useful in their behalf with their eloquent pens.

The *Liberator*, which, though not indeed the official organ of any Society, must be acknowledged the most efficient instrument of the Abolitionists, has greatly enlarged the range of its circulation and influence; and has continued to speak in its accustomed tone of strength and courage. In one particular it is distinguished from all, and above all papers of this or any other age. Its columns are wide open to its worst opposers. The Editor even takes pains to lay before its readers whatever objections are urged against his principles, and whatever arguments are adduced in their support. "Judge between me and mine adversaries," is the invitation given in every number of the paper. There is a fairness and fearlessness in this course, that deserves high commendation. It shows in the Editor a consciousness of power in himself, and in the principles he propounds and advocates.

We often hear the complaint, that the columns of the *Liberator* are sullied by needless and provoking personalities, still our attachment to the paper was never stronger than it is now, nor our confidence higher in the singleness, purity and power of its uncompromising Editor. Our daily growing acquaintance with Mr. Garrison reveals to us new proofs, that he regards no man with the feelings of a personal enemy. But he has so identified himself with the cause he has espoused, that he may often seem to others to be influenced by personal feeling, in what he writes against its opposers. He "remembers them that are in bonds,

as bound with them." He feels for them as his brethren. Their chains have entered into his soul; and, we believe, he speaks for them, and as they would, if they had the power, and were permitted to give utterance to their thoughts. It is because he has thus put himself in their stead, and is willing to be crushed with them, if he cannot break their yoke, that we respect and love him. Many there are in this community, who are sensitive enough, when anything is said that may affect the reputation or feelings of one, who may be inhaling with every breath the air of liberty, and basking in the sunlight of popular favor, whose rights are secured, and who is able to defend himself. Mr. Garrison is as sensitive, when he hears anything said prejudicial to the cause of the poor, despised, down-trodden one, who has none to help him. *He is very jealous for the slave.* For this we respect, we love him. This is the source of his severity, and in this too is the secret of his power. He is one of those to whom contemporaries never do justice. Posterity will highly appreciate him. The general strain of his writings must exalt him among the friends of civil and religious liberty. That liberty is in peril, sore peril in our land. The greatest evils are struggling for perpetuity here, and can only be broken down by great power. "Interests of infinite moment are at stake, and he is to be admired for binding himself to them, with the whole energy of his mind, and for defending them with fervor and vehemence. We must not mistake Christian benevolence, as if it had but one voice, that of soft entreaty. It can speak in piercing and awful tones. There is constantly going on in our world a conflict between good and evil. The cause of human nature has always to wrestle with foes." Never has it encountered more determined enemies than in this country, at this time. The greatest victory in the cause of human nature is yet to be achieved in this Republic. It may have to be won by the severest struggle. But won it must, it will be. The spirit of the age and the spirit of the Almighty assure our spirits that it shall be won. "Men gifted with great power of thought and language, and loftiness of sentiment," like Mr. Garrison, "are especially summoned to the conflict. They hear, as it were, in their own magnanimity, and generous aspirations, the voice of a divinity; and thus commissioned, and *burning with a passionate devotion to truth and freedom*, they must and will speak with an indignant en-

ergy, and they ought not to be measured by the standard of ordinary minds, in ordinary times. Men of natural softness and timidity, of a sincere but effeminate virtue, will be apt to look on these bolder, hardier spirits, as violent, perturbed, and uncharitable ; and the charge will not be wholly groundless. But that deep feeling of evils, *which is necessary to effectual conflict with them, and which marks God's most powerful messengers to mankind*, cannot breathe itself in soft and tender accents. The deeply moved soul will speak strongly, and ought to speak so as to move and shake nations."

Those who have read Dr. Channing's brilliant and much admired review of Milton's character and writings, will perceive that we have appropriated to our purpose, in the foregoing paragraph, what he has offered in palliation, if not apology, for "the party spirit, coarse invective, and controversial asperity," of that great champion of freedom, of whom he elsewhere says, "Milton we should rank among seraphs." Surely the faults of a seraph may be forgiven in a man.

Twenty societies, or more, have been formed auxiliary to this since our last Anniversary. Five of them are of females. Our opposers affect to sneer at their co-operation. But we welcome, we are grateful for it. The influence of women never was, never will be insignificant. It is dreaded by those, who would be thought to condemn it. Men have always been eager to secure their co-operation. In those emergencies, that have tried men's souls, women have always borne their part well. Honorable mention is made of many, who toiled and suffered with the Savior and the Apostles, for the redemption of the world. Not a few there were, in the perilous times of the Reformation, who stood side by side with those, who dared to defy a power, that had well nigh subjugated the whole of Christendom. The hands of our Pilgrim Fathers, too, were strengthened, and their hearts encouraged, by the presence and the fortitude of their women. Our American revolution was not achieved by men alone. Their wives and daughters partook of their hardships, and animated them to persist in the enterprise. In England, women were among the earliest, the latest, the most untiring, uncompromising promoters of the Abolition of the Slave Trade ; and were even more conspicuous in those recent efforts of philanthropy, which have effected the emancipation of *eight hun-*

dred thousand in the British West India Islands. We hail it therefore, as most auspicious of our success, that so many faithful and zealous women have espoused the Anti-Slavery cause in this Republic. Events of the past year have proved that those, who have associated themselves with us, will be helpmates indeed ; for they are animated by a spirit that can brave danger, endure hardship, and face a frowning world.

Would that there were time for us to speak, as our feelings dictate, and truth would justify, of our numerous fellow laborers in various parts of the country ; Birney and Weld and Wattles and Thome in Ohio — and Tappan and Stuart and Wright and Greene and Jay and Smith in New York — and Gould in Pennsylvania — and Phelps and Goodell and Potter and Stanton now in Rhode Island, and Storrs in New Hampshire, and Murray in Vermont, — and Thurston and Rand in Maine — and many very many more, who deserve to be had in everlasting remembrance for their steadfastness and zeal in this most unpopular, but most righteous cause. It will be necessary for us, however, to confine ourselves to the statistics of the cause in Massachusetts alone, and to indulge only in general observations upon the leading events of the year, that has just gone with its momentous account.

But we may not thus excuse ourselves from making special mention of the services of one, now we trust breathing again the air of his native land, whence he came to this country, at the invitation of this society, to raise his voice of strength, and exert his various, and surpassing talents, for the relief of suffering men. Mr. Thompson has been the chief speaker among many who have spoken well, and has labored more abundantly than any of those, who have abounded most in this work of the Lord. He has labored with us and for us in a manner and a measure, that have given an impulse to the Anti-Slavery cause, which will be felt to the last. It flows and will keep flowing on. He poured himself out like water ; and the wonder of all who heard him was, that his stream of facts, and arguments, and illustrations and appeals, seemed to be never diminished, but still gushed forth as from a fountain, ever full and overflowing. He performed, while here, an amount of service, as we have elsewhere said, the narrative of which would be regarded by many as an incredible tale. The remembrance of his energy, zeal, and alacrity in the work he was

sent to do, will never be effaced ; and we hope it will incite us to constantly increasing diligence. He came to us as highly commended as he could be, by the Christian philanthropists of England. And he returns to them with our united testimony, that he has amply redeemed the pledges they gave us. He has shown himself to be thoroughly furnished for his office. And he has in no case compromised the Christian character of his mission.* We cannot find words to express our shame for the ineffable meanness of our opposers, who, unable to answer his arguments or to withstand his appeals, were eager to drive the highly gifted philanthropist from the country, by insult, calumny and violent assaults upon his person. They have effected their purpose. But we weep rather for them, than for him.

The past year has been prolific of events, that have gone to establish the charges, which the Abolitionists have alleged against our country ; have satisfied us, that we have "laid the axe to the root of the tree" of evil, which has so long been diffusing its poison throughout our borders ; events that have revealed the importance already attained by the Anti-Slavery enterprise, in the regard of the whole nation ; and such as we think, should encourage us to persevere in our work, still putting our trust, and hope of success, wholly in the truth and the grace of Almighty God. We shall comment upon as many of them, as a due regard to the other exercises of this occasion will permit—being guided in our course more by the order of time, than of the relative importance of the events, we shall notice.

In this order, the formation of "the American Union for the relief and improvement of the colored race," comes first. What gave birth to it? What but the conviction that the claims of that down-trodden people were to be no longer set at naught, or disregarded? A number of highly respectable gentlemen, prominent in the administration of ecclesiastical matters, perceived that Slavery had come to be a subject of so much concernment, both in and out of the church, that it would not do to overlook it any longer. The despised Abolitionists had made a deep impression upon the public mind. They had exposed the delusion of Colonization, to

* If any are in doubt on these points, we refer them to our statement respecting him published in the *Liberator* of Dec. 5, the *Boston Courier* of Dec. 17, and the *Daily Advocate* of Dec. 31, 1835.

which "the wise and prudent" had given their countenance and aid; and thousands who had promoted that project with the unfeigned desire thereby to afford relief to our oppressed countrymen, being now undeceived, were turning their energies and their prayers, to the advancement of our simple and most righteous endeavor to break at once the yoke of bondage. After an announcement of several weeks, a Convention called by a number of these respectable men, who, we were told, "acted as a committee of a much larger body of gentlemen,* who had been for some time considering the subject," assembled in Boston, January 14th, 1835. But what to do they seemed not to know. They were afraid to admit into their counsels men who were not of their sort. They dared not to allow a free discussion of principles. They thought it inexpedient to denounce Slave-holding as a sin, which ought to be immediately abandoned. And so, after a day's deliberation, they formed an *elective* association for the purpose of "convincing American citizens," of what we are continually told by our opposers, they are already convinced, "that the *system of Slavery* in this country is wrong, and ought to be universally abandoned."

It was obvious at a glance, that the institution could have no moral energy, for it was based upon no definite, high and life-giving principle. The formers of it seemed to be actuated more by a regard to the assumed right of the slave-holder, than to the birth-right of man — and to crave permission to advocate the cause of injured and insulted humanity, rather than to insist upon it as a duty so to do, from which they could not be excused by their consciences, or God. The Union seems not yet to have done anything. It may never do anything. But this attempt to form a new *national* organization for the benefit of the colored population, made by such men, and at such a time, is regarded as a most expressive acknowledgment that something must be done. It therefore helps to arrest and fasten public attention upon this too long neglected claim of a common humanity; and will help, we trust, to bring many minds to discern the simple truth for which we contend, and induce them to contend with us for the truth, that the first thing to be done for the improvement of these subjects of our commiseration, is to procure from individuals and

* See the Recorder.

communities the *recognition of their right* to improvement — yes to as high an improvement of their physical, mental and moral condition, as they may be able to attain by the unembarrassed exercise of the faculties God has given them. The recognition of this right would be the immediate and entire abolition of Slavery at the South — and at the North it would at once open for them the way to enjoy all the privileges of men, on the same conditions with others.

In February last, our hearts were gladdened by a voice for the slave from the midst of the Legislators of the land. Often had Congress been entreated to hear the cries, and regard the wrongs of the six thousand that are suffering a cruel bondage, within its own exclusive jurisdiction. Year after year, our petitions had been referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, by whom they were forthwith consigned to oblivion. But last February, several petitions were presented, and a motion was made that a special Committee be appointed to consider them. The House refused so to dispose of them. A member then moved that they be laid upon the table, and that they be printed. This gave rise to a vehement discussion, in the course of which the evils and the sin of slaveholding were spoken of in a tone of righteous abhorrence. Mr. Dickson, of New-York, especially distinguished himself. Several southern gentlemen spoke with great warmth, and in their remarks made it plain that serious apprehensions are entertained throughout the South, of the effect of discussion. They endeavored, as their manner is, to browbeat the northern members into silence. But no men will resort to intimidation, who are confident of the goodness of their cause, or of their ability to make a successful defence. They evidently dreaded investigation, and were determined, if possible, to quench the spirit of inquiry. But they might as well attempt to quench the light, or to arrest the advance of Spring. Every thing they said in the course of the debate only confirmed us in the persuasion, that we must persist until we get the subject of slavery fully before Congress. No measure will be more effectual to diffuse information, and enkindle thought and feeling throughout the land. Congress is as the central sun. It sends light and warmth to the extremities of the system which revolves about it. The considerations, which will lead to the abolition of this horrible institution in the District,

will bear with equal weight against it in every other part of our country. At the same time we overthrow the system there, we shall heave the foundation of it everywhere. This our southern brethren see, and, therefore, will they resist all attempts of Congress to act upon the subject, ay, even to entertain a petition. But they must be given to understand, that we see this result of the action of Congress as clearly as they do; and for this very reason, among others, shall never give over our endeavor to induce our National Legislature to remove slavery from within their own jurisdiction.

Some there are, perhaps many, who suppose that Congress cannot interfere with this abomination, which stands in all its hideousness within the very purlieus of the Capitol, because of some conditions which they have heard or imagined the States of Virginia and Maryland prescribed, in the cession of the District, by which Congress is precluded from all action in the premises. But the history of that transaction does not inform us of any such conditions. The only article in "the Act of cession," which prescribes any limitations to the possession thereby given, of the District, to Congress, or any limitations to the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, is the third, which reads as follows — "Provided, that nothing herein contained, shall be construed to vest in the United States any right of property in the soil, or to affect the rights of individuals therein," (*i. e. in the soil*) "otherwise than the same shall or may be transferred by such individuals to the United States."* We have also the opinions of some of our ablest civilians, that the institution of slavery in the District is within the power of Congress to control, regulate, or abolish it. Nor do we see how it would have been constitutional for Congress to accede to any such condition, as is supposed to have been prescribed, seeing the language of the Constitution is so explicit and imperative — that it "*shall have exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever.*"

If, however, it shall be decided by the authorized expounders of the Constitution, that such a limitation was put upon the power of Congress, in this particular, by the Act of cession or in any other way, then, we trust, the Abolitionists will forthwith petition that the Seat of Government be removed to some portion of our

* See Burch's Digest, p. 214.

land,* that is not defiled by an *established system of outrage* upon the very principles, which our nation professes before all men to revere and maintain.

In February or March last, an exposure was made of a proceeding, by certain gentlemen of high standing in one of our religious denominations, that savors not a little of a spirit of domination, to which we fervently pray the Christians in this land may never be brought to submit. On the 31st of December, 1833, the "Board of Baptist ministers, in and near London," addressed a letter to "the Pastors and Ministers of the Baptist Denomination, throughout the United States," and sent it under cover to the Secretary of the "Baptist Board of Foreign Missions." According to its address, it ought forthwith to have been communicated, in the most practicable manner, to the whole body of Christians of that large and wide spread denomination in the country. But it was kept concealed, until it was brought to light, more than a year afterwards, through the medium of an English periodical. It was thus disclosed, that instead of giving free course to the excellent letter of the London Board, that it might be glorified in going through our guilty land, and do what good it could, certain ones in Boston, probably men of '*influence and standing*,' *suppressed it*. On the 1st of September, 1834, eight months after the letter was written, probably six after it was received, the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions took upon themselves to reply, and to keep both the letter and the reply concealed from "the generality" of their brethren.

We have not room to comment upon this high-handed measure, as it deserves. The epistle of the English brethren was evidently dictated by the generous spirit of the gospel — that spirit which cannot be restricted by geographical boundaries or political divisions — that spirit which would lead men to go out into all the earth, preaching deliverance to the captives, giving light to them that are sitting in darkness, and pouring the balm of consolation

* Surely, if Congress cannot legislate upon the subject of slavery in the District, then is the predicament of the slaves there, worse than it would be any where else. For it will not be pretended, that the Legislatures of Virginia or Maryland can emancipate them; so that they would be beyond the reach of any legislation. It were better then to return them to the governments, from under which they were taken, and which, we trust, would in due time be impelled, by an awakened public sentiment, to set them free.

into every wounded heart. It told, in the simplest manner, of the success, that had crowned their efforts for the abolition of B. W. India slavery ; and affectionately besought their brethren in America to resort to the same measures, which had been so signally blessed in England, and rely upon the same grace to help them. It exhorted them to expose the sinfulness of slaveholding — to deal faithfully with it, as with any other prevailing iniquity, leaving the commercial and political bearings of the question to such as might be concerned in them. What an opportunity was here, for the Baptists of the North to introduce the “ delicate ” subject of slavery to their brethren at the South. The publication of the letter from England alone might have opened the eyes of many, and carried conviction to their hearts. But the policy of the wise and prudent was different. They saw “ a pleasing degree of union among the multiplying thousands of Baptists throughout the land. Brethren from all parts of the country unite in the general Convention, and co-operate in sending the Gospel to the heathen. Our Southern brethren are liberal and zealous in the promotion of every holy enterprise for the extension of the Gospel. They are generally, both ministers and people, slaveholders ; not because they all think slavery is right, but because it was firmly rooted long before they were born, and because they believe that slavery cannot be instantly abolished.” These are some of the considerations, (the rest are no more weighty) which the American gentlemen thought should excuse them from interfering, nay more, which they thought would justify them in interposing to prevent their British brethren from interfering, to bring slaveholders of their denomination to a sense of their sins. Thus they neither enter in themselves, nor suffer them that are entering to go in to their churches at the South, that they may expose to them the awful sinfulness of slave-holding ; the glaring inconsistency of sending the gospel to the heathen abroad, while they are keeping men in heathen darkness at home ; the folly of the plea, that because a sin of any kind abounds, and has long abounded, it must therefore be suffered to abound ; and that they may convince them by argument and facts, that slavery ought to be, and can be, (so far as the individual is concerned,) *instantly* abolished.

Was there ever a more striking instance of partnership in iniquity ? The Church at the North stands up as the protectress of

the Church at the South — stands up to guard her from any attempts to purify her from a pollution as foul, an abomination as dread as any to be found among the heathen, they are so zealous to convert! Can that be considered a holy bond — a Christian union, which binds these brethren together?

It is due to our Baptist brethren, in whose communion may be found as many or more abolitionists than in any other, to add that the above mentioned disclosure was received by them with the utmost surprise and regret. Measures were immediately taken to call the attention of the whole denomination to the correspondence, and ascertain the view which was generally entertained of its propriety. The result was that a letter of a very different tenor and spirit was prepared, and having been signed by 183 Baptist ministers,* was sent to the London Board.

We know it will not be thought invidious towards others, who have greatly contributed by their excellent writings, to help on our glorious enterprise, if we make especial mention of the volume from the pen of the Hon. William Jay, of New York. His "Inquiry into the character and tendency of the American Colonization, and American Anti-Slavery Societies," was published in the early part of the last year. Coming from him, a man extensively known, and highly respected and beloved by those who know him, it could not fail to command the public attention. The very rapid sale of the first and the second editions, evinced the eagerness of thousands to know the results of his inquiry into the sentiments and plans of the two Societies, which had stood from the birth of the latter, in the attitude of opposition. It is a book so full of pertinent facts, and carefully drawn conclusions, that it could not fail to impart the convictions of its author to other minds. No book on the subject has probably been read by more persons, nor has any one been instrumental to the conversion of more.

The Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, last May, was very numerously attended at New York, by members from all parts of the Union, north of the Potomac. Never did an assembly evince a deeper interest, a more entire devotion to an object. There seemed to be but one mind, one heart among them. Although they had come from various and distant parts of the land, were strangers to each other according to the

* As many more, we are assured, might have been obtained.

flesh, of diverse religious sects, and opposite political parties, yet were they as a band of brethren. They had come together to do their heavenly Father's will. They had drunk of the same spirit, — they were united with one accord in the same righteous cause. A proposition was made by one of the most enterprising, to extend greatly the plan of publications — somewhat on the scale of the temperance publications at Albany. The proposal, though involving an annual expenditure of \$30,000 was favorably received, and more than half the required sum was subscribed on the spot. It would be grateful to our feelings to dwell awhile upon the proceedings of this meeting; but a full and interesting account of them is already before the public, in connection with the very able Annual Report. To that document we refer those of our readers, who have not seen it.

A few days after the Annual Meeting in New York, the New England Convention of Abolitionists assembled in Boston. The same spirit of devotion to the cause of the oppressed, was manifested here also. Meetings were held every day through the week, and were crowded to the last. Nor were the friends lavish only of their time and their words. They contributed freely of their money also. They gave on the spot, or pledged an amount little less than 6000 dollars.

We were favored here and at New York, with the presence, and the assistance of James G. Birney, of Kentucky — once a slave-holder — now pre-eminently the servant of slaves, laboring with untiring assiduity, unshrinking fortitude, to procure their liberation, and advance their welfare. All were charmed with him. He was mild, yet firm; cautious, yet not afraid to speak the whole truth; candid, but not compromising; careful not to exaggerate in aught, and equally careful not to extenuate and conceal. He imparted much useful information, and animated us to persevere in our work. While here he issued proposals for a paper, the publication of which was to be commenced on his return, at Danville in Kentucky, a paper devoted to the Anti-Slavery cause. This work, for which all who heard Mr. Birney have looked with impatience has been delayed, owing to a series of persecutions, of which all have doubtless heard. But while we are writing our report — the first number of the *Philanthropist*, is laid upon our table. We open it with a beating heart. A paper dedicated

to the cause of the slave! and edited, at the risk of his life, by a man who was born to a slave inheritance, and lived a slave-holder, until the truth, as it is taught by the abolitionists, searched his heart, "as it were the eye of the Almighty," convicted him of sin, and brought him to repentance! How meet for repentance is this work! Its motto breathes the spirit of a contrite heart — "*We are verily guilty concerning our brother * * therefore is this distress come upon us;*" and the whole air and tone of this first number is expressive of that calm determination of a man, who has counted the cost of the war in which he has enlisted, and is willing to sacrifice every thing, but his duty to God and man. Mr. Birney's paper is printed at new Richmond, Ohio. Truly an appropriate name is this for the place, whence is to issue a paper, that will boldly confront the pro-slavery doctrines, that are poured upon the community from the old Richmond presses.

It is a fact, which will be mentioned in future times, as an evidence of the illiberality of Boston in the 19th century, that it was with difficulty any place could be obtained here for the meetings of the Convention. Eight of the churches were applied for without success. Boylston Hall, the Temple, and Amory Hall, were also peremptorily refused. At length, after considerable hesitation, the New Jerusalem Church was granted for one half day. The rest of our meetings were held in Julien Hall, which was not large enough to accommodate the assembly.

A written request, signed by one hundred and twenty-five citizens, was presented to the City Government for the use of Faneuil Hall, but it was denied us. This fact must not be forgotten. It is of consequence in connection with another to be mentioned in its place, as illustrative of the temper of our times.

We have observed with great satisfaction, that the subject of Slavery has been introduced, and debated more or less, at the annual meetings of most of the religious denominations in our country. It was agitated with considerable warmth in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and such a disposition made of it as will necessarily bring it before that body, at the next anniversary. During the Conferences of the Methodist Churches in New England, several lectures were delivered by Mr. Thompson and Mr. Phelps; after which the "Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society" was formed, comprising 70 of the ministers and elders of

the Methodist Church, *The Appeal* published by several ministers of that denomination, and the *Defence of the Appeal* are among our ablest publications. And the labors of brothers Scott and Storrs have been blessed. In the slave States also, at all their ecclesiastical meetings, resolutions have been passed upon Slavery, some of which indeed, speak out unequivocally in its favor ; but others in a qualified, faltering tone, which reveals the fact, we have learnt from other sources, that there are some righteous ones at the South, who have not " bowed the knee to Baal," have not been made to worship this American Moloch. These men will yet, we trust, stand up on the Lord's side ; and though comparatively few, they will be a host ; for one man of right, moral and religious principles, can chase a thousand foes, and two can put ten thousand to flight.

As soon after the Annual meeting of the American Society, as it was practicable, the enlarged plan of publication and distribution went into operation. The *Emancipator*, *Human Rights*, the *Record*, and the *Slave's Friend*, each of them monthly periodicals, issued in successive weeks, at New York, were all published in large editions, and were scattered unsparingly through the land. This has been the *occasion*, not the cause, of the outrages at the South, committed upon the persons of American citizens, and the sanctity of the public mail. Designing men seized upon it to make the community there believe, that the Abolitionists were distributing incendiary pamphlets among the slaves. As it is believed that we have done so by many both here and there, we feel ourselves called upon thus officially to deny it. We declare unequivocally, that we have never known or heard of an Abolitionist, who has sent a tract, a page, or a word, to any of the slaves. We are confident, after much inquiry, that nothing has been sent to them, directly or indirectly. We have refrained from sending our publications to them, not because they contain any sentiments, which the slaves ought not to know we cherish. There is not a word in them, so far as we have read, which would instigate the slaves to insurrection — unless they have the perverse ingenuity of a certain Boston editor, who construes a solemn prohibition into a sanction of violence. If any insurrectionary passage has been found in them, why has it not been adduced by our opposers ? Surely they have been eager enough to find aught against us. There are of course in some of our tracts, descriptions of the

wrongs and sufferings of the slaves ; but it were the height of absurdity to suppose, that such descriptions would be so exciting to their revengeful feelings, as are the wrongs and sufferings themselves. It would, we think, tend rather to soothe their outraged humanity, to know that there are some who sympathize with them. Nevertheless, we have refrained from sending our publications to the slaves for four reasons. First. — They are not addressed nor adapted to the slaves, but to their masters. Secondly. — If sent, they probably would never reach the slaves, so vigilant is the espionage of their oppressors. Thirdly. — If they should get safely to their hands, they could not read them. Fourthly. — We fear, if any of our publications should be found in their hands, they would be as fuel added to the fire of their afflictions. For similar reasons, we have never sent from the office in Boston, and the Secretary of the Society at New York assures us, he has never knowingly sent anything, to the *free* colored people south of Washington City. In that city, there were two or three colored men who were subscribers to our publications. If, further south, there have been other subscribers of that description — they have not been known to us as such. That very few, if any, have gone into their hands, is evident from the accounts given by the southern Post-masters, of the contents of the mail bags, which they have had the audacity to examine. Only one, we believe, reports that he found anything for free colored persons, and he does not quote a word to prove, that what he found was insurrectionary. Suffice it here to add, that with the very few exceptions just named, our tracts and periodicals have been sent to ministers of religion, members of Congress, and of the several State Legislatures, Justices of the Peace, and other men of standing in the community, whose names we have happened to hear of from those who knew them, or have gathered from the State Registers.* Although generally, perhaps, unacceptable, they have been by some very graciously received ; and are silently but surely working the change we desire to effect. It is, we verily believe, because they

* In no case, from the office in Boston, and we are assured, that in no case, from the office in New York, have any of our publications been sent to persons at the South, or anywhere else, after we have been informed that they wished not to receive them. In one word, we have pursued the well known course of the publishers of moral or religious periodicals.

see this change is taking place, that those who love their unrighteous gains more than they respect the rights of man or the will of God, are thrown into a state of feverish excitement ; just as the craftsmen at Ephesus were by the preaching of Paul. And they are resorting to similar modes of opposition to the truth. It is easy enough for a few designing men to fill a city with confusion ; to raise mobs who shall cry out lustily anything that may be dictated by the spirit of disorder. False witnesses can easily be suborned — and a whole community made to believe a lie. Now all we say in answer to those, who charge upon us the circulation of insurrectionary pamphlets, is, produce them. Bring us and our publications before a tribunal of justice, and if an impartial jury shall find us guilty of the charges preferred, let us suffer the consequences which the law prescribes. The course pursued by our opposers shows, they are conscious that neither truth nor law is on their side. Indeed some of them have been honest enough to acknowledge, that they cannot hope to obtain our conviction before any court, but that over which Judge Lynch presides.

But we are censured for sending our publications to the South, by some who exonerate us from all suspicion of a design to excite the slaves to insurrection. Dr. Channing says that "in so doing, they, (the Abolitionists) acted weakly and without decorum." We marvel at this censure. We marvel the more, because we have been so often rebuked for not going to the South, there to proclaim with our living voices, the truths and sentiments which we have sent thither on the silent and less exciting pages of our books. Why have we not acted naturally? We are anxious our Southern brethren should be informed of all we think, and all we purpose to do. There is not a thought or purpose in our hearts, which we would not have them know altogether. They can never be affected as we wish, until they are made to understand what we would have them do. We grant there should be a selection, (and so far as we are acquainted with the procedure there has been a selection) for some of our publications are better adapted to the North than to the South. But we conceive it to be our duty to distribute to all, who are guilty of slave-holding, our pamphlets and papers, exhibiting our views of the enormity and the danger of so doing. Surely Dr. Channing would not consider it weak and

indecorous in us, were we to give temperance tracts to drunkards, and distillers, and retailers; or tracts against lotteries or theatres or brothels to those, who are engaged in the management, and reap the profits of those corrupting institutions. And is there any valid reason why we should not deal likewise with slave-holders?

But the pictures! the pictures!! these seem to have been specially offensive. And why, unless it is because they give specially distinct impressions of the horrors of slavery? They were efficient instruments in exposing the cruelties of the Inquisition to the public abhorrence, before which the institution was unable to stand; and in arousing the attention of the Christian world to the hideous superstitions of the Heathen, and in leading to a generous effort for the redemption of the benighted children of the East. Pictorial representations have ever been used with success, in making any desirable impression upon the minds of men, the bulk of whom are more immediately and thoroughly affected by a picture, than a verbal description. Why then should they not be used, in the exposure we purpose to make of our national wickedness? If any of them represent what does not exist, let the falsehood be shown and reprov'd. But with what reason or justice are we called upon to suppress the picture, so long as the original is allowed to defile our land?

Although the explosions of passion which have rent the Southern States, are attributed to "the incendiary publications of the Abolitionists," it is obvious they are justly attributable to another cause. A great part has been the effect of political manœuvring. The policy of the Southerners, from the first, has been to secure the election of a southern man to the office of President.* In this they have failed but twice, and then only for one term each time. Mr. Webster's high claims, and Mr. Van Buren's high probability of success at the next canvass, have given them serious apprehensions, that they shall once more be compelled to resign the chair to a northern candidate. To prevent this, has been their aim since the last election was decided; and they soon seized upon the project of the Abolitionists as a hinge, upon which to make their plan turn. Whatever may have been the belief, in times past, no one can now doubt that the Southerners cling to the institution of

* We have heard it said, that in all the elections that have taken place, only nine votes have ever been given at the South for northern candidates.

slavery with the utmost tenacity. Nothing, therefore, would so soon blast with them the reputation of a candidate for the presidency, as the imputation that he was in favor of the Abolition of Slavery. This charge was therefore alleged against both Mr. Webster, and Mr. Van Buren. Their partisans at the North, each of them eager to ingratiate their favorite with southern friends, have alike endeavored to demonstrate their respect for southern interests, by the most vehement condemnation of the Abolitionists. Hence they set about, at an early period of our movements, to misrepresent our sentiments and purposes, and to malign our characters. The southern papers most industriously circulated these false reports—until doubtless the community at the South were generally made to believe, that the Abolitionists were their most dangerous enemies, intending to excite their slaves to assert their rights, and thus bring on the horrors of a servile war. When, therefore, it was found that the publications of the Anti-Slavery Society were distributed through the mails, in great numbers, though with only one exception,* uniformly addressed to the masters, it was easy enough, by keeping back this material part of the truth, to throw the whole community into a consternation of fear, and a fury of passion. It was made to be generally believed, that the mails came laden with Anti-Slavery tracts and papers, in order to arouse the slaves to insurrection, although no proof was given that a single page had been put into their hands,† and although the slightest thought would have been

* The Post-master of Norfolk, reported that an Anti-Slavery paper was sent to a colored man of that city.

† Last September, the writer of this Report, received a reproachful letter from a gentleman then in Massachusetts, containing the following extract from a letter he had just received from his daughter, resident in a Southern city. “Pamphlets are about the city—in which the negroes are urged to an insurrection, and are told, that *now* is the time, as so many of the male inhabitants are absent. The Mayor has one of these pamphlets. Numbers of the negroes are found armed with butcher knives, *very sharp!* What do the Abolitionists intend? The only answer I can give, is “*to murder your women and children!*” And then followed (what was to be expected from a woman, filled with alarm, by the false reports which were circulating around her,) a thrilling condemnation of the supposed authors of the evil, which was supposed to be impending over the city where she lives. To this communication I replied, expressing my regret at the state of distressing anxiety in which the lady was when she wrote the letter, but adding that the story bore, on the face of it, the appearance of falsity; that we

enough to detect the folly of the charge. Nevertheless, the Post Office was violated, and packages of papers were destroyed by a bonfire in the public square at Charleston; effigies of distinguished Abolitionists were also burnt with every expression of public hate, and large rewards were offered for the abduction of their persons. Citizens of northern States, pursuing their business or their pleasure at the South, were seized upon suspicion, and without a trial, thrown into prison, or subjected to cruel and infamous punishments. In answer to all these outrages, the North uttered but a feeble remonstrance. The political papers more than half excused them. Then public meetings were called at the South, to denounce the fanatics; and the patriots (?) at the North gathered eagerly together, even in Faneuil Hall, to respond to the same.

This political game, however, has been played with a reckless hand, that has defeated its own purpose. The tone of the South very soon became so despotic and ferocious, that the little remaining love of liberty and respect for civil rights at the North was roused to assert itself. It was not in the hearts of *all* the patriots here, to utter a broad approval of Slavery, and consign those who dared denounce it, to the summary disposal of Judge Lynch. Therefore, all they have done and said has rather tended to confirm the suspicions, which southern politicians have wished to propagate, i. e. that the people here are inimical to that system of oppression, which the people there are determined to uphold. So that the prospects of our northern candidates are less flattering than before the game commenced.

Nor is this all. The panic has passed, and a reaction has com-

should have heard of arrests and punishments, before the story of the intended insurrection could have transpired; moreover that such a plot, if it existed, must have been set on foot by some other person than an Abolitionist. If I were mistaken on *this* point, he could easily ascertain on his return to the South, as the pamphlets referred to in his daughter's letter "were about the city," and one of them was in the Mayor's hands. And I pledged myself, in case such pamphlets were or had been circulated there, and he would send me one of them, that if it emanated from the Anti-Slavery Society, I would publicly renounce my connection with that Society; or if it was the production of an Abolitionist, I would do all in my power to procure his public condemnation.

The gentleman went to the South early in October; but I have never received a copy of the incendiary pamphlet — nor a line from him informing of the truth of the report in his daughter's letter; nor in any other way have I heard a word about the intended insurrection.

menced. The demands of the South, and the course of our opposers here have been so outrageous — setting at nought the plainest principles of justice, and trampling in the dust the dearest rights of American citizens — that many who are not willing to be numbered as of us, are compelled to take sides with us, rather than submit to the reign of anarchy, and that wild usurper, Mob. The Abolitionists therefore now, in consequence of the assaults of their adversaries, occupy a more favorable position than ever. We are entrenched behind the citadel of our liberties. Our feet are planted upon the rock of our national security. If our opposers can succeed by the measures they have proposed, in preventing us from writing, speaking, meeting and publishing on the subject of Slavery, it will be apparent to the world — it will stand confessed before all men, that we are not a free people. To this we trust, the descendants of the Pilgrims will not consent. It will not be readily conceded, that there is any public evil in our country, beyond the reach of a corrective influence; or that there is anything in our political or religious institutions, needing amendment, that cannot be amended. No. Our excellent Constitution has guaranteed to us the free exercise of all the moral power, which God has given us.

The concession virtually made by the course of measures, pursued by our opposers both at the South and the North, is a most precious one to us, who rely only upon the power of truth to correct error, and of conviction of sin to lead to repentance. If it could be shown, that we are propagating what is false in fact, or in sentiment, would our opposers think of doing any more than to expose the falsity? Have they not wisdom and wit enough to show that slave-holding is right in itself, and salutary in its effects, if it be so? If the African or the descendant of an African be not a man, or if he have ever forfeited the prerogatives of a man; and again, if the slave-holder have any higher claim of property to the person of his fellow-being, than the thief has, or he who buys of the thief has, to the thing stolen, would not those, who so understand these matters, set themselves about to make us so understand them, and thus end the strife? Do they who are conscious they have the truth and the right on their side — do they fear discussion? Do they resort to outcry and violence and brutal force? We trow not. Hence we infer from the measures pur-

sued against us, that our opposers perceive we are urging facts and principles upon the consideration of our countrymen, which are unquestionably true, but such as they and the people generally are not prepared to receive and obey, — such as their pecuniary interests, their prejudices, their pride impel them to resist. But for these we feel no respect. We are not bound to show them deference. On the contrary, they are bound to submit to the eternal principles of justice and humanity. Will they resist? They will find it hard to contend with God. Even their wrath shall praise him — shall be so overruled as to become an instrument in the advancement of his cause.

We have been already led to notice his overruling providence. The violence and recklessness of our opposers have given a notoriety to the project of the Abolitionists, which, otherwise, it would not so soon have attained. Nay more, they have created a necessity for the interference of our National Government, for the protection of one of its departments, which in their madness, they have grossly violated. Something must be done for the preservation of the Post Office. The discussion, that must arise, will involve an inquiry into the use that has been made of the mails by the Abolitionists, of which our opposers have attempted to deprive us. It will be found on investigation, that we have been shamelessly calumniated. So that the very efforts of our opposers to suppress the truth, shall give it greater publicity. By burning our publications at Charleston, they have poured a blaze of light upon a subject, which they would fain consign to everlasting darkness. That fire will never be quenched, while a vestige of slavery remains upon our soil.

The very close connection of the events alluded to in the two or three preceding pages, has led us to disregard the order of time, by which we proposed to guide our commentary upon the past year. We should be unwilling, however, to leave unnoticed the fact, that the Anniversary of our national Independence was generally observed by the Abolitionists, in a manner tending, as we believe, to advance the high objects, avowed by the fathers of the American Revolution. Their love of liberty, their jealousy for human rights, has not been cherished in the bosoms of their descendants. Little did the founders of this Republic expect, that the most ruthless system of oppression would be *estab-*

lished in the land they had redeemed. Although they framed our otherwise excellent Constitution, on the mistaken and mischievous principle of compromise, still they were assiduously careful so to frame it, as not explicitly to recognize the awful violation of human rights, for which the South contended. It is worthy of remark that the language of our Magna Charta is so carefully chosen, that the unnatural, irreconcilable institution of Slavery may be abolished, without requiring the change of an article in that basis of our civil government.* Our fathers doubtless believed, that the spirit of the Revolution would ere long break every yoke. How have we disappointed their expectations! How dim has become our perception of truths, which were *self-evident* to them! How cold our love of those principles, which animated them to dedicate (in the manner they thought right) "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" to the cause of liberty! At the end of sixty years, their recreant descendants are the oppressors of millions! More than one sixth part of the people of the land they redeemed are in the most abject bondage, and paralyzing degradation! And sentiments are uttered by the Rulers of the people, which would have been shocking to every feeling in our fathers' hearts, if they had been uttered in their day by the hereditary tyrants of the old world.† Was it not well then, and will it not be well hereafter, that the day, on which we commemorate their deeds, should be so spent as to rouse our nation to a sense of her injustice, cruelty, and glaring inconsistency; and bring her back to her plighted devotion to the inalienable rights of man?

On the 1st of August, we celebrated the anniversary of the emancipation, by the British Parliament, of 800,000 slaves, in the West Indies. We regard that as one of the most signal achievements of philanthropy — one of the most momentous events, in its future even more than in its present consequences, that has marked the passage of time. Many high considerations called

* Only five words would be even superfluous, viz: *three-fifths of all other persons.* Art. I. Sect. 2.

† We could too easily fill several pages with sentiments, deserving the above condemnation, taken from the Messages of most of the Southern, and several of the Northern Governors. But Governor Mc'Duffie, of South Carolina, has out-Heroded all the Herods in the land. His Message breathes the spirit of a Nero.

us to rejoice and take courage, at the event we then commemorated. We saw in it a proof of the majesty of *moral power*. Great pains have been taken, by the pro-slavery party in England and this country, to make it appear, that the effects of the emancipation in the West Indies, have been only evil. But we hesitate not to contradict their statements of facts—and the inferences they would draw from those statements, even if they were correctly made. In our view, the results of the experiment of the English Government have thus far been as favorable, as it was reasonable to expect. Moreover they have so turned out as greatly to confirm our faith in all the principles, for which we are contending. In those islands, where the abolition of slavery was succeeded by the apprenticeship system—a system under which the power of the master to compel the subject was abridged, and no adequate inducement to labor voluntarily was supplied,—there have been idleness, discontent and strife.* But in those islands, where the emancipation was immediate and entire, where the freedmen were placed at once under the influence of the same motives to industry and good conduct, that operate to produce these virtues in other men, there have been quietness, and industry, and increased enjoyment of life.

In the 1st number of the *Constitutional Magazine*, published in London, last August, there is an article, evidently written by one who is not a zealous Abolitionist, on “the workings of the Slave Emancipation Bill,” which fully sustains, by facts that will not be questioned, all that we have said upon the subject. It is with pleasure that we refer our readers also to a recent publication from the pen of our talented, and devoted fellow-laborer, Mrs. Child,—“The Anti-Slavery Catechism,”—in which, together with much other elementary, fundamental information, she has given the best account of this matter that we have seen.†

One of the beneficent purposes of this Society, and its associates, is to promote the improvement of the free people of color. With this view, more than two years ago, efforts were commenced for the establishment of a Manual Labor School, somewhere in New-England. Several thousand dollars were subscribed, and several

* There have not been, however, even in those islands, any insurrections or massacres.

places were recommended, as suitable for such an establishment. The Trustees and patrons of Noyes Academy in Canaan, N. H. at length made such representations, and offered such inducements, that it was thought best to bestow all the patronage, we could afford, upon that institution, on the condition that its advantages should be afforded to colored youth, upon the same terms as to those who are white. Our sanguine brother, Geo. Kimball, exerted himself with an assiduity, deserving as high praise as it would have received, if it had been completely successful. Ten or twelve colored young men were admitted into the Academy, and for a while we were encouraged to believe that the place was found, where they might enjoy unmolested the means of acquiring a good education. But the 10th of August last dispelled the pleasing hope. The following is the official account of their proceedings, which the destroyers of "Noyes Academy" had the effrontery to publish in the "*New-Hampshire Patriot*."

"Agreeably to the vote of the town of Canaan, in the County of Grafton, and State of New-Hampshire, passed at a legal Town Meeting, holden on the 31st day of July last, the Superintending Committee appointed by said town to remove the "Noyes Academy," proceeded at 7 o'clock, A. M. of the 10th Inst. to discharge their duty, the performance of which they believe the *interest* of the town, the *honor* of the State, and the *good* of the whole community, (both black and *white*) required without delay.

At an early hour, the people of this town, and from the neighboring towns assembled, full of the spirit of '75, to the number of about three hundred, with between ninety and one hundred yoke of oxen, and with all the necessary materials for the completion of the undertaking. Many of the most respectable and wealthy farmers of this and the adjacent towns, rendered their assistance on the occasion.

Much credit is due to the patriotic and public spirited town of Enfield, for their prompt and efficient services.

The work was commenced and carried on with very little noise, considering the number engaged, until the building was safely landed on the common near the Baptist Meeting-house, where it stands, not like the monument on "Bunker's Heights," erected in memory of those *departed spirits*, which fought and fell *struggling*

for *liberty*, but as the monument of the *folly* of those living spirits, who are struggling to destroy what our fathers have gained."

A number of sentiments, prepared for the occasion by Mr. Eastman, were then read and received with great applause.

"After which Mr. Barber, in behalf of the town and Committee, tendered his thanks to the company, for their efficient and energetic assistance on the occasion. The company then retired to their respective homes; so ended the day; joyful to the friend of his country, but sorrowful to the Abolitionists.

JACOB TRUSSELL, *for the Committee.*"

Canaan, August 11, 1835.

Hereafter we trust we shall not be charged with bringing a false accusation, when we repeat what too many facts have compelled us to say, that in New-England, in this community which is so renowned for its religious and literary institutions — especially for its system of schools — that even here there is a most relentless spirit of hostility to any plan for the improvement and elevation of the people of color. The children of this class are not admitted into any of our High Schools or Academies; and three attempts, to establish schools of a higher order for them, have been thwarted by the violent opposition of those, who claim to belong to the respectable part of the community. We refer to "the Collegiate School on the manual labor system," which it was proposed to establish at New-Haven — to the Misses Crandall's school for girls at Canterbury* — and to that, of which we have just spoken, at Canaan. What could be more ungenerous, and inconsistent too, than to insist, as very many do, that the Africans and their descendants are an inferior race of human beings, and at the same time withhold from them those intellectual and moral means, which, with all our natural superiority, we find to be necessary for our improvement? If we claim for them is, that they have an equal chance to rise among us.† It is no honor to the

* A full and accurate account of the disgraceful proceedings at New-Haven and Canterbury, may be found in Judge Jay's Inquiry, page 28, *et seq.*

† We long to see among our white countrymen an evidence of the generous spirit, which dictated the following

"Reply of Sir J. C. Smyth, Governor of Barbice, to an Address of the "Free people of Color," thanking him for the relief afforded them from civil disabilities.

whites to keep in advance, so long as the blacks are chained behind.

On the 21st of August last, slavery was rocked in the cradle of liberty. Faneuil Hall, which was refused a few weeks before to the New-England Anti-Slavery Convention, was thrown open by the City Government to a meeting, held for the purpose of protecting American slaveholders in their utter violation of all those rights of man, which Americans have professed before the world to respect; protecting them too, not from an attempt to deliver their bondmen from their hands by force, but from an attempt to induce them to set their captives free. Henceforth let Ichabod be written on those walls.

We are happily relieved from the painful duty of commenting at length upon the riotous proceedings in Boston, on the 21st of October, by the particular, very able, and piquant Report of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, which will probably be extant in a few days. Why it has not been published ere this we know not. To that masterly document we gladly refer for the details

GENTLEMEN,

The law in British Guiana acknowledges no differences amongst his Majesty's subjects in the exercise of their civil and political rights, founded upon so casual and trifling a distinction as the color of a man's skin.

In the discharge of my duty, and in appointing to such vacancies as may occur, in either our civil or military establishments, you may depend upon it that the eligibility of the candidate, and his fitness for the office, will be my only consideration, and that I shall know no distinctions but those caused by virtue and vice, loyalty and disloyalty. Under the circumstances in which you are placed by the law, and with the conviction you cannot but entertain of its being the firm intention of His Majesty's Government not to permit the continuance of distinctions either theoretically or practically, founded upon color, let me earnestly entreat of you to endeavor, on your parts, to forget the words, and to present to the Government no further petitions or addresses as "men of color." You will assume, without further difficulty, that place in Society to which your abilities, information, or wealth may entitle you. All laws injuriously affecting you are abrogated. His Majesty's Government have repeatedly expressed their fixed determination to throw open the doors, leading to every department in the service of the State, to your talents. You have now, consequently, the road before you equally with your fellow subjects of a fairer complexion. Endeavor to outstrip your competitors in the acquirement of knowledge, the practice of virtue, and in morality of conduct. By these means you will conquer the esteem of the most prejudiced, and become entitled to every reward and distinction a just and discriminating Government may have it in its power to bestow upon you."

of a transaction, which inflicted an indelible disgrace upon this metropolis; and also for abundant evidence that those ladies, who have espoused the cause of our oppressed countrymen and countrywomen, perfectly understand the merits of the cause, and can wield, with no common dexterity and force, the weapons of our warfare, which are not carnal, but spiritual.

The mob in Boston! — the birth place of the American Revolution! — “in broad day light and in broad cloth — the mob in Washington Street” to prevent the exercise of the liberty of speech, and of the right peaceably to assemble, — it can never be forgotten! The infamy thereof will be eternal!

On the same day a similar outrage was perpetrated at Utica, New-York. Of these things we have not time to speak. Nor is their need we should. They are in every mouth. They are among the most signal events of the year. They have arrested the attention of all men. They have carried deep into many minds the conviction, that slavery has well-nigh destroyed “that reverence for liberty which is the vital principle of our Republic,” and that it must be speedily abolished, or our own freedom will be but a name.*

In this connection, and in the order of time, we would now call your particular attention to “Dr. Channing’s book on Slavery.” The appearance of this book we consider very auspicious. Not that he explicitly favors the Abolitionists. Nor because he proposes any other plan better than ours. But because he has given to the public a luminous exposition of the rights of man, of the evils of slavery, and of the sin of reducing a rational and moral being to the condition of a piece of property. And, more than all, because he has given the sanction of his example to those, who would make the circumstances of our enslaved countrymen a matter of investigation, and call in question the right by which they are subjected to degradation. We have seen in the occurrences alluded to above, how many there are, who would persuade, ay, compel us to believe that because the Constitution of this confederacy permits the continuance of slavery, it is therefore im-

* We refer our readers with pleasure to the Report, just published, of the proceedings of the New-York Anti-Slavery Convention, held at Utica, Oct. 21 — and the New-York State Anti-Slavery Society, held at Peterborough, Oct. 22 — especially to the noble speech of that well-known philanthropist, Gerrit Smith, Esq.

proper in us to expose the wickedness of the institution, and endeavor so to change public opinion, as to procure its abolition. As soon could we be made to believe, that because our magistrates license the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits, and theatres, and lotteries, and gambling houses, we ought not to expose the sin and misery, which flow from these sources, and endeavor by all righteous means to put a stop to them. We thank Dr. Channing for helping us, with his most eloquent pen and wide spread influence, to repudiate a plea, which, if it be sufficient to bar our procedure, would likewise put a stop to the progress of all reformation. According to his precept and his example too, every one who can is bound to assist in bringing slavery to an end, whether by the thrilling appeal, or the cogent argument, or the pertinent fact — by whatever may help to expose the wrong, or to illustrate and enforce the right. Being, as he is, one of the most distinguished and popular of American writers, his book has introduced the cause of the slaves to thousands, who would turn contemptuously from our pages, without a perusal.

We are not ungrateful to Dr. Channing for his generous commendation of the characters and intentions of those Abolitionists, with whom he is acquainted. But we cannot therefore permit the objections, which he urges against our procedure, to pass without questioning their validity.

He finds fault with our doctrine, or rather with our phrase, "immediate emancipation," because it is liable to be misunderstood. But, we think, if the phrase expresses the true doctrine, it ought to be used, and explanations be patiently given, until the true doctrine, expressed in suitable phrase, has come to be generally understood, received and obeyed. Now, we regard the doctrine of "immediate emancipation," as the inference, which an upright mind would unavoidably draw from a due consideration of the rights of man, the evils of slavery, and the unparalleled iniquity of subjecting a human being to such degradation. On each of these points Dr. Channing's views are clear, and he has exhibited them, we think, so that the feeblest eye may see them. And it is plain to us, that he has drawn the same inference, that we have, although he rejects the words, in which we have expressed that inference. On the 119th page we read :

“What then is to be done for the removal of slavery? *In the first place*, the slave-holders should solemnly disclaim the right of property in human beings. The great principle, that man cannot belong to man, should be distinctly recognized. The slave should be acknowledged as a partaker of a common nature, as having the essential rights of humanity. This great truth lies at the foundation of every wise plan for his relief. The cordial admission of it would give a consciousness of dignity, of grandeur, to efforts for emancipation. There is, indeed, a grandeur in the idea of raising more than two millions of human beings to the enjoyment of human rights, to the blessings of Christian civilization, to the means of indefinite improvement. The slave-holding States are called to a nobler work of benevolence than is committed to any other communities. They should comprehend its dignity. This they cannot do, till the slave is truly, sincerely, with the mind and heart, recognized as a MAN, till he ceases to be regarded as property.”

Now, we should have supposed, if the writer of the above paragraph had not forbidden the supposition, that he intended therein to inculcate the immediate emancipation of the slave — for surely he would have the first thing, that is to be done for the relief of the down trodden man, done immediately. He would have the foot taken from his neck at once. He would have the heavy yoke that crushes him, broken without delay. Surely he would have the *foundation* of the wise plan for his relief, laid *immediately*. He would not, could not counsel the slaveholder to postpone the recognition of the right of his slave to be treated as a man. There is a remarkable resemblance between what Dr. C. says ought to be done *in the first place*, and what the Abolitionists have insisted ought to be done *immediately*. We have not room to quote the passages, but confidently refer our readers to our publications generally.* The objection, that the phrase “immediate emancipation” requires an explanation, lies with equal force against every phrase expressive of a doctrine in theology, or a principle in science, until that term has come, by use and repeated explanation, to be readily understood. If the Abolitionists are teaching any truth, or inculcating any duty, which is unknown or disregarded

* Especially to the Lectures of Rev. A. A. Phelps.

by the people, then is it necessary for them, if they would arrest attention, to adopt a comprehensive phrase, expressive of the truth and the duty, on which they insist. Now, 'immediate emancipation' is the phrase, and the only phrase, that expresses the right of the slave, and the duty of the master. No man can hold his fellow being as a mere piece of property, as a domestic animal, one moment without tremendous sin, unless he does it ignorantly. And, if his ignorance be his own fault, (and how can it be otherwise in this country?) then is his sin the same. We insist upon immediate emancipation from slavery, as the right of the oppressed and the duty of the oppressor. It is the first thing to be done. Instead of being, as some suppose, the consummation of the great work of raising the slave to the stature of a freeman, it is the very beginning. Break the yoke that bows him to the earth as a brute, before you bid him try to walk erect as a man. Renounce all claim of property in him, before you instruct him to learn and do the will of God. Let his right, his inalienable right, his birth-right to the improvement of all his capacities as a man be recognized and secured, else will your efforts for his improvement be feeble, ineffectual, liable to be frustrated at any moment by a caprice of passion, or an incident in fortune. 'This is the doctrine we preach. In whatever sense we use the word immediate, whether in regard to time or order, it is the word that expresses what we mean. We insist upon it, in opposition to that doctrine, which teaches slaveholders to defer to another generation, or to some future time, an act of common humanity, that is due to their fellow men now, and will be due until it is done. We insist upon it, in opposition to that scheme, which proposes to liberate the slave, through the medium of a voyage to Africa.

Dr. Channing objects, that the use of the phrase "immediate emancipation has contributed much to spread far and wide the belief, that the Abolitionists wished immediately to free the slave from all his restraints." But ought we to be held responsible for this senseless, this wanton misconstruction of words? Is emancipation from slavery equivalent to a release from the righteous and wholesome restraints of civil government? Freemen—republican freemen—are subject to the control of equal laws. And is it not a wanton misconstruction of our words, to suppose they imply re-

lease from the restraints to which freemen are subject? We would indeed have the slaves immediately set free from all those restraints which operate to keep them slaves — for no men, however ignorant, however degraded, however wicked, ought to be slaves a moment. But we would have them subjected to righteous laws, and to any other salutary control, that may be found necessary for their good, and the good of the community. From the beginning of our enterprise, our claim for them has been, that they ought to be admitted to all the privileges and prerogatives of freemen, only upon the same conditions, after they shall have acquired, (those of them who do not now possess) the qualifications demanded of others.

If the misapprehensions, into which others may fall, or the misrepresentations they may be pleased to make of our language, are good reasons why we should not use language, that is properly expressive of the truth or the duty we are laboring to enforce, why, there is an end to all improvement in the theories or the practices of the world.

But Dr. C. says the Abolitionists “have fallen into the common error of enthusiasts, that of exaggerating their object, of feeling as if no evil existed but that which they opposed, and as if no guilt could be compared with that of countenancing or upholding it.” We grieve that he suffered this censure to drop from his pen. It will repress, we fear, in many bosoms, the concern which was beginning to rise for the slaves and the slave-holders in our land. There is no danger we shall esteem the evil of their condition to be greater than it is. We see all about us an alarming insensibility or indifference. “Suppose,” to use the words of Dr. C. on the 137th page, “suppose that millions of white men were enslaved, robbed of all their rights, in a neighboring country, and enslaved by a black race, who had torn their ancestors from the shores on which our fathers had lived. How deeply should we feel their wrongs!” Yes, how deeply would the whole community feel their wrongs! Ay, how much more deeply would even the Abolitionists feel in that case! Yet, why should we not all feel as much in the case that actually exists, as in the one supposed? We are unable to find a reason, of which we are not ashamed. Let any person who thinks we may be in danger of estimating too highly the guilt of

countenancing or upholding slavery, read Dr. Channing's chapter on the "Evils of Slavery," and then show us, if he can, wherein we have exaggerated them.

Again, Dr. Channing objects to our *manner* of forming associations. "The Abolitionists might have formed an association ; but it should have been an elective one. Men of strong principles, judiciousness, sobriety, should have been carefully sought as members. Much good might have been accomplished by the co-operation of such philanthropists." About as much good, we opine, as has been accomplished by the American Union, which is, or was an *elective* association. Why did not Dr. Channing himself, years ago, seek out men of such strong principles, judiciousness, sobriety, to co-operate with him, or with one another, for the relief of our enslaved countrymen? Doubtless because he was not moved thereto by as deep a sense of their wrongs, as he now feels ; or because the considerations which have at length impelled him to lift up his voice, in the cause of the slave, did not then press upon his mind. Or in other words, perhaps, because he was not an enthusiast in this matter. 'Enthusiasts,' we are aware, is an epithet of reproach. Yet it is the epithet bestowed upon a sort of men who are adapted, in the providence of God, to do as important services as any other. They are the men who begin all difficult enterprises. They are the pioneers of reform. If it be not so ; why, we ask it before the world, why, we ask it before the Searcher of all hearts, why did the judicious and the sober leave it for enthusiasts to begin this great work in our land? And why have they not come to our aid before now? If we had elected the wise and prudent, would they have associated with us? Are they the men to bear the brunt of a moral conflict? Not many wise, (as this world counts wisdom) not many rich, not many mighty, ever were found among the leaders of reform. God has always chosen *the foolish* to confound the wise.

By the foolishness of preaching the simple truth that the slaves are men, and ought to be immediately recognized and treated as men, we have confounded, moved, aroused, our guilty nation. And now that the "men of strong principles, judiciousness, sobriety" are, or soon will be constrained to speak and act, we and our enslaved brethren shall have the benefit of their counsels

and co-operation. We followed the example of our Lord, who went himself, and sent his disciples, at one time twelve, at another time seventy, preaching the truth in every town and village, not to select audiences, but to such as had ears to hear. We elected no man; but we prayed the Father of Spirits to elect many to this great work, by convicting them of the sin of indifference to the awful transgression of our land, baptizing them unto the spirit of *impartial* love, and filling their hearts with sympathy for the wrongs of the down-trodden slaves.

We are aware of the evils, which may arise, and often do arise, from the associated action of large numbers of men. Dr. Channing has hinted at some of them, and we thank him for the admonition, which cannot be too often given, unless it prevent men from associating for the promotion of any good object. We would have every individual so deeply conscious of his individual responsibility, that the influence of no numbers, however large, shall overbear his personal conviction of what is right. But on the other hand, we see not what individual action would ever accomplish for the general good, if it should continue individual. Surely it is not until the individual, who has discovered some new truth, or detected some error at the foundation of the existing state of things, has brought others to see with his eyes, and to act in accordance with their new views, not till then, that he can be said to have effected anything for the good of society. All will allow, that the discoveries or conceptions, which have led to the improvements that have blessed the world, have originated with individual minds. This has been the case in science, politics, and religion. And they, who have thus given the first impulse to any reformation, are remembered as among the chief benefactors of the world. But how have they done the good, for which we bless them? We answer by giving rise to associated sentiment and action. We care not for the outward forms, the ceremony and circumstance of societies, any farther than they manifest to the world the existence and diffusion of the sentiment, that is to effect the desired good. But we demand how will this renovated sentiment be diffused, without associated influence and action? If it be confined to the bosom of the individual, will it not be like a talent wrapped

up in a napkin? How does "the enthusiasm of the individual," which Dr. Channing says, "is a mighty power," how does it operate for good, but by carrying the truth, which has aroused itself "far into other souls," enkindling them with devotion to the same good cause, and thus ensuring their co-operation, their associated action? We have the authority of our Savior and the Apostles, for resorting to the instrumentality of associations. One of the first acts of Christ's public ministry was to call to him, and associate with him, twelve men. 'Tis true, they did not form, what in our day, is technically called "a society." They did not appoint officers, excepting only a treasurer.* But they certainly were associated, and acted for one common object. And at an early period, societies for the maintenance and promotion of the Christian faith, were instituted by the Apostles, in the chief cities of the Roman Empire, having their officers, whose titles are so familiar, they need not be named. Now we will not deny, that the evils pointed out by Dr. Channing, were found to arise from these associations, and subsequent ones like them. Yet we trust much greater good has resulted from them; nor do we believe that Dr. Channing would venture to intimate, that the religion of Christ would have been preserved and diffused in the world, if such associations had not been formed. After all then, the only objection that can rest against associations is that (like everything else) they are liable to abuses. He does a valuable service, who points out the abuses, to which they are liable. But he would do an immeasurable evil, who should persuade men to renounce or refrain from them.

We have commented thus at length, and freely, upon this work, because we know that few writers in our country act upon more minds, than Dr. Channing, and therefore we especially deprecate the influence of any mistakes, into which he has fallen. Still we are not behind others in our approbation of a very large proportion of his work; nor in our admiration of the man, who enjoying as he did in the utmost serenity, the highest reputation as a writer and a divine, has, for the love of humanity, put at hazard the repose perhaps of the rest of his life; and sacrificed thousands of the ardent admirers of his genius and his eloquence.

* Judas was appointed to keep the bag.

Once more then. Dr. Channing expresses his belief that the Abolitionists have been signally unsuccessful in the course they have adopted — “that nothing seems to have been gained, and something has been lost to the cause of freedom and humanity.” Now to quiet this apprehension, it were enough to point to his book, and ask, would it have been written, if the country had not been so agitated by the discussion of this great question, over which until lately the wise as well as the foolish were in a deep sleep, as to create a demand for such an exertion as he could make to give direction to the public mind? If we had done no more, than call out his book, we should have done some good, for surely his book is a gain to the cause of freedom and humanity. He has called the attention of our community back to the consideration, nay more he has given them a new and higher exposition, of those momentous principles on which our salvation as a nation depends. And the disclosures of the past year have shown, only too plainly, to what a frightful extent these principles have been and are disregarded, or unknown, even in New England.

“If,” says Mr. Webster,* “there be any among us, so high, as to be too high for the authority of the law, or so low as to be too low for its regard and protection; or if there be any who by any means whatever, may exempt themselves from its control, then to that extent we have failed to maintain an equal government.” Tried by this rule, how glaringly unequal does our government appear! Here at the north, men of “property and standing,” are so high, that they may do things with impunity, for which other men would be heavily fined or imprisoned. They may issue murderous handbills to mislead and infuriate the populace. They may wantonly destroy the property, and assault violently the persons of their fellow citizens. And the Government stands by, without making an effort to detect the instigators of the outrage; or to bring to punishment those, who were seen to perpetrate it.† For such offences, ay, for less than these, men of another descrip-

* At the close of his letter to the Anti-masons of Pennsylvania.

† The text does not tell the whole truth. Two of the prominent rioters in Boston, were soon after elected to the Legislature — and one of them was also chosen an overseer or director of the House of Correction, to keep *poor* rogues in order.

tion would have been, without delay, taken into the custody of the guardians of the public peace, and made to feel the stern control of offended justice.

At the South, there are more than *two millions of men* so low, as to be no more regarded or protected by the law, than the domesticated brutes are. More than two millions are there, who may suffer the greatest injuries men can inflict upon each other, and have no redress. Indeed should they dare to approach a Court of Justice, to prefer a complaint, they would be spurned from it by the magistrate, and probably receive some summary punishment for their insolence, in presuming to complain. What nation on earth presents so glaring an example of *unequal government*, as our own, when looked at in the light of Mr. Webster's wisdom.

Such being the condition of our country, surely it is a gain to the cause of freedom and humanity, that Dr. Channing has been called out to write a book, in which on the one hand he vindicates the right of the slave to the prerogatives of a man, and on the other hand, solemnly admonishes the freeman, that he is the subject of law; and that a mobocrat is a usurper and rebel.

A few days after the publication of the above-mentioned book, there appeared a large pamphlet written by a citizen of Boston, entitled, "Remarks upon Dr. Channing's Slavery." We know not who wrote it. We trust the author will never own his work. It was evidently written by one who has neither faith in God, nor faith in man.

Whatever agency we may have had, in creating the occasion and demand for the book, to the review of which we have just devoted several pages, it is but a very small part of what we have been instrumental in effecting, for the relief of our enslaved and degraded countrymen. Millions in this Republic were crying for justice, for mercy, for the inalienable rights of man, for their portion of that bread which comes down from heaven; and their cry was unheeded. The North had conspired with the South against them. The wise and prudent deemed it impolitic to interfere for their relief. The rich, the mighty, the rulers of the people, scowled reproof upon all, who would disturb the established order of things, although under it *millions of human beings were crushed*.

And even the preachers of the Gospel put not forth a finger to break the yoke, or lighten the heavy burden, under which they saw our countrymen oppressed and groaning. But against this array of opposers, we have been enabled to persevere, until we have brought the condition of the enslaved in our land to be *the great concern of our nation*. It is inevitable that it is to occupy the thoughts and feelings of our national Legislature, during their present session, more than any other, or all other topics together.

The review of the past year will leave, no doubt, in the mind of any one, that the subject of slavery is up for the consideration and action of the American people. To bring it thus before them was of course our first object, and, thanks to our opposers, scarcely less than our friends, never was an object more completely attained. It needs no supernatural vision to foresee, that hereafter, slavery will be talked about, and written about, by private individuals, and public men, in the circles of domestic and social life, and in the Halls of Legislation, until it is totally abolished. This result is now inevitable. How soon it will take place, we cannot with certainty predict, but have reason to believe that many here present, may live to see it, and live many years after it.* In what precise manner this result will be accomplished, we are equally unable to foretell; but fondly cherish the hope that it will be a bloodless victory of truth over error, right over wrong, humanity over oppression.

We are aware many apprehend, that the change we propose in the condition of nearly one fifth of our whole population cannot be wrought without a terrible, a sanguinary conflict. But we do not so despair of justice, honor, benevolence, religion. Our hope in

* One of the Boston ministers, as we have been informed by a person who heard him at Thursday Lecture a few weeks ago, in a discourse upon the improved and improving state of our times, uttered the following sentences:—"Slavery too must come to an end. But it may not be in our day. It may not be effected by the discussions and resolutions of a little knot of Abolitionists, or by foreign interference, or by domestic indiscretion." We preserve this as a specimen of the milder tone of doubt, contempt and condemnation, which the preachers of religion have adopted towards us. Have they too forgotten that the religion which they now preach to large, and wealthy and fashionable assemblies, under "marble domes and gilded spires," was at first listened to with favor only by a little knot of disposed persons, called Christians, who were persecuted in every city?

these is turned to faith, when we cast our eyes across the Atlantic, and see how great a work, of the same kind we have to do, has been done by the *moral power* of a people speaking the same language, and professing the same religion with ourselves. It is true the work which this nation must perform *in deference to the rights of man*, is much greater than that which England has accomplished. It is true the two classes of our countrymen, whose rights are to be equalized, are situated with relation to each other, and to the rest of the nation, somewhat differently from the parties concerned in the question of slavery under the British Government. This is frequently urged as a reason why we should not look to the success there, as a ground of encouragement to our efforts here. But why? The differences referred to are not essential. They do not affect the principles on which our success depends. The morality of the two cases is precisely the same. And it is worthy to be remembered that precisely the same objections were urged against the procedure of the Abolitionists in England, that are now opposed to us; and very similar obstacles thrown in their way, that are thrown in ours. Then it should be borne in mind, as a circumstance favorable to our enterprise, that the sentiments and feelings of the British nation on this subject, as on every other, cannot fail to be diffused among us, their literature being intimately blended with our own. So that we are contending upon a vantage ground, gained by our trans-Atlantic brethren, who established the claim of the African to be considered in all respects a man—and accumulated much incontestible evidence to prove that it is always *safe*, as well as right, to treat him as a man. Why, then, should we be disheartened, though it appears that our country is to be the theatre of the severest conflict for human rights the world has ever known? We have been so boastful of our devotion to this sacred cause, it is well the depth of that attachment should be proved—the strength of our republican principles fully tried. If we unfeignedly believe those great truths which our nation propounded to the world, we shall brave the controversy, in the highest confidence of success. We shall, we must prevail over all the opposition, that the prejudices, the fears, and the sordid selfishness of men may array against us.

But, however sure of victory, we may not with impunity to our cause, forget for a moment, that this is a spiritual warfare. It is peculiarly incumbent upon us, as far as in us lies, to prevent it from degenerating into a war of passion, and brute force. While on the one hand, we must not suffer obloquy and outrage, and threats of personal violence, to provoke or alarm us to resort to any other weapons than those, which are mighty *through God*, to the pulling down of strong holds; we must not, on the other hand, *unnecessarily* provoke the passions of those, whose awful violations of the first principles of humanity, it is our duty to expose. This exposure, however kindly made, may offend them. If so, the fault is theirs. Such provocation may lead them to repentance. It is this we are aiming to effect. Our object is not 'to compel the slave-holders by physical force, to emancipate their slaves — but by the force of truth and argument, by appeals to their feelings as men, and their consciences as accountable beings.] Now if we would prosecute our endeavors to do the latter, with the hope of success, it is obvious we must convince them that we would not do the former, under any circumstances, nor for any consideration.

Our solemn declaration is before the world, that "we will never in any way countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force." And many of the events of the past year must have convinced unprejudiced minds, that Abolitionists are men of peace. May we abound in this spirit — the spirit of him who, though he denounced sin with *tremendous severity*, yet was gentle unto all men, and as unresisting as a lamb, when seized, mocked, buffeted, and led away to an infamous death with common malefactors — the morally heroic spirit, which will lead us to hope, with our beloved fellow laborer A. E. Grimke, that, if blood is to be spilt in this cause, "it may be ours, instead of the slave-holders' — that our lives may be taken and theirs spared." We wish to do them only good — to redeem themselves from iniquity, no less than their slaves from a cruel bondage. It is not our fault, that they do not, or will not understand, that this is with us a high moral and religious question; that we shall as soon deny our God, and worship idols, as abandon the advocacy

of the rights of man ; that we are ready to go to the gibbet or the stake, sooner than forsake the cause of our enslaved countrymen ; but that we will not fight for them with carnal weapons. We have often assured, we now again assure the slave-holders in our land, and we beseech them to assure their slaves, that the warfare we have commenced for their deliverance, is to be fought with the sword of truth and of the Spirit. If the slaves resort to violence, they must not look to the Abolitionists for aid. We will contend steadfastly for their rights — we will suffer — if need be we will die for them ; but we will not murder, nor be accessory to murder, for their sake. How cruel it is, in our northern and southern opposers, to mislead the slaves, by the gross misrepresentations they give them of our sentiments and purposes ! If a servile war should desolate the South, it will be justly attributable not to what *we* have done, or written, or said ; but to what our opposers have said, written, and done to excite the fears of the masters, and the false hopes of the slaves. We would emancipate the slaves only by the spirit of repentance in the bosoms of their masters ; and procure the abolition of the *system of oppression*, only by the power of a corrected public opinion.

P. S. Since our Annual Meeting, at which the above Report was read, we have seen two passages that have been quoted from publications of the Abolitionists, in order to show that they are insurrectionary. The first is quoted from the Emancipator, in the Indictment of Mr. R. G. Williams of New York, publishing Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, by the Grand Jury of the State of Alabama. “ God commands and all nature cries out, that man should not be held as property. The system of making men property has plunged 2,250,000 of our fellow countrymen into the deepest physical and moral degradation, and they are every moment sinking deeper.” Upon this we shall not stop to comment ; for if this be insurrectionary, then is “ the Declaration of Independence ” far more so.

The second is quoted, in the postscript to a letter, addressed to the writer of this Report, published in a Danville (Va.) paper. It is from the speech of Gerrit Smith Esq. at Peterboro', Oct. 22d. 1835. “ The sword now drawn will not be sheathed till victory, entire victory, is ours or theirs.” If our Southern brethren can prove, that any other sword *than that of truth* is now drawn, or is advised to be drawn, by the Abolitionists, then may this one passage avail them something in their attempt to prove, that we intend violence and insurrection. We again confidently refer our countrymen to all our publications. They may find in them some sentences in bad taste — some perhaps in bad temper — but not a word, will they find, in counsel or in countenance of insurrection.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
AT ITS
FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Fourth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held in Boston on Wednesday, January 20. When we saw the large number of gentlemen from the country, who had come to the meeting as delegates, and friends of this righteous cause, we were filled with shame, that our liberal, liberty-loving, boastful city would not afford them an ample room. All the Churches in Boston, that have ever been let to benevolent associations, had been applied for by the Committee of arrangements and refused: also the several Halls in the city, that were thought to be large enough, and were withheld. We were therefore obliged to receive our friends in our little Hall, 46 Washington street, which must now be considered the only cradle of liberty in this metropolis.

Soon after the hour appointed for the meeting, 10 A. M., the Hall was nearly filled with the delegates from Auxiliary Societies, and when the President called the meeting to order, the assembly was straitened for want of room.

Prayer was offered by Rev. George Storrs of Concord, N. H.

A Committee was then appointed to receive the names of the delegates, and friends who had come to attend the meeting.

Rev. S. J. May, the Corresponding Secretary, then read the fol-

lowing impressive letter, he had just received from William Lloyd Garrison, who was necessarily absent from the city at that time.

BROOKLYN, Ct., Jan. 17, 1836.

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY :

My Dear Friend — My regret in not being able to attend the fourth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, is equal to the intense interest which I feel in its deliberations.

Let me say to the brethren who shall assemble together — **BE BOLD FOR GOD.** These are times in which we are specially called upon not to count our lives dear unto us — if, living, we are to be slaves ourselves, or to wink at the enslavement of others. Nay, we shall be unworthy of an existence, if we suffer ourselves to be awed into silence by the threats of oppressors. The cause which we advocate is not ours, but God's ; and, therefore, I renew the charge — **BE BOLD FOR GOD.** Nevertheless, it is ours to carry forward, instrumentally — but not ours to choose or reject, as we think expedient. Those who call on us to suspend our operations, or to keep silence, or to wait till a more convenient season, or to stop our ears and steel our hearts to the cries of our bleeding countrymen, make application to the wrong source. They ought to beseech the Creator of heaven and earth to release us from our obligations to himself and to mankind ; to reverse or repeal all the laws of his moral government ; to transform us into stocks and stones ; to make the slaves in reality, what they are deemed by human enactments, goods and chattels, implements of husbandry, and four-footed beasts ; to ordain that henceforth rebellion shall be loyalty — sin, righteousness — and the cruel despotism of American slave-holders, the glorious liberty of the sons of God ! In all rationality, too, they ought to petition the great Lawgiver to repeal every injunction of holy writ like the following : “Thou shalt not steal” — “Thou shalt not covet anything that is thy neighbor's” — “Love thy neighbor as thyself” — “Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them” — “Envy thou not the oppressor, and choose none of his ways” — “Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them” — “Undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke” — “Deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor” — “Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction.” O foolish and insane men ! thus to consider obedience to God as something that policy may properly defer, or expediency lawfully annul ! By ceasing to be men, shall we be independent of the Almighty ? By setting up our authority in opposition to his own, shall we not be destroyed ?

So, too, those who think they shall destroy our cause, if they can destroy a few of its prominent advocates — how wild and impious is their delusion ! “The battle is the LORD'S” — not ours. Why, then, do they not attempt to scale the battlements of heaven, that they may dethrone Him who is higher than the highest, and thus end the great controversy, not only in this nation, but in all nations — not only at the present period, but through all time ? It is true, those battlements are high ; but our enemies have “sought out many inventions” — they are skilful, ingenious, adventurous — and, seemingly, confident of victory. It is true, he whom they must encounter and vanquish is “Jehovah of hosts” — “King of kings, and Lord of lords” — “God over all” — “The high and

lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy" — "The Lord Almighty," "who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance" — "all nations before him are as nothing; and they are counted to him less than nothing, and vanity." But our enemies are valiant men — ambitious of great achievements — omnipotent in their own strength — having much property in "slaves and the souls of men" — lifted up above all that is called God! — Ah! proud boasters, do ye grow pale, and shudder, and turn away, in view of such a fearful contest? Do ye remember the fate of Pharaoh and his host? of Babylon, and Tyre, and Sidon? of Sodom and Gomorrah? of an antediluvian world? Truly, ye do well to retreat from the Majesty of Him, at whose presence it is declared, — "The earth shook and trembled; the foundations also of the hills moved and were shaken, *because he was wroth*. There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured; coals were kindled by it. He bowed the heavens also, and came down; and darkness was under his feet. And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly; yea, he did fly upon the wings of the wind. He made darkness his secret place; his pavilion round about him were dark waters and thick clouds of the skies. He sent out his arrows, and scattered them; and he shot out lightnings, and discomfited them." O ye flagitious oppressors, ye do well to remember that "it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." But will ye aim at no higher victims than Arthur Tappan, George Thompson, and William Lloyd Garrison? And who and what are they? Three drops from a boundless ocean — three rays from a noon-day sun — three particles of dust floating in a limitless atmosphere — nothing, subtracted from infinite fallness. Should ye succeed in destroying them, the mighty difficulty still remains. Still He liveth who saith, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay." Still he reigneth, who executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed. Still He is faithful who declares, "For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him." Still He is omnipotent who proclaims, "Therefore, thus saith the Lord; ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; behold I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine. O, then, destroy not yourselves nor your country; but take from the midst of you the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking vanity; and draw out your souls to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; bring the poor that are cast out to your house, and cover their nakedness, and hide not yourselves from your own flesh; then shall your light rise in obscurity, and your darkness be as the noon-day. And they that shall be of you shall build the old waste places; ye shall raise up the foundation of many generations; and ye shall be called, the repairers of the breach, the restorers of paths to dwell in. "For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

It is indeed a mighty conflict, my dear brother, through which we are called to pass, and we shall assuredly be overcome, unless we are sustained by the energy of a divine love, and impressed with a fear of God that shall make all other fears contemptible. Remember that, but a little while since, we had to commence the work of converting the entire nation, (so thoroughly had slavery corrupted it,) beginning at Boston, as did the apostles at Jerusalem. Surprisingly has the

truth made progress, and multitudes are the converts to it. Still, though much has been done, more remains to be accomplished. The church is yet stained with 'the blood of the souls of the poor innocents' — it is yet the hiding place and sanctuary of the ruthless monster that feeds on human flesh, and batters upon human agony and degradation. The decidedly pro-slavery tone of a large majority of our newspapers; the numerous public meetings that have been held in all the free States, unanimously coinciding with the corrupt sentiments of the South; the slavish language uttered in every hall of legislation; the despotic recommendations of certain Governors in their recent messages, particularly of Gov. Marcy of New-York; the indifference, nay, the positive approbation with which propositions are received by the people, to destroy liberty of speech and of the press, and annul the right of petitioning government, that protection and perpetuity may be given to slavery; the attitude assumed in Congress, by northern and southern representatives, respecting the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia; the sanction given to the robbery and censorship of the mail; the impunity with which some of our northern citizens, convicted of no crime, have been seized at the south, and without a legal trial, publicly lacerated, or cast into prison, or ignominiously put to death; the rewards offered by the south for the abduction of certain freemen of the north; the demand of southern executives upon our own, to deliver over the same individuals to a murderous fate; the proposition of the south to the north, to imprison, or put to death 'without benefit of clergy,' all of us who shall dare to hint that slavery is inconsistent with humanity, justice and religion, or who refuse to subscribe to the monstrous dogma, that 'domestic slavery is the corner-stone of our republican edifice;' the countenance which is given to mobs against the friends of emancipation, by men of high standing, both in Church and State; the impious justification of slavery, by the southern clergy and churches; the general insensibility or perverseness of religious newspapers and periodicals; the unanimous declaration of southern oppressors, that they will never consent to the emancipation of their slaves, either immediately, or ultimately, either for union or money, either for God or man; the dangers and difficulties which attend all our public attempts to plead the cause of our fettered, bleeding, guiltless countrymen; the brand of fanaticism, or treason, or robbery, which is put upon all the commandments and precepts of the Bible, and upon the plainest maxims of republicanism: — these and other indications of the ferocious attachment of the people to the system of slavery, and to the company of slave-holders, portend that we are engaged in one of the mightiest moral struggles, which the world has ever witnessed, and show how necessary it is that we should all have the endurance of the man of Uz, the faith of Gideon, the meekness of Moses, and the intrepidity of the youthful David.

But I must pause. Brethren, 'cease from man;' beware of a worldly policy: do not compromise principle; fasten yourselves to the throne of God: and lean upon the arm of Omnipotence. Let your doings be characterized by the loftiness of christian independence, and by the compassion of the Son of God. In your prayers, your resolutions, your speeches, make mention of our brethren, GEORGE THOMPSON and CHARLES STUART, and of all our brethren in England; and, above all things, fail not now and at all times to **BE BOLD FOR GOD.**

Yours, with brotherly affection,

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

On motion of Rev. H. C. Wright, seconded by C. P. Grosvenor, it was voted 'that the excellent letter just read from Mr. Garrison, be published with the other proceedings of this annual meeting.'

Rev. Luther Wright, Dr. A. Farnsworth, Jesse Putnam, Esq. Dexter Fairbank, and Rev. Mr. Goodyear, were appointed a committee to nominate a list of Officers for the ensuing year.

Mr. May then read the Report of the Board of Managers, and it was voted that it be accepted and published, under the supervision of the following Committee — S. J. May, H. C. Wright, C. P. Grosvenor, Wm. Goodell, J. G. Whittier, E. Demond. The reading of the Report, elicited some very spirited remarks on a variety of topics, from sundry gentlemen — Messrs. Wright, Grosvenor, Goodell, Russell, Morse, and others.

A motion was now made to adjourn, upon which the Standing Committee of 'the Free Church' offered to the Society the use of their Hall, corner of Milk and Congress Streets, for their afternoon session. Adjourned to meet at that place at half past 2.

THE AFTERNOON meeting was called to order at 3. Prayer was offered by Rev. Orange Scott of Holliston.

Rev. Luther Wright of Woburn, Chairman of the Committee on Nomination, reported the list of officers, for the ensuing year. The gentleman named were then elected by a general ticket.

PRESIDENT.

JOSEPH SOUTHWICK, *Boston.*

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Rev. E. M. P. Wells, *Boston.*

Rev. Moses Thacher, *North Wrentham.*

Dr. Charles Follen, *Milton.*

Francis Jackson, *Boston.*

William Lloyd Garrison, *Boston.*

Rev. Gardner B. Perry, *Bradford.*

Rev. Orange Scott, *Holliston.*

Rev. Jacob Ide, *Medway.*

John G. Whittier, *Haverhill.*

William Oakes, *Ipswich.*

Isaac Winslow, *Danvers.*

Rev. Henry C. Wright, *Boston.*

Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, *Salem.*

Dr. Theophilus Packard, *Shelburne.*

Rev. Mason Ball, *Amherst.*

Gen. Asa Howland, *Conway.*

Rev. George Goodyear, *Ashburnham.*

Effingham L. Capron, *Uzbridge.*

Dr. Amos Farnsworth, *Groton.*

George Russell, *Kingston.*

Samuel J. May, *Cor. Secretary.*

Henry E. Benson, *Rec. Secretary.*

Henry G. Chapman, *Treasurer.*

Samuel E. Sewall, *Auditor.*

COUNSELLORS.

Ellis Gray Loring,

Drury Fairbanks,

Isaac Knapp,

Simon G. Shipley,

John R. Cambell,

Abner Forbes.

John T. Hilton,

John E. Fuller.

C. C. Barry.

John S. Kimball.

On motion of Mr. May, Rev. Amos A. Phelps and David L. Child, Esq. were elected honorary members of the Society.

Rev. H. C. Wright offered a Resolution, which called up an animated debate between the mover, and C. P. Grosvenor, in which several other gentlemen also took part. The resolution was laid upon the table. The Society adjourned to meet again at six o'clock.

The Society met again according to adjournment at Congress Hall, which was filled with friends of both sexes. The President called to order at half past six.

Rev. Mr. Duncan, of Hanover, offered prayer.

The resolution, which had been discussed in the afternoon, was called up, and again laid on the table.

Rev. Professor Follen offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That we consider the Anti-Slavery cause as the cause of Philanthropy, with regard to which all human beings, white men and colored men, citizens and foreigners, men and women, have the same duties and the same rights.

Professor Follen introduced the resolution, which he offered to the meeting, with some remarks on various topics, which he said he should wish to discuss more fully, but on which, for want of time, he was able to bestow only a passing notice. He wished to be able to speak at large on the causes and the character of the *anti-abolition mobs*, which, through the influence of those who excited them, were more generally known amongst us by the slanderous name of "*anti-slavery mobs*." Some notice, it seems, ought to be taken of the remarkable power of prophecy, displayed by many of the organs of public opinion, in foretelling these fearful convulsions of the moral fabric of society. These successful enchanterers of the public mind have, in this instance, equalled, nay, they have surpassed all other prophets before them. For they not only prophesied the things which have since been fulfilled, but what is more remarkable, they themselves have fulfilled their prophecies. And what they had thus foretold and brought to pass, they also defended and justified by an original mode of reasoning, which certainly deserves as much credit for its truth as for its honesty — and which, if carried out consistently, would reverse our whole system of laws and of morals. Anti-abolition mobs, and the impunity of their authors, have been justified by our newspapers, ay, by men of high standing in society, by a mode of reasoning, according to which we ought to condemn and send to prison, not the thief and the cheat, but the man of property who has been robbed or defrauded. There is, indeed, no denying that if there were no abolitionists daring to express their sentiments, there would be no such mobs. Can it be denied, then, that the abolitionists are tempting and provoking the people to acts of violence, that they are the true authors of these mobs, and that their ordinary plea, that all their doings are strictly within their constitutional right, to speak, to print, and peaceably to assemble, is merely a plausible pretext to cover their disorganizing designs? The abolitionists are the authors of these mobs, they tempt and provoke the people to violence, as truly as the man of property tempts and provokes the thief, and is, therefore, the true author of the theft, and ought to be sent to prison. For the plea that his property is guaranteed to him by the law, is a mere pretence contrived to secure to him an unfair advantage over his neighbor. Such

are the arguments by which the enemies of freedom, the prophets, the perpetrators, and the advocates of mobs, amongst us, have outlawed law, and outreasoned reason. But I leave this, and other topics of a more limited nature, in order to present the following resolution :

Resolved, that we consider the Anti-Slavery cause as the cause of philanthropy, with regard to which all human beings, white men and colored men, citizens and foreigners, men and women, have the same duties and the same rights.

Philanthropy means the love of man ; and the love of man is the true and only foundation of the Anti-Slavery cause. Our whole creed is summed up in this single position, that the slave is a man, created by God in his own image, and, therefore, by divine right, a freeman. The slave is a man, and we are men ; this is the only needful and all-sufficient title, from which every Anti-Slavery Society, and every abolitionist derive their duties and their rights. Every human being, whether colored or white, foreigner or citizen, man or woman, is, in virtue of a common nature, a rightful and responsible defender of the natural rights of all. These are the sentiments of every abolitionist ; these the principles of the Declaration of Independence, which was intended to make this whole nation one great Anti-Slavery Society.

Professor F. observed, that these self-evident truths had been opposed in full, by the consistent enemies of human freedom, and obstructed in detail, by its inconsistent friends.

In the first place, we have been advised, if we really wished to benefit the slave and the colored race generally, not unnecessarily to shock the feelings, though they were but prejudices, of the white people, by admitting colored persons to our Anti-Slavery meetings and societies. We have been told that many who would otherwise act in union with us, were kept away by our disregard of the feelings of the community in this respect.

Grant the fact, that this piece of bad policy in us keeps away many who would otherwise be with us at this time, in this hall, or in some other more spacious room, which their personal influence might open to our holy cause, which still has to go begging from the door of one Christian church to another, without finding admission. But what, I would ask, is the great, the single object of all our meetings and societies? Have we any other object than to impress upon the community this one principle, that *the colored man is a man*? and, on the other hand, is not the prejudice, which would have us exclude colored people from our meetings and societies here, the same which, in the Southern States, dooms them to perpetual bondage? It needs no long argument, then, to prove that by excluding the colored people from our Anti-Slavery proceedings, we should not only deprive ourselves of many faithful fellow-laborers, but by complying with that inhuman prejudice, we should sanction and support the first principles of slavery, as well as give the lie to our own most solemn professions. In our private intercourse, in our personal and domestic relations, let every one choose his company according to his own principles, or his own whims. But as for any meetings and associations designed for the establishment of *human rights* — how can we have the effrontery to expect the white slaveholder of the South to live on terms of civil equality with his colored slave, if we, the white abolitionists of the North, will not admit colored freemen as members of our Anti-Slavery Societies?

This may be sufficient to vindicate the first part of my resolution, claiming for

colored men and white men that essential equality of rights and duties with regard to the Anti-Slavery cause, which should lead to united action.

In the second place, I assert, that with regard to this cause, foreigners and citizens have the same duties and the same rights.

Professor F. observed, that in defending this clause in his resolution, he felt, or rather he had been made to feel as if he was, in part, speaking in self-defence. For though he had come to this country for no other reason than to live under the government of equal laws, which were not to be found in Europe ; and though for eleven years he had sustained the duties, and during five years possessed all the rights of the citizens of this Republic, his devotion to the Anti-Slavery cause had been condemned both in private and in public, on the grave and undeniable charge of his having been born in a foreign land. His active interest in this cause had become more extensively known by the 'Address to the people of the United States' which he, as the Chairman of a Committee appointed for this purpose, by the New-England Anti-Slavery Convention of 1834, had been called upon to draw up, and which, according to a vote of the Board of Managers, had been sent to every member of Congress. A copy of this address had been returned to him by an unknown hand, with the words, 'A foreigner should recollect the protection afforded him by the Institutions of this country, when he undertakes to cast a firebrand among the people, by which they may be destroyed.' Similar ingenious substitutes for argument, being rendered more striking by studied vulgarity, had appeared in some of our newspapers. For himself, he had nothing to offer to the distinguished few, who had, notwithstanding his rightful citizenship, insisted upon treating him as a foreigner, unless it be the plea which had been entered for him by a generous friend, that 'though not a son of the pilgrims, he was himself a pilgrim.'

I should have passed over, in silence, these petty vexations, as solitary exceptions to the uniform experience of generous confidence and kindness, which I have never ceased to enjoy in this community, if it were not for the great principle involved in these disagreeable trifles.

Our cause is the cause of man ; therefore, our watchword from the beginning has been, 'Our country is the world — our countrymen all mankind.' We reverence patriotism as a virtue, so far as it is philanthropy applied to our own country, while we look down upon it as a vice, so far as it would sacrifice the rights of man — the moral to the selfish interests of our nation. 'The Anti-Slavery cause, then, being the cause of man, knows no difference between natives and foreigners. Nay, more, we have here amongst us large numbers of natives of this country, without a shadow of right, deprived of the fruits of their labor, stript of the sacred rights of husbands and wives, parents and children, citizens and christians, we see them daily driven out to merciless toil, sold like beasts, imprisoned, lacerated, and degraded without redress. Now when we see many millions of our countrymen, yea, the priests and the rulers of the people, going on in their own course of prosperity, and, without pity, passing by an innocent brother, stripped of everything and wounded in soul and body ; and perchance there should be journeying this way a foreigner who should have compassion on him and try to lift him up, and pour into his wounds the oil of consolation and the wine of hope, or from the rich treasury of his heart, should pour out the pure gold of sterling truth to redeem him from bondage — which of these, I ask, would be a neighbor to him who had been robbed and wounded ? And shall we, the favored citizens,

on beholding such signal kindness, cry out with the Jews of old, 'He is a Samaritan, and has a devil?' — or with our modern, national bigots — 'He is a foreigner; an English emissary; mob him! tar and feather him!!'

We look upon the foreigner, who holds up before us the law of liberty, proclaimed in our Declaration of Independence, in opposition to the law of servitude, imposed and enforced by our free institutions upon one sixth of our population, as a true friend; and we see, in his open rebuke, the surest pledge of confidence in our love of truth and sense of justice. On the other hand, the violent attempts at preventing the free expression of sentiment on this great moral subject, by strangers or citizens — the lawless, shameless, and merciless proceedings against all who are convicted or suspected of nothing worse than a consistent adherence to the first principles of the Declaration of Independence, seem to us more criminal, when perpetrated or tolerated in this country, than in any other, simply because we have 'pledged our property, our lives, and our sacred honor,' to the support of the equal rights of all. Our Constitution has secured a government of law, freedom of conscience, the liberty of speaking and printing, to every citizen, nay, to every stranger sojourning amongst us. As citizens of the world, as members of the human family, as christians, we look upon every one as a fellow-citizen, as a neighbor, who defends the rights and respects the feelings of all men; while he who does not see in every human being an equal and a brother, whether he be born here or elsewhere, he alone is regarded by us as a stranger and an enemy.

And now, Mr. President, I come to the last topic of my resolution. I maintain, that, with regard to the Anti-Slavery cause, *men* and *women* have the same duties and the same rights. The ground I take on this point is very plain. I wish to spare you, I wish to spare myself the worthless and disgusting task of replying, in detail, to all the coarse attacks and flattering sophisms, by which men have endeavored to entice or to drive women from this, and from many other spheres of moral action. 'Go home and spin!' is the well meaning advice of the domestic tyrant of the old school. 'Conquer by personal charms and fashionable attractions!' is the brilliant career marked out for her by the idols and the idolaters of fashion. 'Never step out of the bounds of decorum and the customary ways of doing good,' is the sage advice of maternal caution. 'Rule by obedience, and by submission sway!' is the golden saying of the moralist poet, sanctioning female servitude, and pointing out a resort and compensation in female cunning. What with the fear of the insolent remarks about women, in which those of the dominant sex, whose bravery is the generous offspring of conscious impunity, are particularly apt to indulge; and with the still stronger fear of being thought unfeminine — it is, indeed, a proof of uncommon moral courage, or of an overpowering sense of religious duty and sympathy with the oppressed, that a woman is induced to embrace the unpopular, unfashionable, obnoxious principles of the abolitionists. Popular opinion, the habits of society, are all calculated to lead women to consider the place, the privileges and the duties which etiquette has assigned to them, as their peculiar portion, as more important than those which nature has given them in common with men. Men have at all times been inclined to allow to women peculiar privileges, while withholding from them essential rights. In the progress of civilization and christianity, one right after another has been conceded, one occupation after another has been placed within the reach of women. Still are we far from a practical acknowledgment of the simple truth, that the rational and moral nature of man is the foundation of all

rights and duties, and that women as well as men are rational and moral beings. It is on this account that I look upon the formation of Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies as an event of the highest interest, not only for its direct beneficial bearing on the cause of emancipation, but still more as an indication of the moral growth of society. Women begin to feel that the place, which men have marked out for them, is but a small part of what society owes to them, and what they themselves owe to society, to the whole human family, and to that Power to whom each and all are indebted and accountable, for the use of the powers entrusted to them. It is, indeed, a consoling thought, that such is the providential adaptation of all things, that the toil and the sufferings of the slave, however unprofitable to himself, and however hopeless, are not wholly thrown away and vain — that the master who has deprived him of the fruits of his industry, of every motive and opportunity for exercising his highest faculties, has not been able to prevent his exercising, unconsciously, a moral and spiritual influence all over the world, breaking down every unnatural restraint, and calling forth the simplest and deepest of all human emotions, the feeling of man for his fellow man, and bringing out the strongest intellectual and moral powers to his rescue. It is, indeed, natural that the cry of misery, the call for help, that is now spreading far and wide, and penetrating the inmost recesses of society, should thrill, with peculiar power, through the heart of woman. For it is woman, injured, insulted woman, that exhibits the most baneful and hateful influences of slavery. But I cannot speak of what the free woman ought and must feel for her enslaved sister — because I am overwhelmed by the thought of what we men, we, who have mothers, and wives, and daughters, should not only feel but do, and dare, and sacrifice, to drain the marshes whose exhalations infect the moral atmosphere of society.

The remarks I have made in support of my resolution, may be summed up in a few words. The only object of the Anti-Slavery Societies, is to restore the slave to his natural rights. To promote this object, all human beings, white men and colored men, citizens and foreigners, men and women, have the same moral calling, simply because in virtue of a common rational and moral nature, all human beings are in duty bound, and divinely authorized, to defend their own and each others' *natural rights*.

Our rights, our duties, with regard to the oppressed, require and authorize the use of all lawful and moral means, to accomplish the great object of deliverance. As members of this Union, we are debarred all direct political influence with regard to the legal existence of slavery in other States. But slavery in the District of Colombia, and in the Territories, as well as the internal slave trade, are evils within the reach of our Federal Legislature, and, consequently, within the control and responsibility of every citizen of the Union.

The guilt of the existence of slavery within the bounds of the Federal legislation, rests upon every citizen who is not exerting himself to the utmost, by free discussion and petitions to Congress, that this cruel and disgraceful inconsistency may be removed. But the sphere of moral action is not confined within the limits of our political rights. The North is connected with the South by numerous relations, which may be made so many channels of influence on the minds and consciences of the slaveholders. There are family connections, commercial relations, political and religious interests, by which individuals of different States are brought in contact, and a continual intercourse is thus kept up between the free North and the slaveholding South. With all these means of private inter-

course within our reach, we require no alteration in the Constitution; we demand no especial aid from Congress or from any State Legislature, to induce the slaveholders, by moral motives and by considerations of enlightened self-interest, to rid themselves of this great evil. We require of Government nothing but to be protected in the exercise of one undoubted constitutional right, a right which, as Gerrit Smith justly observes, has a deeper foundation than the Constitution, which solemnly secures it, being grounded on the nature of man and the sovereign decree of his Creator. Let us dismiss all controversy concerning the exciting question, whether, or how far the Constitution sanctions slavery, but let us assert and defend the freedom of communication by speaking, writing, and printing, which is the first requisite of the freeman and the last hope of the slave. Slavery and free discussion, Sir, it is well known, cannot live together. They will quarrel until one of them quits the neighborhood.

We claim freedom of communication with the slave-holder of the South, as well as with the advocates of slavery, and those who think themselves justified in their neutrality at the North. We contend with a national prejudice; we aim at a national reform. Every individual, who is free from the long cherished and deep rooted prejudice, which prevents the white men of the North, as well as those of the South, from looking upon the colored man as a man and a brother, is in duty bound to become a fellow-laborer in this work of reform. For this reason, our societies are founded, not on the exclusive principle of election, but on the broad, philanthropic ground of free admission; we elect no one, but cordially receive every one who may elect himself. Our audiences do not consist of select companies; but as the Report, which you have accepted, eloquently sets forth, in humble imitation of Jesus and the Apostles, we address all who have ears to hear and will hear.

We are told we must not agitate this subject — let it alone, and it will remedy itself. This is not the course of Providence. Such reformatations are never accomplished without human means. God will not indulge us in our indolence, and do the work without our instrumentality.

The Declaration of Independence, so far as those in bonds are concerned, is a dead letter; and we must not rest from our labors until it is raised from the dead.

William Goodell of Providence, introduced the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That while some men may with impunity *commit* crimes, which others may not boldly *reprove*, without violating the fastidious decorum of the age, we commend our brother, William Lloyd Garrison, and the Liberator, to the hearts of all who love the Gospel of peace and good will to men.

MR. PRESIDENT :—

I wish, Sir, the adoption of this Resolution because it embodies, by implication, an important *principle*, and because it reduces that principle to *practice*. — Abolitionists believe in no abstract principles, which ought not to be made practical. Such principles are not true; and no man can utter a more self-condemnatory sentence than to say — ‘I agree in the principle but do not think it expedient to act in conformity with it.’ — This is only saying ‘I know what is right, but am determined to do wrong!’

The first sentiment involved in the Resolution may be expressed thus :—

The fastidious decorum of the age shelters vice from deserved and necessary rebuke.

I need spend no time before this audience, to prove the *fact*. Nor need I go through a course of argument to convince you that such a state of things *ought not to exist*. It is a *false and sinful decorum that forbids the Scriptural reproof of sin*. This principle is too evident to require elucidation. I shall content myself with a few specifications of this false decorum, in some of its more common and modern forms.

1. "*It is wrong to be censorious!*" — Is it? — Who says so? — What is it to be censorious?

He is censorious, I suppose, who *censures*. This is certainly the primary meaning of the term; and it is plain that those who censure censoriousness so bitterly, now-a-days, apply their strictures to every censure against themselves and their friends. Is it wrong, then, to *censure*? The answer, I should suppose, would depend upon whether the censures were needed and deserved! — But no! Modern decorum forbids any scrutiny in the case. It is wrong to censure, and so the matter is ended without any inquiry into the righteousness or wisdom of the censure. How exceedingly convenient! Are there no censures in the Scriptures?

I know the word '*censorious*' has acquired a secondary meaning. A man may be justly blamed as censorious when his censures are unjust, unnecessary, or uttered with malignant feelings. But modern decorum censoriously condemns every man who censures *vice*, without instituting any of these perplexing inquiries. To censure *virtue* is by no means so dangerous or imprudent an experiment.

2. "*It is wrong to impeach men's motives.*" So says the oracle of fastidious decorum! Ah! Is it? Then, of course, it is wrong to reprove men's *sins*; for there is no sin without wicked and selfish motives. What broader shelter can Sin desire than this? Only imagine a Nathan reproving his monarch, with a very courtly disclaimer of impeaching his motives! — Listen to the meek and lowly Saviour — "Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites." Did he disclaim an impeachment of their motives? — Take a lesson from the courteous Apostle — "Thou child of the Devil! Thou enemy of all righteousness." But 'pray do not understand me, good Mr. Simon Magus, as impeaching any gentleman's motives!' What would you think of such an Apostle?

3. "*He betrays an unchristian spirit.*" So says modern decorum, whenever any one manifests any moral indignation against oppression and crime! — Our old fashioned Divines used to tell us of a *holy* and an *unholy* indignation. Modern decorum has rendered the distinction obsolete; except, perhaps, when "gentlemen of property and standing" give demonstrations of their wrath against the reprovers of sin!

Go, ye fastidious ones, and learn what this meaneth. 'God is angry with the wicked every day.' 'Be ye therefore followers of God as dear children.' 'I beheld the transgressors and was grieved.' 'Do I not hate them that hate thee?' 'Ye that fear the Lord hate evil.' 'Be angry and sin not.' 'Jesus looked round upon them *with anger*, being grieved at the hardness of their hearts.' The courtly Caiaphas perhaps might have thought he manifested an *unchristian spirit*!

4. But the most attractive and subtle form of this modern decorum is found

in the very acute and philosophical distinction which *separates the sinner from his sin*; the actor from the action. The guardians of our Churches, a few years ago were valiant in combatting the ingenious theory, which talked of *punishing* the sin without touching a hair on the head of the sinner! But the greater part of them have since made wonderful proficiency in the same school, and have left their polemic tutors altogether in the back ground! Our most strenuous 'contenders for the faith! — at least a large portion of them — to save the risk of *punishing* the sin as it alights from the back of the sinner, have fairly made the discovery that *sin exists without any sinner at all!* Oh, yes! There is *theft* without a *thief!* — *Robbery* without a *robber!* — Instead of saying, as in olden time — 'Thou art the *man*,' we must *now* say, 'thou art the *sin* — No! Not the sin! The mistake, the '*calamity!*' — Instead of saying, "*By their fruits shall ye know THEM*," we should rather say — "By the fruits ye shall *not* know whether the tree be good or evil, or whether there be any tree at all!"

It is humiliating to find so splendid, and in many respects, so admirable a work as that of Dr. Channing, despoiled of its beauty, and rifled of its power by so miserable a fallacy. Many of our friends, I am aware, have criticized the other errors of the book, without seeming to have detected this primary source of them all. Nay — in some instances, while seeming almost to swallow the gilded hook themselves. Dr. Channing takes many exceptions to our statements and measures. But it would be easy to show that every one of them originates in this fallacy. Yes! If Dr. Channing could only be persuaded to say that he who commits robbery is a robber, and that he who steals is a thief, he would become, not almost, but altogether, such an Abolitionist as ourselves. 'Little children, let no man deceive you' by this fanciful separation of the actor from the action. — 'He that *doeth* righteousness is righteous.' But 'he that committeth sin is of the Evil One.'

It is said in support of this theory that men sin without knowing it. I grant that the sin of comparative ignorance is, comparatively speaking, winked at. I grant that the guilt of transgression may be in proportion to the light resisted. But I deny that men, and especially Christians, can commit robbery all their lives long, without knowing it. If I believed it I should believe that they have no consciences to be reached. I should give them up in despair. But what mean, Sir, those loaded pistols, under the pillow? What mean those nightly patrols? those vigilance Committees? these threats of violence and blood? They prove, Sir, the oppressor is a *man*, with the conscience of a man, and not the mere animal his apologist would make him, less capable of moral culture than the slave!

I protest, Sir, against this casuistry, because it disarms the truth of its native power. Let facts be consulted on this point. I can give you one incident, Sir, deserving a place among the experiments, which ought to be made and registered preparatory to that inductive moral philosophy, which should have found, ere this, a place among the Sciences. I know of the man, Sir, remotely connected with slave-holding, who commenced the reading of Channing with intense interest. Nothing before had succeeded in riveting his attention. His high esteem for Dr. Channing forbade him to pass his book unread. The Chapters on "Property" and on "Rights" were full of arrows which went through his soul. As he read the "Evils of Slavery" his spirit withered. In one of the coldest days in Jan-

vary he sought repeatedly the doors and windows for the fresh air, and resumed his reading with a pale cheek. But mark, Sir. When he came to the Chapter of "Explanations" and learned how the sinner could be divorced from his sin, or rather, how there could be robbery without a robber, his color came again. He concluded his Southern friends were in a less dangerous and guilty condition than he had supposed. He made himself quiet, and the last state of that man is worse than the first.

This is the practical effect Sir, of the fastidious decorum of which I have been speaking. A decorum which reconciles the Church to a carcass of rottenness, which binds the earth in the strong bands of sin, and bids her lie steeped in human blood. This is the decorum which so beseechingly invites the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause to cut adrift from the censorious, the vituperative, and exceedingly indecorous and ungentelemanly WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

I stand not here, Mr. President, as the apologist, or as the eulogist of any man, and certainly it does not appear to me that the fair fame of our friend Garrison requires either gully or apology at my hands. Another generation of men, not ours, will write his epitaph, and whether it be written or not, matters little to him or to us. But the work, Sir, in which we are engaged, requires us to estimate correctly the instruments with which we are laboring, and the laborers with whom we associate. And I wish, Sir, to say that the *Liberator* and *William Lloyd Garrison* are auxiliaries, which the cause cannot spare and of whose aid we should be wise, more effectually and more extensively to avail ourselves. I say not that they are faultless. I know of no faultless human instruments. But I do say that by far the greater part of the complaints urged against them would never have been uttered by a Bunyan, a Baxter, or a Paul — would never have been conceived, but for the fastidious decorum of this age of hypocrisy and crime.

My mind runs back, Sir, to nearly seven years ago, when I used to walk with our friend Garrison across yonder Common, and to converse on the great enterprise for which we are now met. The work, then, was all *future*. It existed only in the ardent prayer and the fixed resolves. How rapid and wonderful have been the developments of the last seven years! They sit before me like a confused shadow. But I have a distinct impression of the course of William Lloyd Garrison. Never, for a moment, amid the smoke and dust of the battle has his path been obscured or dubious. Whoever else has half wavered or faltered, it was not he. Whoever else has, for a moment, mistaken the standard of darkness for the banner of light, it was not he. Whoever else has unwarily pointed our pursuing legions to the wrong track, it has seldom, if ever, been he.

I said, Sir, the cause needed the 'Liberator' of Mr. Garrison. Yet I appreciate the advantages to be derived from the circulation of periodicals emanating from an official source, speaking in the name of the great National Society, and moving with dignified and solemn pace. They can be prepared with deliberation, they can be guarded by joint counsel. They can be confidently circulated by many, perhaps *among* many, with whom the work of a lone individual would find less favor. I rejoice that our cause is supplied with these aids. But I know too, the mighty power of the individual, as he stands braced in his self-collected strength, fresh from the mount of communion, and asking counsel only of his God. The eloquent Channing has not overdrawn the picture. We know, Mr. President, if *he* did not, where we may place our eyes on the *original* of that picture, or one who justly may claim the portrait; and I trust we shall show by

our manner of using the power of affiliated association, that it can be wielded without the destruction of personal identity or the annihilation of individual independence and energy.

The task of *such* an Editor, Mr. President, is an arduous and a thankless one. He must shield his friends by movements, for which they will be sure to censure him. He must save the cause by the very blows, from which the apparently judicious will anticipate its annihilation. He must stand on an eminence from whence he can see what other men cannot see; he must be eyes to the blind, whose want of eye-sight will lead them to make war upon their benefactor. He must rouse men from their dangerous sleep who, while they begin to see men as trees walking, will murmur because they are waked, and instead of thanking their deliverer, find fault with the rudeness that disturbed them, and assume to give directions, when they should be beginning to learn. To such an Editor, defeat is disgrace as well as discomfiture; and the anticipation of success is the anticipation of the period when he must be forgotten, and the triumph be led forward by more popular and courtly leaders.

Alone on his watch tower he must survey the whole field of the conflict with a glance that comprehends the universe — yet he is expected to explore every corner of it with the precision that would analyze a mole-hill! As the countless forms of deception and sin play around him, he must adjust his blow and poise his aim. If he strikes one moment too soon, he strikes the empty space to which his adversary has not quite arrived. If a moment too late, the Demon has passed on, and seized its prey, or has ascended perchance, the sacred peak, transformed to an angel of light! He must strike with his whole strength, or he will fail of thorough execution. The blow must be levelled with the accuracy that would dissect a feather, or the monster will be missed; or else — alas! alas! what is *far* worse, some good man, yes! some surpassingly good man will be making dolefully wry faces on account of his poor toes or fingers, which were, very *innocently* and "*prudently*" concealed beneath the snakey folds!

I said, Mr. President, the Liberator should be supported. But what is support? Let me tell you, Sir, what it is not. I have had some experience in these matters. The support of a paper is *not* to subscribe and never think of paying till some one *calls* for the money, at an expense of collection amounting to more than the profits. It is not to tax a publisher with postage which should be paid by the subscriber.

The adequate support of a paper devoted to the work of *reform* can never be found in its subscription list. Men do not pay away money for the means of changing their own opinions, still less, for the reproof of their own sins. Experience teaches that Temperance papers must be supported, as a tract circulation is supported, by the gratuities of the friends of the cause. The "*Emancipator*" and "*Human Rights*" are now circulated in this way, and I see no reason why the Liberator should not be circulated in the same manner. Its being published by an individual instead of a Society should make no difference, for it is not published for private emolument. At least 2,500 dollars should be raised the present year for this purpose. And 300 dollars I am persuaded, can be raised in Rhode Island.

The exigencies of our country, Mr. President, if I mistake not, require a vast increase of effort, immediate, vigorous effort, if she is to be saved from destruction. I know it is common to praise our great achievements and anticipate our glorious

prospects. But I have never learned to do it, and therefore cannot be a popular anniversary speaker. Mr. President, I cannot read the tokens of our rising greatness. I do not thus decypher the signs of the passing times. I see, and rejoice to see the progress of our Bible, Tract, and Missionary Societies, our Sunday Schools, our Temperance, and Peace, and Moral Reform, and Anti-Slavery efforts. Had it not been for these, we should have been shipwrecked long ago. And yet, for five and twenty years, Mr. President, have I watched with aching heart and anxious eye, the retrograde movement of our republic. — Yes ! Retrograde ! What ? amid all our glorious institutions and cheering reforms ? — Yes, sir ! Retrograde ! Do not the Secretaries of the Mission, Tract, and Education Boards assure us that the increase of population is outrunning the increase of evangelical instruction ? That the march of the *man of sin* is unchecked ? Do not our records of increasing crimes assure us, that vice and heathenism are gaining ground ? And, Mr. President, when the words of Washington, of Jefferson, of Franklin, of Rush, and of Pinckney, cannot be repeated without the cry of “ fanaticism,” and the threat of disunion and blood ; when Faneuil Hall becomes the cradle of slavery, are we not admonished, sir, that Liberty, as well as intelligence and virtue, are on the wane.

But how is this ? methinks I hear some one inquiring ! — How is it that we can be going *backwards*, with all this rapid and visible movement *onwards* ? Do we not see the improvements that are making every day ? Do we not mark the progress that is making, week by week ? How is all this ?

I will tell you how it is, Mr. President. It is as when the stately ship cuts through the water, at the rate of four miles an hour, while the under current is carrying the whole body of the ocean, ship and all, backwards, six miles an hour !

Mr. President, were you ever entering the straits of Malacca, eastward bound, towards the close of the south-west Monsoon, just as it was dying away, to be succeeded by a six months’ blast from the north-east — dead ahead ?

I have, Sir, and well do I remember that intense anxiety and peril. How anxiously did we watch the lingering winds ! How sedulously spread the flowing sail ! How solicitously mark our progress through the rippling waves ! When the customary time had elapsed, we began to look out for the high mountains of Queda ahead, when hark ! the man aloft cries out “ Land ho ! ! ” From the quarter deck comes the instant response — “ Where-away ? ” (i. e. in what direction ?) “ Astern, Sir ! ” — “ Astern ? ” — “ Ay, Sir, Astern ! Directly over the larboard quarter.” — “ What land can there be in that direction ? — Hand up the chart.” A moment’s glance decides the mystery. It is the Nicobar Islands, and with all our cheering progress through the water, instead of having crossed the Straits of Malacca, we had been drifting back into the bay of Bengal ! The coral reefs were but a little distance from us, where many a gallant bark had laid her bones. The favorable monsoon was whispering its last sigh. Our passage through the straits must be speedily secured, or our best resort was a six months anchorage ground, or a circuitous voyage through the Southern and Pacific Oceans — twenty thousand miles instead of five hundred, to the port of our destination !

Such, Sir, is the precise condition of our ship of state, our bark of moral reform, when our wise pilots are exclaiming — “ Too fast ! Take care ! You are going too fast ! ”

Too fast ? Mr. President. Unless we can go faster than we have yet done, we must soon take up the lamentation — “ The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and our work is not done ! ”

Seriously, Mr. President, I know not what calculations others are making, but I expect the next six or twelve months will decide the destiny of our Republic ; and nothing but the most gigantic and unprecedented efforts can avail us anything. Some people seem to suppose the crisis has already passed, that the day of mobs has gone by, and that there is no danger of despotic legislation against freedom of speech and of the press. There is a little respite, at the present moment, I know, and we ought to improve it ; there is a temporary calm, and we should prepare for the tempest it betokens ! If I mistake not, Sir, the aristocracy of this nation, at the North and at the South, are concentrating their energies for such a struggle with *freedom*, as the world has never yet witnessed. Never, Sir, was the cause of universal despotism called upon to make such an onset before. She has contended with bayonets and brute force, and on that battle ground, Sir, she is at home. But never, Sir, since the days of Moses and Aaron, has she been thus challenged by moral power, by the breath of *almighty truth*, to such a contest. Will she surrender at discretion ? No, Sir ! Gog and Magog are already marshalling their legions. Just at this crisis, they hardly know where to begin. They are calling on each other to take the lead. The South calls upon the North. Congress is looking to State Authorities, the States to Congress, and mob law is resting on her oars to see whether statute law will do her despotic work more effectually. If so, well. If not, she rushes like the famished lioness to her prey.

Mark me, Sir, though no son of a prophet, I predict there will yet be a fearful effort to crush the liberties of this people by legislation. Our literary, theological, and political giants are not furbishing their steel and mustering their armies for nothing. The trial will be made, unless foreclosed by their sudden and simultaneous exposure before the entire people. This is the work that is needed *now*. If it is not promptly done, the people will sleep on, till their chains are riveted, and despotism established on her throne. Or if this effort should fail — if legislation should not succeed — then, Sir, some six or twelve months hence, unless discomfited by our broad flash of pure light, entering into every dark crevice of our land, the combined forces of aristocracy and anarchy will be let loose again — not in the mere boy's play of hurling rotten eggs and brick-bats — not in the mere predatory skirmishes of southern Lynch law ; but in that nameless development of which the annals of the world afford no parallel — before the records of which the bloody story of the first French Revolution will become stale and insipid — in a word, by that unprecedented catastrophe, for which the unprecedented blessings and corruptions of this nation have for so long a period been ripening her !

Mr. President, what are abolitionists doing ? What are they expecting ? Is it by less than the Levitical tithe of income ? Is it by two or three days' labor, or rather amusement, in the course of the coming year, that they can save themselves, their country, their posterity, their liberties, and the cause of holy freedom on the earth ? No, Sir ! They have not begun to understand the crisis, nor their responsibilities — no, nor even their personal interests. We stand, Sir, where John Hancock and John Adams stood, when they signed the Declaration we have now signed, of *inalienable human rights* ! We stand, Sir, as they did, with a price upon our heads, and the halter preparing for our necks, unless

we succeed, and that speedily. They pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. We must do the same, Sir. And it must not be a "mere flourish of rhetoric." The pledge must be part of the price! What shall it profit a man, to save his wealth and lose his own life? or his liberty, which is dearer than life?

To resume the illustration I just used, Sir, — We are entering upon the crisis of our voyage. The narrow passage is before us — the hidden shoals are around and beneath us. Dark scuds are lowering on the horizon. The coral groves are just under our stern. The Monsoon of freedom, enjoyed by our fathers, seems dying away. Our sails are spread — we are rippling the water. But the currents, Sir, how set the currents? The landmarks, where are they? Aye, Sir, the landmarks! The syren song is, "you're going too fast." Alas, Sir, you are not going half fast enough! Shake out every reef. Stretch every rag of canvass. Lash the watchman to the mast-head. Look out for the land astern, lest the voyage be lost, and ages of darkness and tempests intervene, before the setting in of another favorable Monsoon.

Rev. C. P. Grosvenor introduced, and ably advocated the following resolution.

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, having incurred great expense, and being now deeply in debt, in consequence of its great exertions in the cause of abolition, we recommend to auxiliary Societies and other friends of the cause, to contribute liberally in aid of its funds — and that a collection be now taken and a subscription be now opened, for this purpose.

This resolution was sustained also by S. E. Sewall, Esq. of this city, Geo. Russell of Kingston, and Isaac Winslow of Danvers, each in a strain of remark, which evinced a spirit ready to spend and be spent in a cause, to which they were asking others to contribute. In consequence of this appeal, a contribution was immediately gathered of \$105 in cash, and in subscriptions amounting to \$1045 for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and \$75 dollars for the Liberator.

The following resolutions were then offered and supported in a short, impressive speech by Dr. Sylvanus Brown.

Resolved, That the members of this Convention consider their sentiments as abolitionists to be in strict conformity with the spirit and precept of the Gospel, and that as such we believe it is our religious duty to propagate them, and to pray for their universal extension and success.

Resolved, That it is the duty of this Convention and of all true and consistent abolitionists to ascribe their success to God — and peculiarly at this time it is our duty and privilege with thanksgiving and praise to say, hitherto hath the Lord helped us.

Resolved, That relying on God for wisdom, strength and guidance, we will unitedly and individually implore his Omnipotent help, to eradicate Slavery from our beloved country — in the full belief of that gracious promise, that every plant that our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up.

Rev. Orange Scott then introduced the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously.

Resolved, That we mark with grateful reverence the example set before us by the philanthropists of Britain respecting the abolition of Slavery, and report to them, with hearts deeply penetrated, the faithfulness and success of the no-

ble spirits they have sent to our aid ; and that in view of this entire awakened country, roused by George Thompson to a knowledge of its cherished enmity to emancipation, we owe to him, and those who granted his aid to our request, to be more and more faithful to the cause, to which he sacrificed all his personal interests at the hazard of his life.

MR. PRESIDENT :—

Great Britain has truly set us a noble example. She has abolished slavery throughout her dominions. She has learned that colored men have *souls* — that colored men have *rights*. An act of the British Parliament, which took effect on the 1st of August, 1834, created, in a single day, eight hundred thousand British citizens ! yes sir, eight hundred thousand goods and chattels changed into intelligent beings, claiming and enjoying the rights of citizens ! A relic only of by-gone dark ages remains—the six years apprenticeship system, to *prepare the slaves for freedom*. But, sir, while the light of these apprenticeship Islands may be compared to the stars of heaven, Antigua and Bermuda, where emancipation was immediate and *unconditional*, shine forth with the splendor of the sun at noon day, showing us, incontrovertibly, that immediate emancipation is safest and best. And we cannot believe, that the British Parliament will suffer the apprenticeship system to continue through the six years.

We find it very convenient, Mr. President, to apologize for the present race of man-stealers, by saying slavery was imposed upon us, when we were British colonies. But when England repents of her sins and washes out her stains, and then sends her eloquent Thompson to lecture us on the evils of slavery, and stir us up to repentance, we shrink from the light which makes manifest, and cry out “foreign emissary !” We love our sins too well to be willing to accept of any aid, foreign or domestic, in getting rid of them. Mr. Thompson, however, has been signally instrumental in waking up our country. We had long been under the influence of a deadly lethargy—but the charm is broken. There is now an excitement through the whole length and breadth of the land. Every eye and every ear is open. The spirit of inquiry has gone forth. The abolitionists and their opponents have accomplished one object, which they have had in view from the beginning, that is, to wake up public attention to the subject of slavery. The rights of the colored man are now everywhere discussed ; and though in most instances, but one side of the subject is presented, yet better so than not at all. Slavery cannot be touched, pro or con, without making abolitionists. Let us have anything but dead silence. Our opponents are well aware that abolitionism is the *certain result* of discussion. And, therefore, to hush us to silence, they thunder and storm—they agitate the subject to put it to rest.

The visit of our beloved brother Thompson, in connection with other means, has called forth (not created) the enmity, of slaveholders and their apologists, to emancipation. It existed before ; but the abolition hook has drawn out this Leviathan.

Mr. President, the abolition field is the *world*—and Mr. Thompson is still in *that* field. His voice shall still be heard—his influence shall still be felt. England keeps up this discussion, and will till the last slave is free !

It has been tauntingly said, that Mr. Thompson, in his mission to this country, was supported by a society of ladies. This circumstance, Sir, gives additional importance to that mission. The ladies were among the most efficient advocates of the suffering slave in England. And, indeed, they generally take the lead in

every good work. Who stood by the cross of Christ when he was crucified, after the most of his disciples had forsok him and fled? *Two women*. Who were first at his sepulchre, on the morn of his resurrection? *Women*. And women, Sir, are *constitutionally* abolitionists. We are not ashamed to acknowledge that the *women and children are with us*. Let us secure the co-operation of the ladies, and the gentlemen will not be far in the rear.

And now, Sir, what have the abolitionists done? or rather, in the words of Henry Clay, "what have they *not* done?" Col. Benton says they have put back emancipation fifty years! Indeed! A set of "addle-headed fools" who are incapable of doing either good or hurt, have put *back* emancipation fifty years! But this seems to imply that there was some advance towards emancipation — if so, in what did it consist? Slaveholders tell us they never intend to emancipate their slaves — that they have the same objections to emancipation, however remote, as to immediate. How then could the abolitionists put that back fifty years, which is *never to take place*? Why, Sir, before half of fifty years are gone, every slave in our country will be as free as Col. Benton!

"But why," it is often asked, "do you discuss the subject of slavery in the North? There are no slaves here." So it seems we must not discuss the question in the North, because there are *no slaves here* — nor in the South, because there *are slaves there*. And the conclusion is, it must not be discussed at all. But, Sir, slavery will never be abolished, except by violent means, till the subject shall have been generally discussed, and that discussion, must, as a matter of course, commence in the North. So far from being permitted to go to the South in person, even our publications are Lynched, ere they reach their place of destination. Northern discussion is, at present, the *ONLY REMEDY*. I know not that any other has been proposed or thought of. It is pretty generally admitted on all sides, that colonization can never free our country from slavery — and those who oppose discussion, propose nothing as a substitute. We are then to choose between *something* and *nothing*. We have seen the effect of the discussion of the slave question in England, and we never will give it up here till something better is proposed.

Sir, slavery is a sin against God and the rights of humanity — and this is a sufficient reason for discussing it *anywhere and everywhere*. The principle that one man can hold property in another, is a wicked principle, under all circumstances and in all places. The *principle*, the thing itself, is the same in the hands of a minister, church member, or infidel. No hands, no circumstances can sanctify it, or make it good. It is evil, only evil, and that continually. Slavery has been driven by the abolitionists into every nook and corner, till finally, as the last resort, it has taken refuge in the Bible — and there we are willing to meet it. By that book let it be tried, and by that it shall stand or fall.

Slavery, Mr. President, is a *national* sin, and, therefore, we discuss it in the North. It exists under the jurisdiction of the General Government. We hold the same relation to the sin of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories, as the Southern States do. Northern Representatives and Senators make a part of that Congress, which must abolish slavery in those places, if it be ever abolished. But, Sir, I must stop. My heart is full. I should be glad to say more, but the lateness of the hour precludes further remarks from me. The day star of freedom has arisen. The light of universal emancipation dawns upon our land, and upon the world. The redemption of millions draws nigh. A national jubilee is at hand!

For want of time the following resolution was also offered and passed without eliciting any remarks, by Samuel Norris of Salisbury.

Resolved, That this Convention highly approve of the circulation of the *Anti-Slavery Almanac*, and recommend to all those who sympathize with the oppressed victims of slavery, to assist in scattering it as widely as possible.

Adopted.

Rev. Mr. Storrs of Concord, N. H., offered the following, and in a few minutes said much that was worth preserving.

Resolved, That, inasmuch as the *daily practice* of abolitionists ought to bear in every possible way upon this subject, we recommend the establishment as soon as hereafter may be, of a free labor store in Boston, which shall supply the auxiliary Societies throughout the State with the means of supplying such stores in the vicinity of each society.

By Rev. J. V. Himes of Boston,

Resolved, That freedom of speech and freedom of the press, being the only sure foundations of free institutions, the recent attempts throughout our country to prevent and interrupt the meetings, and suppress the publications of abolitionists, by lawless violence, ought to be looked on with horror and alarm by every friend of his country, of liberty, and of the human race.

The audience then rose and united in singing, to the tune of Old Hundred —

"From all that dwell below the skies," &c.

The following ingenious disquisition upon the Constitution was offered to the meeting on the afternoon of the 20th, in the course of the debate, which arose upon the resolution offered by the Rev. H. C. Wright. We wish the argument of the gentleman on the other side had been also furnished us for publication.

MR. PRESIDENT, —

Since the opponents of our cause seem determined to dishonor the Constitution of our country, by ascribing to it so foul a doctrine as the righteousness of slavery, I must esteem it of great importance to vindicate the Constitution from such reproach. We ought, first of all, to determine what the Constitution is; and I conceive it to consist first and essentially in principles, and secondly, in the form of government. I am not ignorant that the propensity is prevalent to consider and speak of that part of the Constitution, which is the mere form of our government, as the entire Constitution; but I know that a body without a soul is not a man, and that a *form* of government, without the *principles* on which the government is to be administered, is a political corpse.

Every government is based on some principles, and in a Republic those principles ought to be recorded and annunciated, or there can be no stability, and the people must be in darkness and be liable to any abuses, which unprincipled rulers may impose on them, through such false constructions of constitutional provisions as may suit the purposes of tyranny. The people, in a republic, are the interpreters of the Constitution, which they themselves have framed. In order that, from generation to generation, the people may have some clear, fixed, unalterable standard, by which they may interpret the provisions of their Constitution, some fundamental principles must be agreed on and published to be perpetually kept before the minds of the whole community. Shall the government always be administered on principles of righteousness? Then those principles must be settled at the beginning.

The notion is monstrous, that the interpretation of the Constitution is submitted to any one man, or to any legislature or court, absolutely and exclusively. This would give to that individual or that body of men, a power as mighty

and as dangerous as was ever usurped by single or aristocratic despotism. In this republic, the right and the duty of interpretation is everywhere—in the Supreme Court—in the President—in each house of Congress—in the State Governments, and in every citizen. All these act as checks and balances on each other, so that the error of one may be corrected by the judgment of others. Herein lies our security. Without this we have no security. And now, to aid and guide the whole to a right interpretation, well-defined principles must be laid at the foundation. This was done in the Declaration of Independence. To show that I am not in error here, I need only adduce the universal practice of reading that document, or re-declaring its principles on every fourth of July. This is not done for the purpose of annually asserting our independence of Great Britain. Such an annual act would long before now have become ridiculous in the extreme. As well might the man of sixty celebrate the anniversary of his freedom which he attained at twenty-one. A worthier motive than this prompts the nation to review the principles of righteous and rightful liberty every year. It is to keep in view and to transmit to posterity those great, foundation, vital principles of our Constitution—those principles which impart to the form of our government all its life, and energy, and stability. Accordingly, the following portion of the Declaration has usually been read with peculiar emphasis, and heard with thrilling interest. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain *unalienable* rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." This portion of the Declaration contains precisely the view I am now taking of our government. "To institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form," &c. Principles and form. Our fathers saw that to organize in "form" without "principles," would be creating a body without life. They, therefore, annunciated to the world, the principles on which they intended to erect the political edifice. And, inasmuch as their purpose was not to rear a Babel, nor to establish a government of rapine and wrong, they sought out and laid down those principles, which were settled as righteous—as "self-evident truths," and on these they declared they would build the government. And who, of the present generation, will avow himself ignorant of "self-evident truths?" or who will so defame the memory of the worthy dead as to impute to the fathers of our country the hypocrisy of avowing as "self-evident" such "truths" as they did avow, and then, in the eye of the world and of God, practically disavow these same "self-evident truths," by insinuating into the "form" of government, which they "organized" principles by themselves and everywhere and eternally known to be antagonist to those just avowed by themselves? That those, who impute to the framers of the Constitution such duplicity, may, in some instances, not be aware how they tarnish the moral character of such men as Washington, and Franklin, and King, and Sherman, and Langdon, and their associates, I must admit, though it is difficult; but no greater infamy can well be conceived, than that these men, some of them, Sherman, Franklin, and others, being signers of the Declaration in 1776, should in 1788 set their names to any instrument, which was intended to wrest from a portion of the "all men created equal and endowed by their Creator with the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," should set their names to any instrument intended to wrest from them all these very rights, and to place in the hands of tyrants a "guaranty" to withhold them by a nation's consent and a nation's power, and to inflict on the subjects of such oppression, at will, I do not say all those punishments, for it is absurd to speak of punishment without a crime, but to inflict on them all those sufferings to which pride, avarice, and passion may prompt the holders of absolute, irresponsible authority. The slaves are "men" and the "unalienable rights of all men" can with no more justice be denied them than any other men.

But I have not yet done with the principles on which our venerated fathers

founded this Republic. Those broad principles are, indeed, expressed by them in few words. So the Savior of the world declared the great Constitutional principles of the government of God in few words; "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments (foundation principles,) hang all the law and the prophets." Every article and clause in the form of the divine government is to be interpreted in accordance with these two great principles; and as, so interpreted, the law of God cannot admit of, but condemns oppression among men, in other words cannot admit of, but condemns slavery, the most enormous and flagitious of all oppression; so neither can the constitution of this nation, interpreted as it ought to be, in accordance with the great principles of right, contained in the nation's own Bill of Rights, or taken as part and parcel of the whole government — the whole constitution, embracing principles and form — admit of, but condemns all oppression, above all, slavery, compared with which all oppression, which can be measured by dollars and cents, becomes light as air. The people will so interpret their Constitution, and correct the errors which have been stealing their way almost unobserved into the counsels of the nation. As one of the people, I am bound in patriotism so to interpret the Constitution of my country.

Slavery exists, I know, and I blush to know, under both National and State Laws; but that it harmonizes with the principles of this nation's government — that it is constitutional, I deny, and thousands before me have denied. Every man has denied it, who has ever admitted that slavery is inconsistent with the nation's Bill of Rights, for by the principles of that Bill of Rights it is evinced too clearly for a school-boy to misunderstand, that this government is not constitutionally, though it may be practically, a slaveholding government. Mark the words I have already quoted. Let me call up again a phrase or two, which may have been passed over with too little regard to the full import. After declaring "that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with the unalienable rights of life and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the framers of the government add, that to secure these rights — mark it — to secure, not to create, nor to trample into the dust, these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent" (not a consent coerced, of course,) the free, cheerful consent of the governed. Our fathers being the judges, therefore, if any powers had been by the provisions of the form of government conferred on one class of the people, to take away or to withhold these rights of life and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, those powers would have been *unjust*. Again hear the framers of the government, "whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends," viz. the securing to the governed of the rights specified, "it is the right of the people, the governed, to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principle, and organizing its powers in such form as to them (the people, the governed) shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." The slaves are a part of "the governed," here spoken of by our fathers, and what are we taught respecting their rights? Who believes it possible that the very men who, "appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of their intentions," declared these to be the principles of the government they intended to form, would or did, while thus under solemn oath, dare introduce into the provisions of the Constitution any "guaranty" or any thing like a guaranty to any man or to any State for wresting from any portion of "the people" to be "governed" all those very "rights" for the security of which all "just" governments are established, and which "the governed" have "the right" to assert by subverting, "throwing off," the oppressive government, and instituting another? If they had inserted any such guaranty in the form of government they instituted, their own avowed principles would be a fire to burn out the incongruous and iniquitous article, how covertly soever the "leprous spot" had been worded in upon the body politic.

But, though many of our opponents acknowledge the glaring inconsistency of slavery with the "principles" of the government, as contained in the Bill of Rights, they still contend that the Constitution does contain provisions, which amount to a guaranty for slave-holding in three or four clauses, and,

therefore, we must submit or destroy the Constitution. So Gov. McDuffie, of South Carolina, who in his Message a year ago called "the Constitution a miserable mockery of tattered and blotted parchment," and averred that the South must seek a better guaranty for retaining their property in human beings than is found in it, this year claims that "Slavery is the corner stone of our Republican edifice." And how widely do they differ from him, who tell us that, if we touch slavery we shall destroy the Union? These last, perhaps, find more of something like a "guaranty" in the Constitution, than even the keen-eyed McDuffie. Three or four times allusion at least is made to slavery. First, in the article which provides for the apportionment of Representatives and direct taxes. Secondly, in the article which provides for the reclaiming of a person held to service or labor in one State escaping into another State. Thirdly, in the article respecting the immigration or importation of foreigners. Fourthly, and triumphantly, in the article touching reserved rights. In opposition to all this, I aver that there is no word or phrase in the Constitution of the United States, which necessarily signifies or implies the idea of slavery, so that no alteration of the Constitution would be at all needful, if slavery were abolished to-day. No definition, suiting the condition of a slave, is found in it. Nothing is said of men owned or held as the property of others. "All other persons" — "a person held to service or labor to be reclaimed by the party to whom such service or labor may be due" — "persons immigrating or imported to this country" — are phrases entirely consistent with the idea of freedom in all of the "persons" spoken of. For, in law, slaves are not persons but "property — goods and chattels — chattels personal."

Much reliance is placed, also, on the phrase — "person held to service or labor." But an apprentice is such a "*person*," held to service or labor, while he is neither "property," nor "goods and chattels."

In regard to "reserved rights," I need only say that if the *right* (the *wrong*) of holding "men as property" is reserved to the States, because the Constitution does not in its provisions take *such a right* into the hands of the United States, I may claim for the States the reserved right of *robbery*, on the ground that *this right* is not claimed by the Constitution of the United States.

My only object has been, in these remarks, to show that there is nothing in the language of the Constitution which implies any guaranty for slave-holding. Most certainly there is not a word in the Constitution which confers on Congress the power of enacting slave laws; and yet Congress has *presumed* to enact such laws. Are these laws constitutional? certainly not, and any citizen of the United States has the constitutional right to prove them to be so; for freedom of speech and of the press is expressly established by that Constitution, and by the Constitutions of the several States, which right, no patriot or christian will surrender, but with his life.

But again, it is said that the provisions of the Constitution have been construed to contain a recognition of the right of slave-holding. This I shall not deny. Both the laws of Congress, and the Constitutions and laws of several of the States, undoubtedly, so construe the Constitution. But the question to be answered at this point is — Is such construction to be taken as *proof* that slavery is guarantied by the Constitution? Is any Constitution to be interpreted by the laws which are professedly based upon it? If so, we ought to ask whether any article of the Constitution is established by law, and not whether a law is constitutional? But I am not aware that such is the usual mode of treating the Constitution. I have supposed, and have I labored under a mistake? I have supposed that laws are to be tested by their agreement or disagreement with the Constitution; and not the Constitution by any laws enacted under it. The good old order of things has been reversed, or a law is to be approved or condemned as it is found to be constitutional or unconstitutional, and each provision of the Constitution is to be interpreted by the principles contained in the Bill of Rights; in other words, any construction put upon an article of the Constitution is to be sustained or rejected as it makes that article harmonize or conflict with the principles of the government as contained in the Bill of Rights.

Shall I be met here with a denial that the Declaration of Independence contains the Nation's Bill of Rights, or the principles on which our government is found-

ed? If so, it might be sufficient to hear the denial with silence and with shame for the objector. But, in this case, I may answer according to the folly of the objector, that I may reprove it by a simple reference to the fact, to which I have already alluded, that annually, on the fourth of July, it has been the practice throughout the nation, from its birth, to rehearse the Declaration of Independence, for the purpose of refreshing the memories of the people with the *great fundamental principles* on which the government is erected, that every man may be reminded of the sound and solid foundation of our Republican edifice, and, keeping them as the apple of the eye, may hold them up in holy defiance of all political aspirants, who may be disposed to elevate themselves at the expense of the rights of others. In doing this, we have professed not to be supremely selfish. We have hoped to see the thrones of foreign despotism subverted by these principles of right. We have thundered them in the ears of all nations, till the earth rung again. This is the noise that ye have heard for more than half a century. We have sympathized with the valiant Poles and struggling Greeks, and it was our principles of independence which prompted such sympathy. But must we forget the application of these principles to the cruelly oppressed in our own country? Must we bow with reverential awe, or rather with recreant servility, before the haughty "throne of iniquity," erected on the bodies and souls—the most precious rights—the groans and tears of millions of our own fellow-citizens, thousands of them being of "the posterity" of that generation of Americans, who resisted unto blood the principles and the impositions of tyrants, and established this republic "to secure to themselves and to their posterity, the blessings of Liberty?"

Shall we refrain from making application of the holy principles, which our fathers derived directly from the oracles of God, and made the basis of this government, and which they expected their children would as fearlessly apply to the *form* of government, under which they placed them as they applied the cannon-shot to the strong holds of their oppressors? Shall we refrain from doing this, under a cowering, servile fear of giving offence to any class of men? Is the fear—the high authority of God himself to be disregarded, and its place in our hearts supplied with the fear and quaking of the *hypocrite*? For hypocrisy it must be—hypocrisy, foul and damning as possessed the heart of Judas—to profess the holding of the righteous, heaven-derived principles of the Bill of Rights, while in our works we deny them.

Let the nation retract her pretensions to all political piety, and rescind her declaration of those holy principles, and stand out before God and mankind the unblushing advocate of despotism, the object of Jehovah's wrath and of the world's scorn,—or honestly apply those principles to every provision of her Constitution—that it may be purified of all the pollution, which has been imposed on it, and stand forth to the eyes of all nations, as the most righteous and best of all Constitutions, and to the eye of Him, who made all men equal, and endowed them with the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, as a worthy transcript of His own holy constitution of government.

The starting of objections like those I have noticed, strongly indicates the weakness of the cause in which they originate. If slavery be capable of defence by the Constitution interpreted by the principles, which lie at the foundation of the government, let its advocates manfully meet us in argument on that ground. Why do they not? It is there every great question of government must be settled, or remain unsettled. And is it patriotism? is it honor? is it worthy of Americans to perpetuate the present unsettled state of things? Let there be decision that we may have peace, which can never be enjoyed, while the nation is like the troubled sea, which cannot rest.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1885.

Allen Sidney	\$1.00	Follen Charles	17.00
Abbott Joseph	1.00	Fuller John E.	5.00
Andover A. S. Society	30.00	Fish H. Wintrop	1.00
Acton A. S. Society	9.40	Friends at Convention	34.00
Ashburnham A. S. Society	12.00	Farnsworth C. B.	1.00
Alcott A. B.	5.00	Fall River Gentlemen	25.00
Abbott J. B.	1.00	Friends	5.00
Amesbury and Salisbury A. S. Society	23.47	Farnsworth Walter	20.00
" Female A. S. Society	13.00	Farley James	1.00
" " " "	15.00	Greenwood Ira	1.00
Adams Sarah B.	50	Gamage Amory	1.00
Annual Meeting Collection	34.64	Grosvener C. P. by Salem Ladies	15.00
Brown W. C.	1.00	Grimke A. E.	50.00
Brewer Geo. A.	1.00	Groton A. S. Society	11.75
Budd Nathaniel	1.00	Gilbert Timothy	26.00
Bowdoin Street A. S. Society	11.25	Grigg William	2.00
Brown Eunice	2.00	Grigg Daniel	20.00
Boyd N. B.	10.00	Gill Perez	20.00
Bacon O. P.	2.00	Hershey Lewis	1.00
Baron Mrs. R. C.	1.00	Hill Sumner	1.00
Burleigh C. C.	5.00	Hill Converse	1.00
Bowen A.	5.00	Holton J. F.	3.00
Birney J. G.	1.00	Hendice Phillis	.25
Barry C. C.	2.00	Himes J. V. by Boston Ladies	15.00
Brown Thomas	2.00	Haverhill Ladies for Rev. Mr. Perry	15.00
Dent Rev. Mr.	3.00	" " Rev. Mr. Plummer	15.00
Bradford A. S. Society	50.00	Hale Eusebius	1.00
Bulfinch Thomas	10.00	Hilton J. T.	4.00
Boston A. F.	15.00	Hall Rev. Robert B.	5.00
Brown Moses	20.00	Hollis Thomas	5.00
Billings N.	50	Higginson D.	5.00
Boston Female A. S. Society	73.00	Hinckley Albert	2.00
" " "	77.00	Holman J. W.	1.00
Carpenter James	1.00	Hadley friends	5.00
Colley Benj. E.	1.00	Hollis John 3d	50
Curry Francis	1.00	Hayward Wm. H.	25.00
Comstock William	1.00	Holliston A. S. Society	13.99
Cheever G. B. by Salem Ladies	15.00	Hildreth Charles T.	20.00
Currier Ebenezer	1.00	Haverhill A. S. Society	50.00
Cambell Jeremiah	1.00	Jackson Francis	85.00
Chikl Mrs.	1.50	Jackson Edmund	20.00
Capron W. C.	1.00	Kingston Ladies for A. Jackson	15.00
Chapman Mrs. H. G.	5.00	Keith Royal	1.00
Chapman Miss A. G.	5.00	Kingsbury Benj.	1.00
Capron E. L.	20.00	Kimball Moses	20.00
Crandall Phineas	1.00	Kimball John S.	25.00
Contribution at Convention	57.20	Libbey Tristram	1.00
Collection at Julien Hall July 4	14.00	Libbey Daniel	1.00
Chute D.	20.00	Lincoln James	1.00
Cross J. W.	5.00	Lovell Rev. Mr.	2.00
Carleton William	25.00	Loring Ellis Gray	100.00
Clapp Richard	20.00	Little C. G.	1.00
Cross Rev. W.	20.00	Lane A. A.	2.00
Cowles J. P.	1.00	Lewis J. W.	2.00
Chapman Henry	15.00	Lady of Leicester	3.00
Cambridge Port A. S. Society	30.00	Lynn A. S. Society	100.00
Cowper A. S. Society	5.00	Lynn Female A. S. Society	30.00
Concord friends	10.00	Medway West, friends in	10.50
Danforth William	1.00	Morrill James	2.00
Davis Geo. H.	1.00	Middleboro' A. S. Society	12.60
Dearborn E. B.	1.00	Milbury A. S. Society	18.00
Duncan J. G.	1.00	Macomber I.	10.00
Demond Rev. Mr.	5.00	New Bedford Friends	77.50
Dorchester Contribution	6.25	Newburyport A. S. Society	50.00
Danvers	12.52	Noyes Mr. of W. Newbury	2.00
Dorchester A. S. Society	40.00	Odiome Ed. G.	1.00
Ewins Alexander	50	Oliver James P.	1.00
Editor of Worcester Spy	2.50	Oakes William	30.00
Emerson Geo. B.	50.00	Perry Gardner B.	1.00
Friends in Amherst College	7.00	Parlin Sarah	1.50

Pickett Aaron	1,00	Snowden Samuel	1,00
Pawtucket Delegation	7,00	Shore Azariah	3,00
Pratt Edward	10,00	Simmons Charles	1,00
Putnam Jesse	1,00	Stanford Luke A.	1,00
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Prince J.	1,00	Southwick Joseph	51,50
Probody Albert	1,00	Sandwich A. S. Society	7,00
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Philbrick Samuel	51,00	Sesgrave Edward	15,00
Purim Samuel	50	Sewall Samuel E.	25,00
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Plymouth Friends	30,00	Taunton A. S. Society	40,00
Pratt A. C.	1,00	Union A. S. Society	5,00
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Raymond J.	5,00	Woodbridge Thomas	1,00
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Robinson Thomas T.	1,01	Williston Samuel	11,00
Reading Contributions	15,48	Winslow S. H.	50,00
Rotch William	100,00	Weston Miss A.	1,00
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Robinson John	2,00	White James C.	2,00
Reading, a friend in	1,00	Waters A. H.	1,00
Ripley Rev. Mr. of Marshfield	1,00	Wilson David	2,00
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Sewall Joseph	15,00	Wright H. C.	15,00
Scituate North A. S. S.	1,50	Whiting Marcus	50,00
Stow Baron by Boston ladies	15,00	Wrentham friends	7,57
Stranger at convention	1000,00	Willson H.	1,00
Sanger Abner	5,00	Withington I. S.	25,60
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NEW WORKS.

RIGHT AND WRONG IN BOSTON.

The above is the title of a book just published by the "Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society;" — contains their Annual Report, together with a minute history of the events which caused the mob to disperse them on the day of their annual meeting, Oct. 21, 1835. The work contains 108 pages.

LIFE OF GRANVILLE SHARPE.

The American Anti-Slavery Society have just published a life of that distinguished philanthropist and Christian, **GRANVILLE SHARPE**, by Chas. Stewart. Sharpe for many years maintained a constant and unflinching warfare against Slavery and the Slave trade, and succeeded, after years of toil and vexation, in procuring a judicial decision, that the moment a slave treads on British soil, that moment he is free. It is ornamented with a beautiful copper-plate likeness, engraved by **PATRICK REASON**, a colored youth of the city of New York.

The work contains also, "Sharpe's Law of Passive Obedience," and an extract from his "Law of Retribution."

Price 37½ cts. single. \$4,00 per dozen.

Mr. Charles Whipple of Newburyport has lately issued from the press several little tracts upon Slavery, from the pen of our esteemed friend, Mrs. Child. Two of them, viz: 'AUTHENTIC ANECDOTES OF AMERICAN SLAVERY,' 'the EVILS OF SLAVERY and the CURE OF SLAVERY' may be found at the office of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, where the friends of the cause, if they wish to purchase, may be immediately supplied.

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD, VOL. I. The first volume of this valuable tract has been bound up in a neat and permanent form. All these publications will be doubly interesting as the cause progresses and the primary movers in shape of tracts &c., shall have become scarce. Price 30 cts. single. \$3,00 per doz.

Will be published in a few weeks the letters of **GEO. THOMPSON, Esq.** — many of which have never before been published; together with an introduction at length by **WM. LLOYD GARRISON**, giving an account of his unprecedented, laborious, and successful efforts in the cause of immediate emancipation, in Great Britain; including in particular, his polemical contests with Mr. Borthwick, a West Indian advocate, in England. Also will be included in an appendix several of the speeches of Mr. Thompson; the defence of Mr. T. by the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, and Mr. Garrison's account of the mob on the 21st of Oct. 1835. This will be a most interesting and valuable work.

Those who have heard Mr. Thompson here, need no recommendation concerning the merits of his speeches.

ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS,

FOR SALE AT THE OFFICE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, No. 46, WASHINGTON-STREET, (THIRD STORY.)

BOUND VOLUMES.

An inquiry into the character and tendency of the American Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies, by the Hon. Wm. Jay, 3d edition.—Price, 38 cts.

A Reply to Jay's Inquiry, by D. M. Reese, M. D.—38.

The Testimony of God against Slavery, or a collection of passages from the Bible, which show the sin of holding property in man, with notes, by Rev. La Roy Sunderland, of Mass.—38.

The Oasis, by Mrs. D. L. Child of Boston, Author of an Appeal in favor of that class of Americans called Africans.—\$1.

Bourne's Picture of Slavery in the U. States.—50 cts.

Phelps' Lectures on Slavery.—50.

The Abolitionist, bound.—75.

Letters on Slavery by Rev. J. D. Paxton.—50.

The Anti-Slavery Record, vol. I.—37 1-2.

Memoir of James Jackson, a colored boy, who died in Boston, Oct. 31, 1833, aged 6 years and 11 months.—25.

Dr. Channing on Slavery.—50 cts. The first edition of 4,000 were disposed of in about three weeks.—A new edition is in press and will be published in a few days.

PAMPHLETS.—PER DOZ.

First, second, and third Annual Reports of the N. E. Anti-Slavery Society.—\$1.

Birney's Letter on Colonization.—50 cts.

Do. Do. to the Churches.—37.

Marriott's address to the 'Friends' on the duty of abstaining from the products of slave labor.—62½.

Ivimey's Lecture on Colonial Slavery.—\$2,50.

Rev. Mr. Root's Fast Sermon.—50.

A sketch of W. L. Garrison's trial for an alleged libel on Francis Todd of Newburyport.—75.

Duty of Churches with reference to slavery and slave-holders.—18.

Oration, by David L. Child, in commemoration of British Emancipation.—\$1,25.

Productions of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart, a colored lady of Boston.—\$1,00

Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1836.—50.

Peter Osbone's Oration before the colored people of New Haven, Ct.—75.

Eulogy on Wilberforce, by William Whipper.—\$1,00.

Trial of Prudence Crandall, a full report.—\$1,00.

May's Letter to the Editor of the Christian Examiner.—37½.

Address of the N. Y. Young Men's A. S. Society.—\$1,20.

The Maryland Scheme.—50.

Despotism of Freedom.—\$1,00.

The West India Question, by C. Stuart.—\$1,00.

Juvenile Poems, ornamented with nine wood engravings, for the use of free American children.—\$1,00.

The Slave's Friend, published monthly, being a series of Nos. for children.—10.

British Opinions of the Am. Col. Soc.—75.

The Wesleyan Extra, a tract of 24 pages, containing Wesley's Thoughts on slavery, published in the year 1774.—25.

Picture of a Slave in chains, with the Negro's Complaint, in Poetry.—24.

Picture of a Slave in chains, with Poetry by J. G. Whittier, Esq.—24.

Proceedings of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention.—\$1,20.

All the American A. S. Society's PERIODICALS are received as soon as published, and subscribers are promptly supplied as above.

Feb. 1.

HENRY E. BENSON, Agent.

FIFTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING,

JANUARY 25, 1837.

BOSTON:

PRINTED BY ISAAC KNAPP,
25, Cornhill.

1837.

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REPORT.

THE tone which the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society would assume, in presenting their Fifth Report, is one of joyful hope to the manacled slaves—of sincere congratulation to the friends of human liberty, universally—of ardent gratitude to God. If a blood-stained, conscience-stricken nation is writhing under the rebukes and warnings of the Spirit of Truth; if the march of Justice and Humanity is onward with accelerated speed, though obstructed by obstacles insurmountable to every thing else; if the knees of the American Belshazzar are smiting together, in view of the condemnatory handwriting upon the wall of his palace; and if, in every encounter of the friends of freedom with the hosts of tyranny, a glorious victory follows; why should we not bid our enslaved countrymen rejoice in hope—and congratulate all who sympathize with them, whether at home or abroad—and offer thanksgiving to Him who is King of kings, and Lord of lords? The acorn that was planted in the soil of the pilgrims only six years ago, has grown up into a stately oak, deepening its roots and extending its branches with every storm. The single voice which then broke upon the drowsy ear of the nation, is now lost in the thunder-tones of a congregated multitude. The

cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, which then rose in the east, now covers the land.

THE CONFLICT NOT ENDED.

But, while we assume a tone of confidence and triumph, in taking a retrospect of the past, we should deprecate giving the impression, that the warfare is almost terminated; that watchfulness may now give place to indifference, toil to repose, zeal to passivity; or that a final conquest is an easy matter. No. The great battle, which is to decide the destiny of this nation, is yet to be fought. Instead of the least abatement, there must be a vast augmentation of zeal and interest. Instead of beginning to fold the hands and close the eyes in slumber, we must gird up our loins afresh, watch as for our lives, and prepare for the last encounter. Instead of crying, 'ALL'S WELL!' the rallying-cry must be, 'TO THE RESCUE! FOR GOD AND LIBERTY!' Instead of ordering our forces to halt, let the animating watch-word pass from mouth to mouth, 'ONWARD!' 'ONWARD!' All history testifies, that a long-established despotism is not easily overthrown, and that tyrants are fiercer than wolves. And never, in all time, has there been an attempt before to deliver millions of our race from a brutal servitude, discarding all physical force, all carnal weapons, and relying for success solely on 'the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption, the destruction of error by the potency of truth, the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love, and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.'* With what tenacity the corrupt heart of man clings to ill-gotten power, the example of Pharaoh fearfully shows—who could not be induced to let his captives go, though visited by the most direful plagues, until all the first-born of Egypt were slain, and in the sequel it was necessary to drown the tyrant and his hosts in the depths of the sea. And by an immutable law of our being, in proportion to the degree of light resisted by oppressors, is the desperation with which they grasp the throats of their victims, and the fury which they

* National Anti-Slavery Declaration.

exhibit toward those who arraign their unnatural barbarity.—Who, then, among all the tyrants of the earth, since the world was made, have equalled in guilt or in cruelty the republican (!) slaveholders of North America? Who have ever exhibited a more ferocious spirit toward those who plead for justice, in the name of Humanity? Or who have ever more impiously contemned the voice and defied the omnipotence of Jehovah?—‘They break in pieces thy people, O Lord, and afflict thy heritage. They slay the widow and the stranger, and murder the fatherless. Yet they say, The Lord shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard it.’ But ‘shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a law?’ ‘Understand, ye brutish oppressors; and ye fools, when will ye be wise? He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? he that formed the eye, shall he not see? he that chastiseth the heathen, shall not he correct? he that teacheth man knowledge, shall not he know?’ ‘For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him.’

LIBERTY OF SPEECH.

No—this is not a time for repose: we may not take it for granted, that the field is won, and our term of service expired. It is true, we have not suffered our mouths to be gagged by the hand of violence, and we have faithfully delivered the message of God; but the unmolested freedom of speech, and the untrammelled freedom of the press, on the subject of *American** slavery, are yet every where denied to us, so that we continue to speak and print at the peril, not merely of our reputation, but our lives. If it were possible, by exaltation of character, or suavity of deportment, or nobleness of conduct, or propriety of speech, or mildness of temper, to conciliate a cavilling generation, and obtain at least a candid hearing before being condemned as a disturber of the peace; surely JAMES G. BIRNEY

* We may denounce *British* oppression, *Turkish* oppression, *Russian* oppression, without running any hazard, and to popular acceptance.

would be treated with respect, and allowed to testify as a witness in the great trial now pending between LIBERTY and DESPOTISM. Yet Mr. BIRNEY declares, that, though there are no less than thirty places of public worship in Cincinnati, he cannot obtain admittance into any one of them, that he may exhibit the sinfulness of slavery!—even though he solicits to be confronted on the spot, before a prejudiced and violent population, by any of the strongest champions on the other side of the question! So greatly do the enemies of freedom fear that the promise would be verified against themselves—‘One shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight.’ Certain it is, if Mr. Birney wished to give his opinions upon any other subject, he would find no difficulty in procuring a place in which to speak, and would be heard with becoming deference;—but, though a southern man, from childhood conversant with the slave system, and for many years a slaveholder, yet he is deemed unworthy of credit, branded with infamy, and debarred from giving testimony, because he has repented of the sin of oppression, emancipated his slaves, made all the restitution in his power, and is proclaiming to all slaveholders the duty of immediately breaking every yoke, undoing the heavy burden, and letting the oppressed go free! This is the head and front of his offending. And yet the people of Ohio are all opposed to slavery!

A similar state of things disgraces the capital of this Commonwealth. Why is it that the fifth annual meeting of this Society is held in the loft of a stable? Let the winds carry the tale to the four quarters of the earth—in Boston, in the year of our Lord 1837, in the sixty-first year of American independence, not a single meeting-house, not a hall of any magnitude, can be obtained on any terms, not even for money at an exorbitant price! in which abolitionists may plead the cause of the trampled slave! But, it is believed, there is not a single pulpit

* And yet as we are forbidden to speak in the name of Jesus, who came to preach deliverance to the captive, and the opening of prisons to those who are bound, we may not marvel that our accommodations are no better than were those of him, who was cradled in a manger.

in this city,* to which a slaveholding preacher cannot find ready access, even for the avowed purpose of vindicating the soul-destroying system of slavery as a divine institution, from the Holy Scriptures! Nor is there, we presume, a public hall, which cannot be occupied by jugglers, mountebanks, ballad-singers, rope-dancers, religious impostors, &c. &c. as they shall wish to hire! Thus, in Boston and in Cincinnati, (and these cities are cited merely as specimens of the prevailing spirit of the nation,) abolitionists are deprived of the privileges which are enjoyed by strolling profligates, and are treated as the offscouring of all the earth—yet, aside from their zeal in behalf of the suffering and the dumb, who will say that in virtue, intelligence, public spirit, love of order, patriotism, peaceable behavior, general reputation, or genuine piety, they need shrink from comparison with any other class or order of men in this or any other country? It is not, as is falsely pretended, because their language is harsh, or their spirit violent, or their measures extravagant, that they receive such treatment: but because they sympathize with a despised race—will hold no truce with oppression—abhor caste—denounce prejudice against a colored skin as irrational and unholy—‘remember those in bonds,’ at least in some measure, ‘as bound with them’—maintain the duty and safety of immediate emancipation—object to the banishment of a sixth-part of the American people to the coast of Africa, on account of their complexion. Only let them become respecters of persons—preach up the necessity of a separation, wide as the vast Atlantic, between the white and free colored † population—advoc-

* With one exception—Pine Street. The following resolution has been adopted by this church:

Resolved, That the members of this church regard slaveholding as entirely contrary to the spirit of the gospel—as threatening the peace, purity, and permanency of the religious institutions of our land—as greatly embarrassing the operations of christian benevolence—and as calculated to grieve the Holy Spirit of God from the churches, and thus prevent those revivals of religion which have been the glory of our land; and do therefore bear their testimony as a Church of Christ, against the crying sin of Slavery.

It may be asked, why could not the Pine-street meeting-house be obtained for the use of the Anti-Slavery Society? The reason is, that a majority of the congregation were opposed to granting such a privilege.

† Observe—not between the white and SLAVE population: they may remain in close affinity!

vocate a gradual and remote emancipation on a plan to be suggested and controlled exclusively *by the oppressors*—eulogize as patriots and christians, those who hold the image of God as their property, and who trade in ‘slaves and souls of men’—and attempt to reconcile slavery with the Bible which it banishes from four hundred thousand slave families;—and they will at once cease to be treated as outlaws, churches and halls will be gladly opened for their reception, applauses will be showered upon them by admiring assemblies, rewards will no longer be offered for their heads, lynch law will be repealed, ‘gentlemen of property and standing’ will take them by the hand, they may travel at the north or the south without perilling their lives, smiles, caresses, congratulations will be substituted for tar and feathers, brick-bats and rotten eggs, the United States’ mail will circulate safely, peace will be again restored to the bosom of the nation, and the Union be preserved in its integrity—even though they should flame vehemently against the *foreign* slave-trade, and stoutly reprobate slavery in the *abstract*!—Should this page meet the eyes of posterity, let it not be esteemed as an ingenious caricature, but as an exact delineation of the character of the American people in the year 1837.

PREJUDICE STILL RAMPANT.

In view of these things, what abolitionist talks of putting off his armor, under the delusive notion that

‘The battle is over—the victory won’?

It is true, much has been done to heal the alienation, long cherished and intense, arising from complexional differences. Thousands have thrown the cord of caste into the all-consuming fire of redeeming love. But, though the reptile Prejudice has received a severe wound, his throes are nevertheless terrific: his eyes gleam with new malignity as he lifts himself up in coils, shakes his rattles, and endeavors to spring at his victim. As a general rule, our colored brethren are yet deliberately treated with contempt in the house of worship, and, if admitted at all, driven into obscure corners, as if they had no feelings to be

wounded, no souls to be saved. They are still deprived of their rights in the tavern, the stage-coach, the rail-car, and the steam-boat, (except such as are *slaves*, who travel with their lordly masters ! *)—so that in travelling, they are exposed to every indignity, great mental and physical suffering, and frequently subjected to great expense. Their treatment, in this particular, would be quite insupportable to any other people. Their laudable efforts to obtain knowledge are treated with derision, when not viewed with alarm ; and their children are excluded from schools, academies and colleges, or are admitted only as an act of special favor, and on disgraceful conditions, except in a very few instances. The aggregate amount of suffering, reproach, mortification, and depression, which is experienced by them continually through the prevalence of the spirit of caste, is inconceivable.

MILLIONS YET IN BONDAGE—OUR OWN RIGHTS NOT SECURED.

Abolitionists may not, therefore, slumber at their post, or relax a single effort. It is true, a mighty change has been wrought in *individual* sentiment within the last five years, favorable to the rights of our colored countrymen ; but *public* sentiment is still powerfully enlisted on the side of slavery. Since this Society was organized, probably not less than 800 anti-slavery associations have been formed in various sections of the country, —averaging one a day for the last two years,—embodying many thousand members, distinguished for their philanthropy and moral worth. But still the appalling fact remains, that two millions and a half of American slaves are pining in ruthless bondage, from whom the Bible, the sanctity of marriage, personal protection, moral and intellectual cultivation, and compensation for unmitigated labor, are wrested in accordance with statutory law ; —that fourteen States in this Union are slaveholding States ; —that the seat of the National Government is the general rendezvous of slave-mongers, and the chosen abode of the Genius of American Despotism ; —that the domestic slave-trade is carried

* What an argument in favor of the benefits of a slavish condition !

on with increasing activity and terrible inhumanity, between the States ;—that no northern man, known as an abolitionist, can safely travel through the South, or reside therein in order to engage in business ;—that the whole body of the clergy and churches at the South, and a large majority of them at the North, (if we may know them by their fruits,) are decidedly in favor of the doctrines, usages and policy of the South in regard to the slave system ; and that an overwhelming majority of the representatives in Congress, as well those from the free as the slave States, are opposed to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

It is evident, then, that the friends of liberty have yet a tremendous conflict to maintain with its enemies. Wherefore let them take unto themselves the whole armor of God, that they may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, **TO STAND.**

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The last Report was issued at too early a date to criticise the action of the last session of Congress upon the petitions for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. Hence, this is the first great topic, in course, which challenges attention in the present Report. Its importance cannot be overrated, because the existence of slavery in that District is indisputable and bloody proof that this is a slaveholding nation, inasmuch as Congress has a constitutional right to abolish it, and as a majority of the members of that body are from the free states ; and because it is conceded, even by southern men, that the question which determines the fate of the system in the District, decides its fate in all the slave States. In presenting a petition from sundry inhabitants of Boston, Mr. WEBSTER remarked—‘ Believing that Congress has constitutional power *over slavery and the slave-trade* in the District, I think petitions on those subjects, respectfully presented, ought to be respectfully treated and respectfully considered.’ This is important authority. For uttering this belief, he was denounced

by Mr. KING of Alabama, who sneeringly remarked—‘The course which that gentleman (Mr. WEBSTER) had taken, had placed him *at the head* of those men who inundated Congress with their petitions.’* It was a dignified retort of Mr. Webster—‘By what authority does the gentleman say, that I have placed myself at the head of these petitioners? The gentleman cannot be allowed, sir, to assign to me any place, or any character, which I do not choose to take to myself.’ But he would have made his fame imperishable, if he had replied with all sincerity—‘The post assigned to me by the gentleman from Alabama, though in his estimation contemptible, I regard as most honorable. It is nothing less than to be the WILBERFORCE of America. I shrink from it, not with any feelings of timidity or scorn, but from sincere distrust of my own competency to fill it, and because there are others more worthy to wear the crown of philanthropy. But, whether first or last, at the head or in the rear, my voice, and vote, and influence, shall be unceasingly exerted to abolish that system, which transforms so large a portion of my countrymen into slaves, and which is bringing such infamy upon the character of my country.’

Mr. Hammond of S. C. said—

‘He could not sit here, and see *the rights of the southern people* assaulted day after day, by the ignorant fanatics from whom these memorials proceeded. He could see no difference between abolition in the District and in the States.’

Mr. Preston said—

‘He regarded the concerted movement upon the District of Columbia as an attempt to storm *the gates of the citadel—as throwing the bridge over the moat*. The South must resist the danger in its inception, or it would *soon become irresistible*.’

Such testimony is of rare value, and should fill the breasts of abolitionists with high expectancy and triumphant assurance. A Senator from South Carolina discloses the fact, that the District of Columbia is the ‘CITADEL’ of American slavery; and that, unless its assailants are speedily defeated, **THEY WILL**

* i. e. ‘at the head’ of ‘fanatics, incendiaries and madmen.’ We now know what constitutes incendiarism, &c.

CONQUER IT. Henceforth, then, to the taunting interrogation of brutal and cowardly men—‘Why don’t you go to the South?’ be this our reply—‘Because we must first capture the “CITADEL”—and having thrown our bridge over the moat, we are now storming the gates, which must shortly yield if we persevere.’ In vain shall we look for the abolition of slavery in the South, so long as the North is engaged in perpetuating it at the Seat of Government; and well may southern oppressors tremble at the thought of losing the example and countenance of the nation, in making merchandize of man. Such a loss would make them bankrupts in character; and with the verdict of public sentiment recorded against them as the worst of oppressors, they could not long outface the Spirit of Freedom.

It is not within the scope of this Report to make a full exposure of the anti-republican doctrines, malicious accusations, idle threats, and gross absurdities, which are contained in the remarks of southern members of Congress, on the great question of **HUMAN LIBERTY**. Tyrants are ever bad logicians; and guilty men, when endeavoring to exculpate themselves, always confirm whatever evidence against them is merely circumstantial. The proposition, that man is an article of property, belongs to Bedlam; and nothing but the ravings of insanity can be expected from those who argue in the affirmative.

To show the utter inconsistency of the reasoning of southern men, on the subject of slavery, we place some of their conflicting sentiments in juxta-position:

TONE OF SECURITY.

Mr. Hammond—‘The people of the south do not ask or desire protection from this House, or from this Government. No, sir; on this subject, the South stands erect, self-confident, united, strong. She asks no protection (!!)—she scorns assistance, (!) and defies all opposition!’—‘The allegation of the abolitionists, that slavery was dangerous to the peace of society, and that slaveholders lived in a continual state of alarm, he utterly denied, and contended that the South had less trouble with the slaves, than the North had with their free laborers. Among no

TONE OF ALARM.

Mr. Hammond—‘He objected to the reception of the petitions, that it harassed, annoyed, and *alarmed* the people of the South; that it would render necessary the adoption, by the south, of a more severe and vigorous system of discipline.’

Mr. Preston—‘The question of abolition in this District and in the southern States is pressing upon us with a great and portentous rapidity. It is a falling body, and gathers strength as it falls. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact. The proceedings of the emancipators of the

people in the world were the affections of the heart more cherished and more gratified, than among the slaves of the South.'

Mr. Thompson—'As to discussing this subject before any human tribunal, I will not. I will not condescend to vindicate to this House, or elsewhere, this or any other of our domestic institutions. It is no affair of yours; you have no right to touch it, still less to demand a reason of us for its continuance'!—'As to any effort now or ever to accomplish their purposes, no one man at the South has any fears. No, sir, thank God, on this subject we are united, and our position is one of **SECURITY**, of **IMPREGNABLE SAFETY**.'—'Sir, if I was satisfied with the language of the non-slaveholding gentleman, I was rejoiced in my heart and I was glad to listen to the manly and decided language of the gentleman from Georgia. It gave me assurance that, on this question, if no other, there will be a thorough union of the whole South, in council and in *action*, if need be, on this great and absorbing question.'

Mr. Bouldin—'Did any man ever hear or know of a nation of people that stood higher for any of the cardinal virtues—honor, truth, justice and charity, gentleness of heart and honesty, (!!!) than those who reside south of Mason's and Dixon's line? Was it thought that we should suffer by a comparison with the petitioners?'

North are pregnant with danger rapidly approaching. The public pulse is bounding with the excitement, and the public mind is convulsed like the Pythoness upon the tripod. In England and in France, the developements of popular sentiment are all against us, and the rostrum is erected to declaim against the enormity of our *social institution*. Do gentlemen say that this growing hostility can be speedily checked? Do they regard it as lightly as a summer cloud, as a slight popular breeze? Time may show how woefully mistaken they are.' 'He appealed to the high-minded Senators from the North—to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, (Mr. Webster,) to devise some means, to suggest some plan, by which the just alarm of the South might be allayed.'

Mr. Pickens—'We must prepare for the great contest, and contend over the graves of our fathers for our *liberty* (!)—or abandon our country to the blacks, and seek a dishonorable retreat in the wilds of the West.'

Mr. Thompson—'Nothing will satisfy the excited, the almost frenzied South, but an indignant rejection of these petitions.' 'I tell gentlemen, that they are walking in a magazine with a lighted torch in their hands. I am sure they are not aware of the true situation of the country as to this most delicate and dangerous subject.'

Mr. Moore, (of Alab.)—'Much excitement was naturally produced by these petitions throughout the south; so much so, that the several legislatures of the southern states, and among them his own State, (Alabama,) were passing resolutions, calling on the other States to give them their aid in putting down those whose measures were so obnoxious to them.'

Thus, in one breath, the South 'asks no protection, scorns assistance, and defies all opposition'—in the next, she *invokes protection*, **SOLICITS ASSISTANCE**, and **DEPRECATES OPPOSITION**! Now she 'stands erect, self-confident, united, strong'—anon she is quaking with alarm, and turning deadly pale, and calling upon the North for succor, in view of certain petitions emanating from sundry 'fanatics and madmen'!—Which of these frames of mind is the true one, is sufficiently evident.

NORTHERN RECREANTS.

It would be absurd to expect temperate language from the lips, or just treatment at the hands of southern representatives, in relation to the memorialists for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. It was therefore perfectly in character for Mr. Thompson of S. C. to exclaim—‘Who is it at the North that we are to conciliate? The fanatics? Fanatics did I say, sir? Never before was so vile a band dignified with that name. They are *murderers*, FOUL MURDERERS, accessories before the fact, and they know it, of *murder, robbery, rape, infanticide*.’ Nor can it be a matter of much surprise, that Mr. Hammond of S. C. should speak of Dr. Channing in the following terms :—‘He (Mr. H.) denied that Dr. Channing played a second part to O’Connell, in the abolition question—for he did not rise so high ;—he played a second part, and the meanest part, to Garrison and Thompson, and had degraded himself to the level of Arthur Tappan and Murell,’ the famous land-pirate. But, if Congress has constitutional power over slavery in the District—if a large majority of the representatives in Congress belong to the free States—and if the people of the free States are all opposed to slavery—in looking at the conduct of northern members, we may reasonably expect to find them heartily espousing the prayer of the memorialists, asking for liberty to the captives, the opening of prisons to those who are bound. What, then, was the language of Senator Hill, of New Hampshire?

‘He contended that too much importance was given to the acts of the fanatics, and he denied that public opinion in the North was at all in favor of abolition. He did not believe there was one in five hundred in New Hampshire in its favor.’

Mr. PIERCE of N. H. read the names of the signers to a petition from his own State.

‘He stated that he was informed that most of them were children at school, and that some canting, hypocritical preacher had been round to the schools to get these signatures. He concluded by reiterating the declaration which he had formerly made, that the people of the White Hills were united in supporting the *just rights of the South* on this question.’

That this last declaration of Mr. Pierce was substantially correct, is now demonstrated by the recent adoption of the following resolution by the House of Representatives of New Hampshire—Ayes 124, Noes 21 :

‘ Resolved, That Congress cannot, without a violation of the public faith, abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, unless upon the request of the citizens of that District, and of *the States by whom that territory was ceded to the General Government.*’

In the Senate, the vote stood Ayes 11, Noes 1.

Mr. JARVIS, of Maine, offered the following resolution :

‘ Resolved, That in the opinion of this House, the subject of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia ought not to be entertained by Congress ; and be it further resolved, that in case any petition praying for said abolition be hereafter presented, it is the deliberate opinion of this House, that the same ought to be laid upon the table, without being referred or printed.’

Mr. JARVIS said—

‘ In his opinion, the House was bound to do all which it was necessary to do, to dissipate the fears, however groundless they may be, that Congress entertained any idea of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. A large majority of the States, and of *the people of the North*, were, he believed, averse to the exercise by Congress of *any power over slavery in this District*. Of other States it did not become him to speak so well as of his own—but the people of Maine, without distinction of party, reprobated the measures of the abolitionists, and of those also who sought to agitate the question, by urging the abolition of slavery in this District.’

Mr. BEARDSLEY of New York said—

‘ There was no use in spending another day on this subject. If the petition was laid on the table, *it would be nailed there*, and every succeeding petition would be disposed of in the same way.’

Mr. VANDERPOOL of New York said—

‘ He was opposed, openly and unconditionally opposed, to the interference of Congress with slavery in the District of Columbia. He would always, and forever, while he had a seat

here, oppose any measure that might directly or indirectly favor, or forward, or countenance the views and objects expressed by such petitions. Why not march directly to the point upon which all the true enemies of the abolitionists would agree? *Refuse to consider the petitions*, and you do what should be done, and that in the most prompt manner. It would be telling the petitioners, the nation, and the world, that the notions of the petitioners were so heretical, and their doings were so mischievous and incendiary, that *co-instanti* that such petitions were read, we would consign them to a grave from which there should be no resurrection.'

Mr. HUNT of New York said—

'If gentlemen will take the trouble to look at the proceedings of the District I have the honor to represent, they will see that on all occasions I have opposed the efforts which are termed, and by many thought to be, incendiary.'

Mr. SUTHERLAND of Pa. said—

'He believed that there was no man in the House whose mind was more decided on this subject than his own. He lived in a State where slavery was formerly tolerated, and which had abolished slavery; and a State where all the projects of the abolitionists were utterly despised and disregarded; and he was prepared to go all lengths which honor and justice required in maintaining the rights of the South, and discountenancing the schemes of fanaticism.'

Mr. INGERSOLL of Pa. said—

'He was opposed to meddling, either directly or indirectly, in any shape, with slavery in the District of Columbia, or elsewhere. We entered into a compact, when we formed the Constitution, not to meddle with it (!)—He would live up to the agreement, though the heavens fell. He would live by it, and die by it.'

The importance of this subject must be the apology for these numerous extracts. They clearly show who are the defenders of the 'CITADEL' of American slavery, and upon whom rests the guilt of imbruting the image of God, and making merchandize of souls—the *people of the Northern States!* They also illustrate another point—and that is, if slavery is ever to be abolished in the District of Columbia, a very large portion of the present northern members of Congress **MUST BE LEFT AT**

NONE, and better men, having hearts of flesh, sent in their stead, or else it will be a mockery any longer to petition. While, however, so large a majority of northern representatives were recreant to **GOD** and **LIBERTY**, it is with pride and pleasure we add, that the entire delegation from Massachusetts were found true to the rights of their constituents, as also those from Rhode Island and Vermont. Among those who deserve to be honorably mentioned, in this connexion, with special emphasis, are Messrs. Adams, Cushing, and Hoar, of this State, and Mr. Slade of Vermont.

NUMBER OF PETITIONERS.

Mr. Pinckney represented the whole number of memorials, presented at the last session, to be 176—the number of signatures, a little rising 34,000, nearly 15,000 of whom were females. Not much reliance can be placed upon the accuracy of this representation. Probably not less than 500 memorials were forwarded, containing not less than 75,000 or 100,000 signatures. It is not to be supposed that a Committee so hostile to the prayer of the petitioners, so desirous to make them a contemptible body, *would condescend to count minutely and accurately the number of petitions and signatures*, either for the sake of doing them justice, or revealing their real strength.—Early in the session, it was estimated by Washington letter-writers, that not less than 300 petitions had been already forwarded; and it is certain that, so numerous did they continue to come in, *the order of calling the States was reversed in the House*, (in order to obstruct their presentation,) beginning with Michigan instead of Maine. Assuming, however, that the whole number of petitioners was 34,000, as stated by Mr. Pinckney, seldom has so large a number ever asked the action of Congress upon any subject whatever. We now come to the

ACTION OF CONGRESS UPON THE PETITIONS.

In the Senate, none of the petitions were referred. A memorial of the Caln Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends,

having been read, was immediately rejected by a vote of ~~34 to 6~~—that is, 17 States out of 20, by their Senators, sided with the oppressor. The two Senators from Massachusetts voted against the rejection ; but not a single Senator, from any of the States, expressed any desire for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, at any period however remote. *Let this fact be kept in remembrance by the people.*

In the House of Representatives, after an ardent discussion, on motion of Mr. Pinckney of S. C., a resolution was adopted by a vote of 163 to 47,—‘ That in the opinion of this House, Congress ought not to interfere, *in any way*, with slavery in the District of Columbia ;’ and a committee of nine chosen, and ordered to report to the effect, that such interference ‘ would be a violation of public faith, unwise, impolitic, and dangerous to the Union.’ This committee consisted of Mr. Pinckney of S. C., Mr. Hamer of Ohio, Mr. Pierce of N. H., Mr. Hardin of Ky., Mr. Jarvis of Me., Mr. Owens of Geo., Mr. Muhlenberg of Pa., Mr. Dromgoole of Va., and Mr. Turrill of N. Y.—a MAJORITY, therefore, from the *free States*. The appointment of such a committee, clothed with such instructions, is startling evidence that a large majority of the people of the free States *are not opposed in principle to slavery, and deprecate its abolition*, even in the capital of the nation, unless indeed they have been grossly misrepresented by their representatives. Prior to the adoption of the resolution alluded to, Mr. Pinckney said—‘ He firmly believed that, if it were adopted, the House would succeed in putting down all fanaticism.’ The resolution *was* adopted, as we have seen. How much ‘ fanaticism ’ it has put down, is not known ; but the inundation of Congress, at its present session, with anti-slavery memorials, must convince Mr. Pinckney, that the spirit of abolition has survived not only the resolution of the House, but his own Report. Justly did Mr. Hammond exclaim—‘ For what purpose was the Report to be made ? Would it arrest the career of fanaticism ? Had not the most able arguments been made on this subject, without effect ? Was there any thing in a report from Congress, which would give our arguments on this subject any magical effect ? It

would be considered *as mere waste paper.*' The prophecy is fulfilled to the letter. Mr. Pinckney's Report, though painfully elaborate and formidably long, is justly 'considered as mere waste paper.' On its presentation, Mr. Thompson of S. C. declared, that 'a more stale combination of argument without reason, and jesuitical sophistry, he had never seen; and he thought it ought to be burnt by the common hangman.' This denunciation was bestowed upon it, because Mr. Pinckney was not hardy enough to maintain, that Congress had *not* exclusive jurisdiction over the District, in all cases whatsoever. In self-defence, Mr. P. said—'If the question should be pressed to a vote, a majority, he thought, would sustain the right of Congress to interfere on the subject of slavery in the District. It had been his wish to avoid the inevitable and disastrous results which such a vote must produce.' Mr. Wise of Va. said—'If southern men, were to agree to that report, they were gone, swept away. *There was not an inch of ground left for them to stand upon.*' Mr. A. H. Sheppard said—'The report conceded every thing. It conceded the principle, that Congress had a right to interfere in the question of slavery in the District, and that was *conceding the whole.*' According, therefore, to the views of the most determined enemies of the abolition cause, the abolitionists are sustained by Congress, on the ground of right, in asking for the overthrow of slavery in the District: and yet that body refuses to give their petitions a respectful consideration!

The fatal assumption in the report of Mr. Pinckney,—the corner-stone upon which he erects his pro-slavery edifice,—is, that **SLAVES ARE NOT MEN**, but cattle, property, articles of merchandize, not only according to the law of the land, but in strict equity, according to the law of God. Hence, from such premises, he naturally arrives at the conclusion, that no legislative body has a right to deprive men of their property, at least not without their consent, or returning a *quid pro quo*. But the premises being false, the conclusion falls to the ground—and,

'——— like the baseless fabric of a vision,
Leaves not a wreck behind.'

Nothing can exceed the assurance of Mr. Pinckney, or of Congress, in taking for granted, as a sound proposition, the most preposterous, the most impious of all fallacies, that man can justly be the property, estate, chattel, beast of burden, of his fellow-man ; when both Mr. Pinckney and Congress clearly understand, that abolitionists deny the proposition as abhorrent to reason, humanity and revelation, and triumphantly sustain the ground they occupy by all that is immortal in man—by the concurrent approval of the whole world—by summoning, as witnesses, God who created man in his own image, Christ who died to redeem him, the Holy Ghost by whom he is sanctified !

Thus, the very point of disputation, the hinge upon which the controversy turns, the sole and single cause of the mighty difference between the abolitionists and their opponents, is carefully evaded throughout the Report. What is it, then, but ‘mere waste paper’ ?—deliberate blasphemy against the Most High God ?—an insult to the common sense of mankind ? *In adopting it, Congress virtually rescinded the Declaration of Independence*, and stamped the ‘self-evident truths’ of that great instrument, as ‘splendid absurdities,’ as mere ‘rhetorical flourishes.’

But the Report, in the most conclusive manner, refutes its own reasoning, and confirms the great truths set forth in the speeches, writings and memorials of the abolitionists. To prove this assertion, let a single extract suffice. ‘The Constitution,’ says Mr. Pinckney, ‘while it confers upon Congress exclusive legislation within this District, does not, and could not, confer *unlimited despotic authority over it.*’ True: how then does Congress dare to keep in chains and servitude, a fourth of the inhabitants of the District ? It can neither sanction nor tolerate slavery in the territory over which it holds jurisdiction, without violating the Constitution. Again, says Mr. P. :—‘It [the Constitution] could confer no power contrary to the fundamental principles of the Constitution itself, and the essential and unalienable rights of American citizens.’ What are those principles ? ‘*To establish justice, to promote the general wel-*

fare, and SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY.

What are those rights? A right to life, liberty, property.— Again:—‘The right to legislate, therefore, (to make the Constitution consistent with itself,) is evidently qualified by the provision, that “no man shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due form of law,” and others of similar character.’ Then, most certainly, the slaves in the District, having been deprived of liberty and property without any charge of crime or form of law, are entitled to freedom and compensation without delay. Again: ‘There are certain *vital principles* in our free, republican Government, which will determine and overrule an apparent and flagrant abuse of legislative power; as to authorize manifest injustice [making human beings goods and chattels] by positive law, or to take away that security for *personal liberty* or private property, for the protection whereof the Government was established.’—‘A law that makes a man a judge in his own case, [whether his fettered victim is prepared for freedom]—or a law that takes property away from A, [takes a man from the possession of his own body, intellect and soul,] and gives it to B. It is against all reason and justice for a people to entrust a legislature with such powers, and therefore *it cannot be presumed that they have done it.*’—‘The legislature cannot change innocence into guilt, [man-stealing into honesty,] or punish innocence [a colored skin] as a crime.’

Thus summarily and conclusively does this famous Report ridicule its own folly, refute its own reasoning, and establish what it attempts to overthrow. It is thus that God ‘taketh the wise in their own craftiness, and carrieth the counsels of the froward headlong.’

Early in the present session of Congress, abolition petitions began to be forwarded in great numbers from various parts of the country. Much anxiety was felt as to the course that would be pursued by the House. As usual, Mr. Adams was the first to ‘beard the lion in his den,’ by presenting a petition from his constituents. Objections being made to its reception, on account of the decision of the House at the former session, the

Speaker (contrary to general expectation) decided, that the rule expired with the session. It was then that a representative from a **FREE** State, Mr. DAVIS of Indiana, moved, that all memorials that might be presented on the subject of slavery in the District, be laid upon the table, without reading, without reference, without discussion! It was not a member from the South, it was a member from *free Indiana*, who made this daring proposal! So hostile is the spirit of the free States to the abolition of slavery within the capital of the Union! Though this motion was at first rejected, it was afterward adopted by a very large majority, when offered by a southern representative, in the following shape :

‘ Resolved, That all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent, whatever, to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred, be laid on the table, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.’

Thus the House of Representatives of the United States have dared to do an act, which, if done by the British Parliament, would create a revolution throughout all England! It is nothing less than denying the sacred right of the people to petition the government. What are irresponsible mobs, what the robbing of the public mail, what the administration of lynch law by an infuriated rabble, compared to the act of trampling upon the right of petition, by the representatives of a free people? What is most to be deprecated is, that while the right was pretendedly acknowledged *in form*, it was really denied *in spirit*. Friends of your country! sons of the Pilgrims! freemen of Massachusetts! where are your liberties? Was it for this that your fathers battled unto death upon Bunker’s Hill? and fertilized the plains of Lexington and Concord with their blood? What then have you inherited that is worth possessing? What have you gained by exchanging a monarchical government for a slaveholding despotism? And who are putting chains upon your bodies—a seal upon your lips—the brand of **SLAVES** upon your cheeks? Your own Senators and Representatives! Will any man pretend, that this is not so? that the right of pe-

tion is still held sacred? that the memorials of the people have been respectfully treated? What! is insult to be added to injury? mockery to oppression? Of what value is the right of petition—what is it but a solemn farce—if the petitions of the people are not permitted to be read, referred, and acted upon with all deliberation and impartiality? This is the climax of tyranny. It is conceding the liberty of speech, by cutting out the tongue; it is admitting the rights of conscience, by stretching the victim upon the rack of the inquisition; it is allowing full sovereignty to the people, by scoffing at their remonstrances, contemning their authority, and stifling their voice! And this is the fruit of American slavery: it is done, that one-sixth portion of the American people may be held as brute beasts, and heathenism perpetuated in the land!

Behold our condition! Is it asked, what shall be done? What will the people of Massachusetts do when tyrants attempt to gag them? Why, cry aloud, and spare not! What will they do when their rights are invaded? Why, resist the invasion with weapons tempered in the fire of Heaven—spiritual weapons which are mighty through God. What will they do when a bold conspiracy is forming to put them into bondage? They will blow the trumpet of alarm long and loud, and struggle mightily against it with all the resistless energies of men who know that

‘——— a day, an hour of virtuous liberty,
Is worth a whole eternity of bondage.’

What will they do when they see the American Constitution trampled in the dust? They will raise it up and proudly defend it, curbing the despotism of its usurpers, and making it indeed the *Ægis* to protect the rights of every man, in every part of the country. What will they do when they behold **LIBERTY** faint, bleeding, prostrate, overpowered by her most sanguinary foes? They will rush to her rescue, rally their forces together, and stand shoulder to shoulder in the conflict. What will they do when they see God dishonored, and Virtue crucified, and Oppression rampant, and Anarchy stalking through

the land? Why, they will act as becomes men, and patriots, and Christians—and act **IMMEDIATELY**.

'Now, when our land to ruin's brink is verging,
In God's name, let us speak while there is time!
Now, when the padlocks for our lips are forging,
SILENCE is CRIME!

Shall our New England stand erect no longer,
But stoop in chains upon her downward way,
Thicker to gather on her limbs and stronger
Day after day?

O no; at once from all her wild green mountains—
From valleys where her slumbering fathers lie—
From her blue rivers and her welling fountains,
And clear, cold sky:

From her rough coast, and isles, which hungry ocean
Gnaws with his surges—from the fisher's skiff,
With white sail swaying to the billows' motion
Round rock and cliff:

From the free fire-side of her unbought farmer—
From the free laborer at his loom and wheel—
From the brown smith-shop, where beneath the hammer
Rings the red steel:

From each and all, if God hath not forsaken
Our land, and left us to an evil choice,
Loud as the summer thunder-bolt shall waken
A PEOPLE'S VOICE!

But the voice of the people must be raised, not merely against the denial of the right of petition by Congress, but against that oppressive system *which alone has caused this sacred right to be taken away*—or else **THEY WILL SPEAK IN VAIN**. It is useless to think of protesting against a legitimate effect, and leaving the cause of that effect to continue in full operation. Why are not the petitions of the people received by Congress? Because slavery exists in the District of Columbia. Why is not freedom of speech tolerated upon the floor of Congress? Because it is incompatible with the perpetuity of slavery in that District. Shall the right of petition and the freedom of speech be destroyed, that the foulest oppression may flourish with impunity?

MR. CALHOUN'S REPORT.

In the U. S. Senate, on the 4th of February, 1836, Mr. CALHOUN made a Report from the Select Committee to whom was referred that portion of the President's Message which related to the attempts to circulate, through the mail, inflammatory appeals, to excite slaves to insurrection. Next to the Message upon which it was predicated, this Report ought to have excited in the minds of the people, the liveliest emotions of astonishment and alarm ; but neither of them disturbed the slavish repose of the nation, nor elicited a single burst of indignation from any body of men but the abolitionists. Nothing but the most ready acquiescence in the enslavement of our colored countrymen, and the basest subserviency to southern dictation, and the fiercest malevolence towards the friends of universal freedom, could have tolerated even for a moment the despotic recommendation of the President, that Congress should pass laws prohibiting, under severe penalties, the circulation in the Southern States, through the mails, of anti-slavery publications. Such a proposition,—scorning as it does the protection given to the freedom of the press by the Constitution,—under other circumstances, and with reference to any other people pining in bondage, would have convulsed all the political and moral elements in the land, and created a hurricane excitement even to the borders of the Pacific ocean.

The Report of Mr. CALHOUN is distinguished for perverse ingenuity and laborious folly ; and the conclusion at which it arrives is absolute despotism and sheer robbery, giving to deputy postmasters, mail-carriers, and other officers and agents of the Post Office Department, authority to destroy or abstract from the mail, ' any pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other paper, printed or *written*, or pictorial representation, *touching* the subject of slavery, addressed to any person or post-office in any state, territory, or district, where, by the laws of said state, territory, or district, their circulation is prohibited ' !—Of course, this license entirely destroys the sanctity of the public mail, and, as it extends to written as well as printed communications,

subjects all letters, whether on business or friendship, whether containing drafts or money, to the espionage of any person or persons connected with any branch of the Post Office Department! And the reason adduced why this destructive privilege should be granted is, lest these letters or documents should contain some direct or indirect remarks, merely '*touching*' the subject of slavery!

Monstrous as this proposition appears, and suicidal as this mode of suppressing all discussions of slavery would be, the Report was passed to a third reading by a vote of 16 to 18—Mr. Van Buren giving the casting vote in the affirmative—and rejected by the Senate, on its passage to be engrossed, by a vote of only 19 to 25! Mr. DAVIS of this State was on the committee with Mr. Calhoun, and merely expressed his dissent from the Report in some tame and indefinite remarks. 'There were some portions of it which met with his approbation, but other portions there were, [why did he not specify them?] in which he did not concur. He made this statement, lest his views might be misunderstood. [A very lucid explanation, truly!] He knew that he might have placed his views on the subject in writing before the world, but he had not deemed them of sufficient importance (!)—he did not think the world thought them of sufficient importance.' Had it been a Bill for the repeal of the Tariff before the Senate, reported by Mr. CALHOUN, it is more than probable that Mr. DAVIS would have deemed his own views of 'sufficient importance' to have uttered them freely, in warm and eloquent language. Like one of old, he would have said—'I will also show my opinion;' and that opinion would have been expressed with becoming plainness. But a Bill, designed to violate both the letter and spirit of the American Constitution—to make it lawful, and even obligatory, to plunder the public mail of its contents—to destroy all communication between the several States, and fill the land with confusion and distress—this was not of 'sufficient importance' to arouse the eloquence or startle the security of the Senator from Massachusetts! Nevertheless, he deserves some praise even

for his comparatively feeble opposition to the Report ; for other Senators from the free States refrained from uttering a single word of disapprobation—nay, several voted in favor of it when the question was upon its passage to be engrossed !—Mr. WEBSTER, the boasted ‘ Defender of the Constitution,’ was not wholly dumb, but inexcusably deficient in earnestness and power. It was an occasion that should have witnessed his noblest effort in the cause of constitutional liberty. He should have promptly flung himself into ‘ the imminent deadly breach,’ for the preservation of the dearest rights of the people. But he evidently quailed before the fierce spirit of slavery. The Report had been read once, twice, thrice—and yet he had not spoken ! Just as the final vote was to be taken, he ventured to express his dissent. But how did he speak ? Like one who saw and felt that the liberties of the country were at stake, and the Union itself threatened with instant dissolution ? LIKE HIMSELF ? Did he thunder ? did he lighten ? Did he cry, ‘ *To the Rescue !* ’—and, not waiting for support, rush into the thickest of the conflict, single-handed ? No. ‘ Mr. Webster objected to the bill partly on account of the extraordinary vagueness of its language, but principally, because the effect of the bill was to abridge the liberty of the press.’ But, he manifested no amazement, no indignation, no grief, at the audacity which had presumed to introduce such a bill for the adoption of the Senate.

Although the Report was rejected, it deserves at least a slight examination ; for the majority against it was small, and it may be renewed with better success at another session of Congress. All danger from that source is not over, and it is the part of true wisdom to be prepared for the worst.

The ground assumed by Mr. CALHOUN is, first, that Congress cannot pass any law abridging the liberty of the press. This position he finds no difficulty in sustaining, because the language of the Constitution is explicit upon this subject. But he assumes, in the second place, that what Congress may not do, under any pretext whatever, each Legislature of the several States

may do, whenever they shall deem it necessary,—namely, **MUZZLE THE PRESS, and destroy its liberty!** Nay, one State has not only a right, for instance, to prohibit the circulation of anti-slavery publications within its limits, but it is the duty of every other State to make the printing of such publications within its own limits a criminal offence, to be visited with pains and penalties!

We place the arguments in juxta-position, that they may be seen at a glance :

‘Congress has not the power to pass such a law: it would be a violation of one of the most sacred provisions of the Constitution.’—‘The jealous spirit of liberty which characterized our ancestors at the period when the Constitution was adopted, forever closed the door by which the right might be implied from any of the granted powers, or any other source, if there be any other.’—‘The amended article of the Constitution, among other things, provides that Congress shall pass no law which shall abridge the liberty of the press—a provision which interposes an insuperable objection to the measure recommended by the President.’—‘Among the many objections to the adoption of the Constitution, none were more successfully urged than the absence in the instrument of those general provisions which experience has shown to be necessary to *guard the outworks of liberty; such as the freedom of the press and of speech, the rights of conscience, of trial by jury, and others.* It was the belief of those jealous and watchful guardians of liberty, who viewed the adoption of the Constitution with so much apprehension, that all those sacred barriers, without some positive provision to protect them, would, by the power of construction, be undermined and prostrated.’—‘The object of publishing is circulation; and to prohibit circulation is in effect to prohibit publication.’—‘Nothing is more clear than that the admission of the right on the part of Congress, to determine what papers are incendiary, and, as such, to prohibit their circulation through the mail, necessarily involves the right to determine what are not incendiary, and to enforce their circulation. Nor is it less certain that to admit such a right would be virtually to *clothe Congress with the power to abolish slavery*, by giving it the means of breaking down all the barriers which the slaveholding States have erected for the protection of their lives and property.’

‘It belongs to the States, and not to Congress, to determine what is, or is not, calculated to disturb their peace and security; and of course, in the case under consideration, it belongs to the slaveholding States to determine what is incendiary and intended to incite to insurrection, and to adopt such defensive measures as may be necessary for their security, with unlimited means of carrying them into effect, except such as may be expressly inhibited to the States by the Constitution.’—‘The right of a State to defend itself against internal dangers is a part of the great, primary, and inherent right of self-defence, which, by the laws of nature, belongs to all communities.’—‘Rights and duties are reciprocal—the existence of a right always implying a corresponding duty. If, consequently, the right to protect her internal peace and security belongs to a State, the General Government is bound to respect the measures [abridging the freedom of speech and of the press!!] adopted by her for that purpose, and to co-operate in their execution, as far as its delegated powers may admit, or the measure may require. Thus, in the present case, the slaveholding States having the *unquestionable (!)* right to pass all such laws as may be necessary to maintain the EXISTING RELATION between MASTER and SLAVE in those States, their right, of course, to prohibit the circulation of any publication, or any intercourse calculated to disturb or destroy that relation, is incontrovertible’!!—‘Within their limits, the rights of the slaveholding States are as full to demand of the States within whose limits and jurisdiction their peace is assailed, to adopt the measures necessary to prevent the same, and, if refused or neglected, to resort to means to protect themselves, as if they were separate and independent communities.’

It is perfectly obvious, that Mr. CALHOUN is not less justly chargeable with the folly of self-confutation than Mr. PINCKNEY. His argument proves too much, and therefore proves nothing. The theory which he advances is the theory of NULLIFICATION: it makes the subordinate, paramount—the inferior, superior—the single digit greater than the entire aggregate—the satellite, the central sun! For,

1. It absurdly assumes, that though Congress may not pass a law which shall be binding upon the several States, the Legislature of South Carolina is invested with such power!

2. That the liberty of the press,—and, by parity of reasoning, the freedom of speech, the rights of conscience, and trial by jury,—may be either abridged or wholly taken away, under pains and penalties, by any State Legislature, not only in reference to the inhabitants of said State, but of all the States!

3. That a State Legislature, in a free republic, has power over the liberties of the people, superior to that which is granted to the British Parliament!—for that body cannot shackle the press, except by usurpation.

4. That the Constitution of the United States expressly prohibits Congress from infringing upon the liberty of the press, simply because the right belongs exclusively to each State Legislature!—Of what value, then, is this great instrument? It becomes truly ‘a blurred and tattered parchment.’ For if the freedom of speech and of the press, upon any subject whatever, may rightfully and at any moment be destroyed by the Legislature of a single State, and the act must be respected and obeyed by the people of every other State, there can be nothing left in the shape of liberty, to be protected by the Constitution.—An absolute despotism would reign over the land. In the days of our colonial vassalage, such power was never claimed by the mother country. Have not our fathers spilt their blood in vain?

But let us hear Mr. CALHOUN once more:

‘If it be admitted that Congress has the right to discriminate in reference to their character, what papers shall or what papers shall not be transmitted by the mail, it would subject the freedom of the press, on all subjects, political, moral and religious,

completely to its will and pleasure. It would, in fact, in some respects, more effectually control the freedom of the press than any sedition law, however severe its penalties. The mandate of the Government alone would be sufficient to close the door against circulation through the mail, and thus, at its will and pleasure, might intercept all communication between the press and the people; while it would require the intervention of courts and juries to enforce the provisions of a sedition law, which experience has shown are not always passive and willing instruments in the hands of Government, where the freedom of the press is concerned.'

But 'if it be admitted that' a State Legislature 'has a right to discriminate,' &c. &c. as in the case above supposed, surely the same disastrous results and absurd conclusions must follow. No matter by what body this right shall be exercised: the consequences would be equally fatal to all political and religious freedom.

Surely, Mr. CALHOUN will not claim more power for the Legislature of South Carolina, than he is willing to concede to the Legislature of Massachusetts; nor will he deny, that the people of New-England place as high an estimate upon liberty, as the people of the South do upon slavery. Doctrines which are subversive of human rights are as repugnant to the former, as are the doctrines which conflict with the divine right of slaveholding to the latter. Now, in order to give perpetuity to southern slavery, Mr. CALHOUN boldly affirms, that an act of the Legislature of South Carolina, prohibiting the printing or circulating of *anti-slavery* views or sentiments* within the limits of that State, is binding upon every other State: hence the call of certain slaveholding States, during the past year, upon the Legislatures of the free States, to suppress by penal enactments, anti-slavery publications and meetings. It follows, therefore, that if the Legislature of Massachusetts should make a law, prohibiting the printing or circulating of any *pro-slavery* views or sentiments within its territory, and thereby excluding all

* Such as the following, for example:—'God commands, and all nature cries out, that man should not be held as property. The system of making men property has plunged 2,250,000 of our fellow-countrymen into the deepest physical and moral degradation, and they are every moment sinking deeper.'—For this expression, R. G. Williams of New-York, publisher of the *Emancipator*, has been indicted by a Grand Jury in Alabama, as 'being a wicked, malicious, seditious and ill-disposed person,' and on the strength of which indictment Gov. Gayle has demanded Mr. Williams of Gov. Marcy!!

southern newspapers from the State,—it would be equally binding upon all the slaveholding States ; for, ‘ if the right to protect her internal peace and security belongs to a State, the General Government is bound to respect the measures adopted by her for that purpose, and to co-operate in their execution ’ ! *

But would Mr. CALHOUN, or Mr. McDUFFIE, or the State of South Carolina, submit to such a law ? Would they class it among the ‘ reserved rights ’ of the old Bay State ?—So, too, with regard to any other subject, upon which there may happen to be conflicting views and interests between the several States. If its discussion be prohibited by any one of the twenty-six States, the remaining twenty-five are obligated to be dumb and submissive !

The Report, under consideration, bestows the following panegyric upon the ‘ relation ’ between masters and slaves :

‘ It is against this relation between the two races, that the blind and criminal zeal of the abolitionists is directed—a relation that now preserves in quiet and security, more than 6,500,000 human beings ’ (! !)—‘ Under this relation, the two races have long lived in peace and prosperity, and, if not disturbed, would long continue so to live ’ (! !)—‘ It may be safely asserted, that there is no example in history, in which a savage people, such as the ancestors of the slaves were when brought into the country, have ever advanced in the same period so rapidly in numbers and *improvement* ’ (! !)

The ‘ relation ’ which is producing so much happiness, safety, improvement, peace, prosperity, &c. &c. is the relation of one man as a beast, to another man as his absolute owner ! If such really be its beneficent results, it will certainly bear the test of a most rigid scrutiny ; and it is difficult to perceive, why the South should be so angry when we propose to discuss its utility, or why she should require us to preserve unbroken silence !—The solution of this delicate enigma is, that what is affirmed of this ‘ relation ’ in the Report, is obviously false, in every particular. The slave system is full of the elements of self-destruction : it is a moral Vesuvius—within are raging fires—without

* In proof of which, Mr. Calhoun gravely adduces the act of Congress of February, 1799, respecting quarantine and health laws (! !)—which, among other things, ‘ directs the collectors and all other revenue officers, the masters and crews of revenue cutters, and the military officers in command of the station, to co-operate faithfully in the execution of the quarantine and other restrictions which the health laws of the State may establish.’ A very rare analogy !

is desolation, the awful consequence of successive volcanic eruptions, wherever its lava tide has flowed. And 'the end is not yet.'

Again :

'The blindness of fanaticism is proverbial. With more zeal than understanding, it constantly misconceives the nature of the object at which it aims, and toward which it rushes with headlong violence, regardless of the means by which it is effected.—Never was its character more fully exemplified than in the present instance. Setting out with the abstract principle that slavery is an evil, the fanatical zealots come at once to the conclusion that it is their duty to abolish it, regardless of the disasters which must follow. Never was conclusion more false or dangerous.'

Behold the folly and insanity of the abolitionists ! If this be an accurate delineation of their character, it is a poor compliment which Mr. CALHOUN pays to the intelligence, patriotism and piety of the North, to argue that, unless they are put down BY FORCE, the abolitionists can never be vanquished by reason, but will assuredly enlist the people on their side ! Fanaticism is quickly consumed by its own fire : its 'blindness' ensures its speedy self-destruction. It was one of the best and most popular sentiments ever uttered by Mr. JEFFERSON, that 'error of opinion may be safely tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it.' 'The fanatical zealots' stigmatized by Mr. CALHOUN, do not merely call slavery an 'evil,' but they brand it as a *sin*—A SYSTEM OF INIQUITIES—one vast aggregation of heaven-daring impieties ; and they therefore know that its immediate abandonment is a duty, which wisely and unerringly regards all imaginable consequences, all real interests, whether near or remote, whether appertaining to the few or the many, to the present or the future, to time or to eternity ! But they have never been guilty of the folly ascribed to them in the Report,—of asserting that it is '*their* duty' to abolish slavery in the southern States : that 'duty' must be performed by the slaveholders themselves.

It is a relief to know wherein the essential wickedness of the abolitionists consists. According to Mr. CALHOUN, it is found alike in the *end* aimed at by them, and in the *means* used to effect that end.

'Wicked and cruel as is the end aimed at, it is fully equalled by the criminality of the means by which it is proposed to be accomplished. These consist in organized societies and a powerful press, directed mainly with a view to excite the bitterest animosity and hatred of the people of the non-slaveholding States against the citizens and institutions of the slaveholding States. It is easy to see to what disastrous results such means must tend.'—'The incessant action of hundreds of societies, and a vast printing establishment, throwing out, daily, thousands of artful and inflammatory publications, must make in time a deep impression on the section of the Union where they freely circulate, and are mainly designed to have effect. The well-informed and thoughtful hold them in contempt, but the young, the inexperienced, the ignorant, and thoughtless, will receive the poison.'

Upon the above extract we remark—

1. They who oppose the abolitionists, but argue in favor of the *ultimate* abolition of slavery as a most desirable 'end,'—as if such a view of the question would be perfectly agreeable to the holders of slaves,—are thus admonished by Mr. CALHOUN, that such an abolition, at any period however remote, or under any circumstances however favorable, would be 'wicked' and 'cruel.'*

2. The organization of societies and the establishment of 'a powerful press,' are not proofs of 'the criminality of the means' adopted by the abolitionists; for they are invariably resorted to by the friends of every benevolent, just and holy enterprise, as essential to its success. Without organized action, and without a press, what progress could be made in the cause of Temperance, of Peace, or of Religion? What could the Bible, or Missionary, or Education Societies do without them?

3. If the abolition press throws out, daily, 'thousands of artful and inflammatory publications,' this may be a sound reason why the anti-abolition press should throw out, daily, tens of thousands of publications of an opposite tendency—but it cannot justify the plundering of the public mail, nor the destruction of the great palladium of human rights. If infidelity be

* The language of Gov. McDuffie is yet more emphatic than Mr. Calhoun's:—'No patriot who justly estimates our privileges, will tolerate the idea of emancipation, at any period however remote, or on any conditions of pecuniary advantage however favorable. I would as soon think of opening a negotiation for selling the liberty of the State at once, as for making any stipulations for the *ultimate* emancipation of our slaves.'—The Charleston Courier says:—'We protest against the assumption, the unwarrantable assumption, that slavery is *ultimately* to be extirpated from the southern States. *Ultimate* abolitionists are enemies of the south, the same in kind, and only less in degree, than *immediate* abolitionists.'

zealous and daring in the dissemination of its poisonous sentiments, shame upon christianity if it be not as active in its own cause—shame upon it if it demand that infidelity shall be gagged, fettered, and crushed by force, instead of meeting it with those spiritual weapons which are mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds!

4. The assertion, that 'the well-informed and thoughtful' hold the anti-slavery publications 'in contempt,' if true, would voluntarily place Mr. CALHOUN and his associates in the ranks of 'the inexperienced, the ignorant and thoughtless'—for they regard these publications with far different feelings: they cannot despise that which excites so much consternation among themselves. If the assertion be true, then it is an insult to that enlightened and virtuous class even to hint, that there is danger of their being misled by those who have 'more zeal than understanding,' who are smitten with 'the blindness of fanaticism,' and who are 'fanatical zealots.' If the assertion be true, then all the mobs, riots and lynchings in the land, with reference to slavery, have been perpetrated by 'the well-informed and thoughtful,' and their unresisting victims have been 'the inexperienced, the ignorant, and the thoughtless'!—But it is calumnious, and Mr. CALHOUN knows it to be so. If he really believed all that he says in favor of slavery, that it is as beneficent a system as exists under heaven,—and all that he says against the abolitionists, that they are ignorant, unprincipled, insane men,—would he tremble lest they should win over to their side the 'wise and prudent,' the pious and philanthropic?—Would he confess, that the delusion of a despised band would prove too powerful for the reason of the nation, unless they were put down by the strong arm of law? Or would he wax hot, and be thrown into a paroxysm of fury, the moment any individual should begin to investigate that system which he says is producing so much happiness and prosperity? His terror—his anger—his dread of examination—his opposition to free discussion—his call for judicial pains and penalties to be inflicted upon the persons of abolitionists on account of their *opinions*

—his willingness to shackle the press—his recommendation to make the robbery of the mail of any and every document, whether printed or oral, which merely ‘touches’ the subject of slavery, a lawful and *obligatory* act—all these evince a state of mind ill at ease, a conscience troubled with its own fearful notions, an understanding filled with guilty confusion. How is the declaration of the Almighty confirmed to the letter !—‘For it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise ? where is the disputer of this world ? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world ?’

Mr. CALHOUN, in the extremity of his argument, holds up the *lex talionis* over the heads of our northern citizens, in *terrorem*. He says, by way of solemn admonition :

‘The sober and considerate portion of citizens of non-slaveholding States, who have a deep stake in the existing institutions of the country, would have little forecast not to see that the assaults which are now directed against the institutions of the southern States, may be very easily directed against those which uphold their own property and security’ (! !)

The effect of this warning must be to relax the muscles and disturb the gravity of our ‘sober and considerate citizens’—nothing more. Does the Senator from South Carolina credit his own ridiculous assertion, that the same assaults which the abolitionists are making upon the slave system, may be directed against our northern FREE LABOR system ? If this could be done, what is there in the temper or disposition of the South toward the North, to make her forbear retaliating in the manner threatened ? Why has she descended to the vile and hopeless task of scourging, imprisoning or putting to death, without a trial, such abolitionists as have been identified upon her soil, when she holds such a potent weapon in her hands against the North, and can at any moment throw confusion among us by assailing our own institutions ? Is it not strange, that, among the numerous expedients devised by southern taskmasters to counteract the efforts of the abolitionists, they have not in a single instance attempted to prove,—by appealing to the Declaration of Independence and the Bible, by reasoning from anal-

ogy, by historical facts and arguments, by northern admissions and concessions, by 'the relation' of men and things established in nature,—that a New-England farmer has no moral right to hold his farm or his cattle as his property; that a New-England mechanic has no right to receive wages and obtain knowledge; that a New-England merchant commits an aggravated sin against God in buying and selling goods; that it is a violation of the seventh commandment for us to tolerate the marriage institution among our poor and ignorant population; that we are bringing upon this nation the reproach and derision of the world, and rendering it deserving of the judgments of heaven, by possessing houses and lands, rail-roads and manufactories, carriages and horses, ships and steamboats, &c. &c.; that we are outraging human rights in making, by law, no distinction between the rich and poor, the high and low, the strong and feeble; that we deserve to be execrated, in that we do not 'sell the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes,' but let every one possess his own body, mind and intellect, for his own benefit!!—Such warnings and remonstrances have never circulated north of the Potomac, nor fallen from the lips of any slaveholder south of Mason & Dixon's line: and if they should be addressed to us by our southern brethren, we pledge ourselves to receive them in good humor—not to get angry—not to threaten to dissolve the Union—not to lynch any of the remonstrants who may happen to sojourn with us—not to rob the U. S. mail—not to offer any rewards for the persons of southern planters—not to organize any vigilance committees—not to call upon the brute force of the nation to stand by us—not to stop our ears, and refuse to hear argument*—not to cut out the tongues of those who do not agree with us†—not to demand that the South shall

* Upon this subject we can hear no argument. Our opinions are unalterably fixed—our determinations are immutably firm and steadfast. It is a subject with which we cannot suffer a stranger to intermeddle.—*Gov. Lumpkin's message, Georgia.*

† The question of slavery is not, and shall not be, open to discussion. The system is deep-rooted, and must remain forever. The very moment any individual attempts to lecture us upon its *evils* and *immorality*, and the necessity of putting means in operation to secure us from them, in the same moment his tongue shall be cut out and cast upon the dunghill.—*Columbia S. C. Telescope.*

go to hanging a few thousands of our opponents, at the peril of losing our trade!!*

Mr. CALHOUN speaks of 'the impossibility of abolishing the relation between MASTER and SLAVE without disasters unexampled in the history of the world'! And to show with what tenacity the slaveholding States cling to their oppression, he declares that

'Every consideration—interest, duty, and humanity—the love of country, the sense of wrong, HATRED OF OPPRESSORS, and treacherous and faithless confederates—and, finally, despair, would impel them to the most daring and desperate resistance in defence of property, family, country, LIBERTY, and existence'!!

Such is the anxiety of the South to get rid of the 'evil' of slavery!—Nothing can be more closely allied to mental and moral insanity, than the language of Mr. CALHOUN, which affirms that '*duty—humanity—love of country*, and HATRED OF OPPRESSORS,' alike demand the perpetuation of a 'relation' wresting from more than one-third of the southern population all their rights, and reducing them to a level with the brute creation!—and which styles resistance to emancipation a 'defence of *property*, family, country, LIBERTY, and existence'!! Such a statesman ought to be held in execration,† (a slaveholder being witness,) and sent to Bedlam rather than to the Senate of the United States. Besides the atrocity of these sentiments of the Report, there is something extremely ridiculous in the intimation, that 'despair' will impel the slaveholders 'to the most *daring* and *desperate* resistance' to the arguments, entreaties and rebukes of the abolitionists!

One other extract, and we have done: and this intimately concerns the workingmen, mechanics and farmers of New-England:

* 'The people of the North must go to hanging these fanatical wretches, if they would not lose the benefit of southern trade—and they will do it. They know too well on which side their bread is buttered ever to give up these advantages, so long as the hanging of a few thousands will prevent it.'—*Richmond Whig*.

† 'With what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half the citizens to trample on the rights of the others, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroying the morals of the one part, and the amor patriæ of the other!'—*Thomas Jefferson*.

'It would be well for those interested to reflect, whether there now exists, or ever has existed, a wealthy and civilized community, in which one portion did not live on the labor of another; and whether the form in which slavery exists in the South is not but one modification of this universal condition. . . Let those who are interested remember that labor is the only source of wealth, and how small a portion of it, in all old and civilized countries, even the best governed, is left to those by whose labor wealth is created. Let them also reflect how little volition or agency the operatives in any country have in the question of its distribution—as little, with a few exceptions, as the African of the slaveholding States has in the distribution of the proceeds of his labor.'

The *morality* of this argument is, that, because the laboring classes in the old despotic countries of Europe have long been deprived of just remuneration for their labor, therefore it is right for American REPUBLICANS and CHRISTIANS, who hold to the '*self-evident*' truth that all men are created equal, to plunder and keep in chains as many of their countrymen as possible! This, however, is merely a repetition of the bold avowal of GEORGE McDUFFIE, that '*slavery supersedes the necessity of an order of nobility, and all the other appendages of a hereditary system of government*'—or, in other words, if the slaveholders were not enabled to prey upon their colored victims, so strongly bent are they upon robbery and oppression, they would endeavor to establish a government like that of Austria or Russia, and subject the working classes to the yoke of servitude, without regard to the complexion of the skin! Nay, it is prophesied by southern statesmen, that, within twenty-five years, the North will be necessitated to enslave its FREE LABORING POPULATION, or be destroyed by anarchy! And this is American republicanism!

A NEW SLAVE STATE.

At the last session of Congress, a Bill for the admission of Arkansas into the Union was adopted by both houses with very slight opposition,* notwithstanding the following article in its

* The question on the passage of the Bill stood as follows:—

YEAS—Messrs. Benton, Brown, Buchanan, Calhoun, Cuthbert, Ewing (of Illinois,) Ewing (of Ohio,) Grundy, Hendricks, Hill, Hubbard, King (of Alabama,) King (of Georgia,) Linn, McKean, Mangum, Morris, Nicholas, Niles, Preston, Rives, Robinson, Ruggles, Shepley, Tallmadge, Tipton, Walker, White, Wright—29.

NAYS—Messrs. Clay, Knight, Porter, Prentiss, Robbins, Swift—6.

In the House of Representatives, the vote stood—Yeas 143; Nays 50.

Constitution, which expressly prohibits the abolition of slavery in that State by the General Assembly :—

‘ The General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves, *without the consent of the owners*. They shall have no power to prevent emigrants to this State from bringing with them such persons as are deemed SLAVES by the laws of any one of the United States. They shall have power to pass laws to permit the owners of slaves to emancipate them, saving the right of creditors, and preventing them from becoming a public charge. They shall have power to prevent slaves from being brought to this State as merchandize,* and also to oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with humanity.’ †

Mr. BENTON exultingly alluded to the fact, that the application from Arkansas for admission had been put into the hands of a Senator from a non-slaveholding State, while that from Michigan came through a Senator from a slaveholding State. ‘ *He considered this as an illustration of the decay of the spirit of abolitionism* ’ !—Mr. BUCHANAN and Mr. MORRIS contended that Arkansas had a right to prohibit or *perpetuate* slavery at her pleasure !—Mr. EWING, of Ohio, thought the Bill less objectionable than that for the admission of Michigan !—It was opposed by the Senators from Vermont, (Messrs. SWIFT and PRENTISS,) but Messrs. WEBSTER and DAVIS seemed to have studiously shunned the question. The only remonstrances that were sent to Congress, in opposition to this measure, emanated from the calumniated abolitionists and the Society of Friends. When it was proposed to admit Missouri as a slaveholding State, feelings of indignation and horror seemed to pervade the breasts of all classes of society throughout the non-slaveholding States. The pulpit gave its solemn protest—the press lifted up its voice of thunder—the public halls resounded with eloquent harangues in opposition—and memorials, deprecating the extension of slavery, poured into Congress from every quarter of the Union, except the South. ‘ Agitation ’ was

* ‘ They shall have power ’—but if ever that power shall be exercised, it will only be when Arkansas is glutted with slavery, and, like Virginia, needs rather to export than import human beings as merchandize. Any prohibitory law, moreover, might easily be evaded under that clause in the Constitution, which says that no power shall be given to hinder emigrants from bringing slaves into the States.

† ‘ To treat them with humanity,’ by refusing to receive their testimony against white persons, and making them the property of a fellow-worm of the dust !

the order of the day. A large meeting of the citizens of Boston was holden in the State House, and several of the most distinguished citizens, with DANIEL WEBSTER at their head, were appointed a Committee to remonstrate against such a black addition to the Federal Republic. Even HARRISON GRAY OTIS, then Senator in Congress from Massachusetts, made long and eloquent speeches, in the name of bleeding humanity, in which he contended that slavery was morally wrong and a curse, and therefore that its extension by Congress ought not to be granted. Those members from New-England, who voted in favor of admitting Missouri, were visited with political retribution by their indignant constituents, and were compelled to retire to private life, covered with reproach and shame!—But how have the consciences of the people been seared since 1819—and how withering have been the influences of slavery by its extension in that particular instance! Though the Constitution of Arkansas expressly provides for the perpetuity of slavery, as long as a single tyrant shall desire to sway the rod of oppression, yet its application for admission into the Union excited no general uneasiness—called forth no expressions of alarm—no public meetings were held, except by certain ‘madmen’ and ‘fanatics’—and DANIEL WEBSTER, filling the post that was occupied by H. G. OTIS in 1819, never once opened his lips by way of remonstrance, but suffered the horrid act to be done without lifting up his voice or recording his vote against it in the Senate of the United States! Not one of the many of northern members who voted in favor of admission, has been forsaken or even rebuked by his constituents!—Even the memorials that were sent to the House of Representatives, praying for an amendment to the Constitution of Arkansas, to exclude slavery from its soil, were not only denied a reading, but their reception was objected to! And the Speaker of the House decided—arbitrary and absurd as the decision may appear—that they came within the resolution, referring all papers on the subject of abolition in the *District of Columbia*, to the select committee on that subject!

The *manner* in which the question of admission was treated in the House of Representatives, adds deeply to the infamy of the act, and furnishes a precedent which ought to fill the entire North with alarm, as fraught with consequences most fatal to northern liberty. We have stated that the remonstrances, which were sent to the House, were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, without being read. Not satisfied with thus virtually denying the right of petition in this instance, as well as in relation to slavery in the national District, *a gag was put into the mouths of northern members*, not one of whom was suffered to open his lips in opposition to the Bill. In vain did the vigilant, clear-sighted, and venerable ADAMS attempt to gain a hearing: his voice was stifled by the clamors of an inflexible majority. Free discussion of the subject of slavery is not tolerated in either of the two houses of Congress!

The *time* at which the vote was taken upon the question of admission, is not less remarkable. It was at the heel of the session—at midnight—when, as Mr. WISE of Virginia declared, the members were either ‘tired, sleepy, or drunk’! Many were brought from their beds by interested runners. Well might they choose midnight, in which to perpetrate such a deed of darkness!

The *guilt* of this transaction belongs emphatically to the **FREE STATES**. Their representatives might have prevented it by a majority of more than forty votes, but—with some honorable exceptions—they basely went with the South. If, therefore, up to this period, the nation, as such, had not been implicated in the sin of slavery, this vote, extending the dominion of the curse, covers the whole land with blood-guiltiness. Truly, ‘a wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land.’ ‘Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord? Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?’

If the limits of this Report would permit, we might dilate upon the atrocious wickedness evinced in admitting another slaveholding State into the Union. By this admission, the emancipation of two millions and a half of our countrymen from

their chains is rendered more hopeless. By it, the whole slave-system is invigorated, because it opens an immense territory, new and fertile, to the traffickers in human flesh, and of course greatly enhances the market value of 'slaves and souls of men.'* By it, a dangerous augmentation of political power has been put into the hands of a slaveholding aristocracy more imperious and rapacious than all the aristocracies of the old world *en masse*. By it, freedom of speech and of the press, the rights of conscience, personal protection, the privilege of locomotion, the unobstructed and impartial circulation of the Bible, true gospel fidelity in preaching, and the benefits of education for all classes, are absolutely impaired, if not effectually taken away. By it, cruelty of the extremest kind,—robbery of the meanest character,—pollution of the direst turpitude,—the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes by the abrogation of the marriage covenant,—the sale of mothers and infants, of husbands and wives, *of the lowly disciples of Jesus Christ*,—the demolition of mind, and the ruin of souls,—are made legal and honorable.

TEXAS.

For the last ten years, the slaveholders of the South have been looking to the acquisition of Texas to the Union, with a burning thirst of avarice which nothing but human blood can allay, and a cannibal appetite for human flesh which nothing but hecatombs of sable victims can satisfy. Whether it should be obtained by purchase, revolution, or conquest, has been a matter of indifference to them—to GET IT is all that they have wanted. The value of such a prize to the South, (aside from political considerations,) may be inferred from the following brief

* The Cincinnati Philanthropist, (edited by Mr. BIRNEY,) of Jan. 17th, 1836, contains the following startling paragraph:

'**REPUBLICANISM AND SLAVERY.** A gentleman just from Arkansas says, that when he left that country, there were supposed to be in it at least TWO THOUSAND *native African slaves*!—A great proportion of these were sent into Arkansas by the Texas '*patriots*' who went from the United States, to secure them against the liberating spirit of Santa Anna when he threatened to overrun the country. The others were doubtless imported by citizens of Arkansas, or smuggled into Louisiana and thence into Arkansas, by those who have incorporated slavery into the Constitution of this new State.'

statement. The slave population of this country now amounts to 2,500,000, which Mr. CALHOUN, in his Report to the Senate, estimates to be worth 'equal at least to \$950,000,000'—averaging \$380 per head. This is undoubtedly a low estimate, as their market value is at present exorbitantly high, able-bodied men selling readily for \$1000 each. It is estimated that the acquisition of Texas would raise their price *fifty per cent.* at least—thus it would at once be a gain to the South of \$375,000,000!† The act of the government of Mexico in 1829, proclaiming liberty throughout all the land, and the refusal of that country to part with Texas as a matter of sale, frustrated the hopes of the slave-speculators, of a peaceful acquisition. Many of them, therefore, boldly emigrated to Texas, carrying their slaves with them, and evading the law of Mexico by indenting them as apprentices for the term of ninety-nine years! Their latent design was, to revolutionize that country as soon as a favorable opportunity should present itself. That opportunity—favorable beyond their most sanguine expectations—was found in the unnatural conduct of the North toward the abolitionists. It was indeed a master-stroke of policy on the part of the South, to inflame the mind of the North to mad-

* This immense sum shows to what extent the slaves of the South are robbed by their masters. An anecdote respecting Mr. O'Connell will serve to illustrate this matter:—At a great anti-slavery meeting in Exeter Hall, London, in 1833, a Mr. Liggins, a person connected with the West India interests, contended that emancipation would certainly ruin the planters, because it would be impossible for them to pay the slaves £160,000 a week for their labor, as that sum would be required for that purpose; whereas there were not more than £20,000 in all the colonies!—Mr. O'Connell instantly rose and said—'He (Mr. Liggins) had announced an awful fact, that the colonists could not pay wages to the slaves—that it would cost them £160,000 a week. *What was this but robbing the slaves of £160,000 a week?*—robbing them of labor worth that sum? But he had told them another fact, which he (Mr. O'Connell,) was rejoiced to hear, as it showed that it was inconsistent with the providence of God, that villany should prosper: he had told them that this villany was of the most beggaring description—for though the villains got £160,000 a week for nothing, yet they had not £20,000 in money! He turned to the West Indian, and asked him how he dared to rob the slave of £160,000, when instead of benefit, it was only productive of beggary? How frightful this appeared on the face of it! This £160,000 a week, made £8,320,000 a year!—The effect of this reply was electrical. According to this calculation, (as there are three times as many slaves in this country as existed in the British colonies,) the southern planters are plundering their slaves of \$2,133,333 a week, or \$110,933,333 a year! And yet they demand compensation!

† Mr. Gholson, of the Virginia Assembly, stated in 1832, that the price of slaves fell *twenty-five per cent.* within two hours after the news of the non-importation act of Louisiana was known in that State.

ness against the principles and measures of a large portion of her philanthropic citizens, and to frighten her into subjection by threats of disunion, and thus to commit her on the side of southern interests, step by step, beyond the possibility of retreat ; so that she should be unable, or at least unwilling to interpose a barrier to the annexation of Texas to the American Union. Let it not be forgotten, that the invasion of Texas was made by the South at a time when the fires of persecution, kindled to consume all who should dare to doubt or deny the divine right of slavery, were blazing all over the nominally free States ! This invasion excited the liveliest sympathy throughout the country, and was generally applauded by the newspaper press. It was impudently compared to the revolutionary struggle of 1776, and eulogized in the U. S. Senate, by Mr. PRESTON, as 'a struggle for rights and free institutions' ! Volunteers from almost every section of the Union, but chiefly from the slaveholding States, poured into Texas, in order to reinstate slavery upon its soil. Of the character of the leaders in this black crusade, the Boston Atlas of April 16th, (a paper opposed to the abolitionists,) speaks in the following emphatic terms :

'Who are the LEADERS in this 'heroic struggle' ? General Houston, 'once Governor of Tennessee, but since that, a chief of the Cherokees, a miserable vagabond and brawler, lately enacting Lynch's law at WASHINGTON, now the apostle of Texian freedom. Robert Potter, once a member of Congress, but infamous throughout the Union for his bloody brutality and universal scoundrelism—lately the tenant of the state prison ; expelled with scorn and contempt from the legislature of North Carolina ; now 'a great character' in Texas. Add to these, all the murderers, swindlers, and horse-thieves, who have fled from the Southern States for the last ten years, and the list of 'Texian heroes will be complete. These people may be, in the opinion of North Americans, fit to instruct the poor benighted Mexicans in the science of liberty and good government ; but the only discoveries they have yet offered to introduce among them, are SLAVERY and LYNCH'S LAW—two grand republican panaceas, of which, if Mexicans cannot yet apprehend the *sublime* merits, the extreme darkness of their ignorance must be their excuse.'

The following paragraph, from the Mobile Advertiser, contains a frank avowal of the object of the South in attempting the conquest of the Texas territory :

'The South wish to have Texas admitted into the Union for two reasons : First, to equalize the South with the North, and secondly, as a convenient and safe place calculated from its peculiarly good soil and salubrious climate for a slave population.—

Interest and political safety both, alike prompt the action and enforce the argument. ... *They have an awful foe in all those who demand the emancipation of their slaves, and who call upon them to give up their property now and forever.*

The New-York Sunday News gives the following additional evidence :

'The determination so generally expressed in favor of the incorporation of Texas into the Union, is based upon the fact that the measure is necessary, in order to strengthen the South against the machinations of the Northern abolitionists. If the Union continues, the South must be aided by the addition of four or five new States carved out of Texas, and one new State formed by the territory of Florida. There are now twelve slaveholding States out of twenty-six in the Union; and the addition of five more will give them a majority of six members in the Senate of the United States, and enable them to hold in check the radicalism of Northern representation in the House of Representatives.'

The manner in which the faith of our treaties with Mexico has been kept, may be seen by the following paragraph from the Vicksburg (Miss.) Register :

'THREE THOUSAND MEN FOR TEXAS.—Gen. Dunlap, of Tennessee, is about to proceed to Mexico with the above number of men. The whole corps are now at Memphis. They will not, it is said, pass this way. Every man is completely armed, the corps having been *originally raised for the Florida war*. This force, we have no doubt, will be able to carry every thing before it.'

And the following, from the Louisville (Ky.) Journal :

'A field battery of six guns—four six pounders and two twenty-four pound howitzers—with all the implements for service, and one thousand balls, shells, and cannisters, presented to the Republic of Texas by Maj. Gen. T. J. Chambers, arrived in this city under the charge of Major McLeod, on the 27th inst. They are splendid pieces of artillery. They will be in Texas in three or four weeks, and the way their wide mouths will talk to the Mexicans, will be a caution to all the foes of liberty.' (! !)

The Pensacola Gazette states, that 'General Gaines sent an officer of the United States army into Texas to reclaim some deserters. He found them already enlisted in the Texian service, to the number of two hundred. *They still wore the uniform of our army*, but refused to return.' Gen. Gaines himself crossed the boundary line with his army, and marched seventy miles into the Mexican territory, to the military post of Nacogdoches—ostensibly, it is true, to prevent or punish Indian depredations, but evidently in order to countenance the Texian rebels.

This is our *neutrality*, as a nation, in the face of the following solemn contract with the Mexican republic :

‘There shall be a firm, inviolable, and universal peace, and a true and sincere friendship between the United States of America, and the United Mexican States, in all the extent of their possessions and territories, between their people and citizens respectively, without distinctions of persons or places.’

The forbearance of the Mexican government, in view of this atrocious violation of the faith of treaties, is remarkable. Let us reverse the case. Let us suppose that some Mexican adventurers had settled in some part of Louisiana ; that to them had been granted by our government, unusual privileges and exemptions ;* that, on some false and frivolous pretences, they had raised the standard of rebellion, and called upon their Mexican brethren to come over to their aid ; that they had sent some of their number to Mexico to enlist troops and obtain supplies ; that the presses of that country had generally justified their rebellion ; that Mexican soldiers, even without changing their uniform, had flocked to their standard from all quarters of the country ; that Mexican Senators and Representatives, in Congress assembled, had precipitately urged upon that body a recognition of the independence of the State of Louisiana ; that the Mexican government had winked at all these movements, or, after a long delay, had at last issued an equivocal message, recommending the observance of strict neutrality between the contending parties ; and, finally, that the independence of the rebels and invaders had been acknowledged by the Mexican Congress ;—would not this country have been roused to madness, and have declared war with Mexico, as a nation basely recreant to her faith ?—ay, even before one-half of these events had transpired ? And yet the Mexican insurrectionists might have pleaded, that their object was to secure universal emancipation in Louisiana, without regard to complexional caste ; but the Texans avow that they are stimulated by a determination to re-establish slavery and the slave-trade upon the soil which has

* ‘The reception of the Texas settlers by the Mexican government has been hospitable and liberal beyond example. Land has been given to them, they have been exempted from taxes and duties during ten years, on the one hand, and protected by a high tariff against foreign competition in the markets for their produce, on the other ; they have the unprecedented indulgence of legal proceedings in their *own language*, a matter into which national punctilio might be expected to enter ; and they have enjoyed as perfect civil and religious liberty, as it seems possible for human institutions to secure.’—*Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine*.

been purged from these abominations. They abhor the idea of emancipation, and are eager to administer Lynch law to every abolitionist.* By the Constitution which they have adopted, none but 'free WHITE persons' can become citizens of this Republic. The 9th Section is in the following words :

'SEC. 9. All persons of color, who were slaves for life previous to their emigration to Texas, and who are now held in bondage, shall remain in the like state of servitude, provided the said slave shall be the bona fide property of the person so holding said slave as aforesaid. Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their slaves into the Republic with them, and holding them by the same tenure by which such slaves were held in the United States; nor shall Congress have the power to emancipate slaves; nor shall any slaveholder be allowed to emancipate his or her slave or slaves, without the consent of Congress, unless he or she shall send his or her slave or slaves without the limits of the Republic. No free person of African descent, either in whole or in part, shall be permitted to reside permanently in the Republic, without the consent of Congress; and the importation or admission of Africans or negroes into this Republic, EXCEPTING FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, is forever prohibited, and declared to be piracy.'

It seems, then, that in this *free, republican* territory, slavery is not only made constitutional, but Congress has no power to prohibit the foreign slave-trade between Texas and the United States†—nor to emancipate slaves on the soil; nor are slaveholders themselves allowed to abandon their oppression, except by expelling their victims beyond the limits of the Republic! It is in vain that we search the annals of slavery, to find a parallel to a section like this! The clause which prohibits the importation of slaves from Africa, and other places, can be easily evaded, as the following article from the Boston Atlas of April 19th demonstrates :

'Slaves are constantly arriving at the Havana; and we state upon the best authority, that "a gentleman of Texas," the brother of one high in office under the Federal government, is, or not long ago was, in the United States, for the purpose of procuring American vessels to proceed to Havana, and there to take in cargoes of slaves for the Texian market. When it was suggested to this gentleman, that this would be

* Benjamin Lundy, the veteran advocate of emancipation, states that he was near being robbed *twice* in his late tour in Texas—that the 'tar and feathers' were prepared, and would have been applied, had not a Mexican officer been near, and informed of the proceeding.

† 'The land of the free, and the asylum of the oppressed,' allowed, by way of special favor, to be the GUINEA of Texian marauders and rapacious men-stealers! This is done to secure the co-operation of the South.

engaging in the slave-trade, and that by our laws the slave-trade was piracy, the Texian stopped the objector's mouth by referring to a late decision by a learned judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, that to take slaves as *passengers* from one point of the African coast to another, is *not* engaging in the slave-trade; and he argued—and the argument seems difficult to refute—that to take slaves as *passengers*, (and this was all he wanted of the ship-owners,) from Havana to Texas, would fall under the same rule. This same gentleman assured our informant, that the two or three thousand AFRICAN SLAVES now in Texas, seemed to be very happy and contented—they only complained a little, at being separated from their wives and children !'

On the 22d of December last, a message was transmitted by President JACKSON to the House of Representatives, in relation to Texas, in which was the following seemingly honest recommendation :

'The title of Texas to the territory she claims, is identified with her independence. She asks us to acknowledge that title to the territory, *with an avowed design to treat immediately of its transfer to the United States*. It becomes us to beware of a too early movement, as it might subject us, however unjustly, to the imputation of seeking to establish the claim of our neighbors to a territory, with a view to its subsequent acquisition by ourselves. Prudence, therefore, seems to dictate that we should still stand aloof, and maintain our present attitude, if not until Mexico itself, or one of the great foreign powers, shall recognize the independence of the new Government, at least until the lapse of time or the course of events shall have proved beyond cavil or dispute, the ability of the people of that country to maintain their separate sovereignty, and to uphold the Government constituted by them.'

Whether this was intended as a mere *ruse*, in order to prevent any excitement at the North, at the prospect of a sudden recognition of Texian independence—or whether it was uttered in sincerity—certain it is, that that recognition has been made by the U. S. Senate, by a vote of 23 to 19,* and the Texian minister has been acknowledged by our Government ! This conduct cannot fail to excite the astonishment of the civilized world, and deepen the infamy which rests upon the character of our country. Nothing can extenuate it, for it is marked by criminal precipitancy and the basest treachery. †

* Some delay has taken place in the printing of this Report, and hence we anticipate the record of another year, in this particular.

† The independence of Hayti has been maintained more than thirty years, and recognized by France—yet no such recognition has been made by our Government !—According to Benjamin Lundy, the population of Texas, in 1838, amounted to only 21,000 : supposing it to have been doubled since that period by the American invaders, it is now only half as large as that of the city of Boston ! What a republic !

One other step remains to be taken by this country, to reach the climax of her iniquity : it is, to annex the REPUBLIC (?) of Texas to the American Union ! To what scenes of misery and horror may not this recognition and annexation give rise ! In the opinion of that far-sighted and sagacious statesman, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, it is more than probable that we shall be involved in 'a Mexican war; a war with Great Britain, if not with France; a general Indian war; a servile war; and, as an inevitable consequence of them all, a civil war.' In his celebrated speech in Congress, on the Texian and Indian Wars and Slavery, in May last, he uses the following prophetic language :

'If, by the utter imbecility of the Mexican confederacy, this revolt of Texas should lead immediately to its separation from that Republic, and its annexation to the United States, I believe it impossible that Great Britain should look on, while this operation is performing, with indifference. She will see that it must shake her own colonial power on this continent, in the Gulf of Mexico, and in the Carribean seas, like an earthquake; she will see, too, that it endangers her own abolition of slavery in her own colonies. A war for the restoration of slavery where it has been abolished, if successful in Texas, must extend over all Mexico; and the example will threaten her with imminent danger of a war of colors in her own islands. She will take possession of Cuba and of Porto Rico, by cession from Spain, or by the batteries from her wooden walls; and if you ask her by what authority she has done it, she will ask you in return, by what authority you have extended your sea coast from the Sabine to the Rio Bravo. She will ask you a question more perplexing, namely—by what authority you, with freedom, independence, and democracy upon your lips, are waging a war of extermination to forge new manacles and fetters, instead of those which are falling from the hands and feet of man. She will carry emancipation and abolition with her in every fold of her flag; while your stars, as they increase in numbers, will be overcast with the murky vapors of oppression, and the only portion of your banners visible to the eye, will be the blood-stained stripes of the taskmaster.'

* * * * *

'Urged on by the irresistible, overwhelming torrent of public opinion, Great Britain has recently, at a cost of one hundred millions of dollars, which her People have joyfully paid, abolished slavery throughout all her colonies in the West Indies. After setting such an example, she will not—it is impossible that she should—stand by and witness a war for the re-establishment of slavery where it had been for years abolished, and situated thus in the immediate neighborhood of her islands. She will tell you, that if you must have Texas as a member of your Confederacy, it must be without the trammels of slavery, and if you will wage a war to handcuff and fetter your fellow-man, she will wage a war against you to break his chains. Sir, what a figure, in the eyes of mankind, would you make, in deadly conflict with Great Britain: she fighting the battles of emancipation, and you the battles of slavery; she the benefactress, and you the oppressor, of human kind ! In such a war, the enthusiasm of emancipation, too, would unite vast numbers of her People in aid of the national rivalry, and all her natural jealousy against our aggrandizement. No war was ever so popular

in England as that war would be against slavery, the slave-trade, and the Anglo-Saxon descendant from her own loins.'

But, be the consequences to this country what they may, the admission of Texas into the Union, at the next session of Congress, is regarded by the southern States as a certain event! They have not invaded that country, and made havoc of human life, and poured out their blood and treasure, merely to have the satisfaction of witnessing its independence. They claim it as their own, and they mean to possess it.* They have many powerful motives in seeking its acquisition:—It can be divided into NINE STATES, each as large as Kentucky:—It will give the South omnipotent political power over the North, in Congress:—It will open a new world for the prosecution of the domestic slave-trade:—It will save the South from a speedy bankruptcy:—It will furnish a precedent for *making new conquests of Mexican territory*. For if Texas may be forcibly separated from Mexico, and annexed to the American Union, why may not Coahuila, Tamaulipas, and Santa Fe? And most assuredly they will be, unless the people of the Northern States lift up their voices UNITEDLY and INSTANTLY, in inflexible opposition to the admission of Texas! If they yield in this instance, **THEY ARE LOST**—the Union will inevitably be dashed in pieces—and the sun of American freedom will set in an ocean of blood. It is impossible that **LIBERTY** and **SLAVERY** can reign together—one or the other must perish: they are mortal enemies, who are now engaged in a death-struggle for victory. Wo to the non-slaveholding States, if they consent to remain under the dominion of **SLAVERY**! if they conspire to take the life of **LIBERTY**! Let the prospect of the annexation of Texas agitate, alarm, inflame, **UNITE** their entire population; let the measure be resisted with invincible energy; let their Senators and Representatives in Congress witness such an expression of public sentiment, that not one of

* At a public dinner given to Messrs. Calhoun and Preston in Charleston, S. C., 'Mr. Calhoun,' says the Mercury, 'spoke of Texas—and at that name was interrupted with long and loud cheering; and his concluding words on that topic, pronounced with deep emotion,(1) that "**TEXAS MUST BE ANNEXED TO THE UNION,**" were answered with a universal burst of applause.'

them shall dare to 'go with the South'; let the pulpit and the press be faithful to their high trust; let public meetings be held in every city, town and village; and let all political and sectarian feuds be banished, that there may be a perfect union of feeling and action on this momentous question. Why should there not be this union? The question is not, whether abolitionists are right or wrong; nor whether slavery should be immediately or gradually abolished; nor whether Congress has, or has not, the power to emancipate the slaves in the District of Columbia: but it is, whether such a weight of political power shall be thrown into the scale of southern slavery, as to make northern liberty kick the beam; whether a foreign territory shall be added to our republic, for the express purpose of extending the empire of slavery, and invigorating both the foreign and domestic slave-trade; whether a **FREE LABOR OR SLAVE-DRIVING** policy shall govern the nation; whether, in fine, we shall run the hazard of the bloody wars enumerated by **MR. ADAMS**, or, for self-preservation, unyieldingly refuse our assent to the admission of Texas into the Union. All other questions, at the present crisis, sink into insignificance in comparison. No labor, no expense, can be too great in bringing Congress to a right decision.

GEORGE THOMPSON — BRITISH PHILANTHROPISTS AND CHRISTIANS.

At the time of issuing the last Annual Report of this Society, the intelligence of **GEORGE THOMPSON's** arrival in England had not reached this country. Ten thousand hearts, bound to him by the ties of christian love, were filled with the deepest anxiety for the safety of himself and family; for it was in the inclement month of December, that they were compelled to embark for their native shores. **MR. THOMPSON** landed at Liverpool, January 4th, 1836, after a rough and perilous passage of 38 days from St. John, New-Brunswick. At the beautiful abode of **JAMES CROPPER**,—renowned as a merchant, and not less as one of the noblest philanthropists of ancient or modern

times,—he was most cordially entertained. As soon as his presence in Liverpool was known, the Musical Fund Hall, a spacious and beautiful building, was generously offered to him gratis, for the delivery of as many addresses as he might choose to give, illustrative of his mission to this country. This was the first reception given to ‘the foreign emissary,’ ‘the scoundrel,’ ‘the fugitive from justice,’ as he was opprobriously called, during his sojourn among us. Next, a splendid Soiree was given to him in the Monteith Rooms, Glasgow, January 25th, 1836. ‘At 7 o’clock,’ says the Glasgow Chronicle, ‘the large and splendid hall was crowded with a brilliant assembly, awaiting in anxious expectation the illustrious individual whom they were met to honor. . . . *His reception was beyond description*, and forcibly exhibited how highly the assembly appreciated the valuable services he had rendered to the glorious cause of emancipation.’ The Rev. WILLIAM ANDERSON offered the following resolution, which was adopted by acclamation :

‘Resolved, That this meeting, with unmingled delight, welcomes the return of Mr. THOMPSON from America—seizes this early opportunity to express its high admiration of the blameless propriety, distinguished talent, and noble self-devotion, with which he has prosecuted the great object of his mission to the United States, in the face of national prejudice, interested denunciations, and lawless violence—and feels devoutly grateful to that God, who, amidst such opposition, has crowned his labors with signal success, and through many perils, brought him again safely to these shores.’

In support of the above resolution, Mr. A. spoke of Mr. THOMPSON in the following terms :

‘When our excellent guest first appeared among us, it was with a warm heart; he came to hearts as warm—warm with sympathy for the afflicted Negro, and warm with zeal for the breaking of his bonds. In these circumstances, one meeting was enough to unite us, one stroke was enough to weld the glowing materials into an indissoluble brotherhood. His personal, individual qualifications have, undoubtedly, had great influence in the matter. I refer not to his intellectual qualifications. Such gifts, unless connected with moral qualities, make no conquest of the heart. What, then, is the case of our friend in this respect? He came among us with powers of discussion, powers of debate, powers of analysing evidence, powers of classifying evidence, powers of exposing it, powers of confirming it, powers of reasoning, powers of declamation, powers of humor to make us laugh, powers of pathos to make us weep, powers of fire to stir us up to vengeance, powers as varied as those of the lyre of Timotheus, and of greater strength—(enthusiastic cheers)—such powers, that we all at once gave way, and put him in the first place, that of the elder brother of our Emancipation family—the Captain of our great moral enterprise. (Renewed cheering.) And how did

he bear himself under these honors? Did his morality break down? Did any of us ever see any symptom of self-conceit in him, or of nurtured vanity? Did any of us ever feel he had cause for complaining of his presuming over him? Never. We have indeed seen his eye, that which his Maker gave him to be used for holy purposes, gathering fire and sparkling with the consciousness of the power of the thunderbolt which he was forging within his bosom for the destruction of his adversary; but when he had launched it, and scathed him, and prostrated him, could we gather from any expression either of word or look, that he took personal consequence to himself for what he had done? (Cheers.) * * * * Our attention was turned to America, and dearly as we loved Mr. Thompson, and perilous although the adventure was, we grudged him not to the oppressed of that land. It appeared perilous from the beginning. In these perilous circumstances, we sent forth our friend; and now that he is with us again in health and life, let us bless God for his preservation. What has he accomplished? We expect much. We had had experience of his talents, his zeal, his fortitude, and of his prudence too. For, notwithstanding the ardor of his mind, and the provoking circumstances in which he managed our own cause, who ever heard an ungentelemanly expression drop from his lips? High as our confidence was in him, he has labored to an extent far beyond our calculation; and far beyond our calculation has been his success. He has kindled a flame in America, it is said, which will not be extinguished. This is not the correct representation. He has gone with the torch of liberty throughout its forests, kindling it at a thousand points, and soon it will be a universal conflagration.

The Rev. D. KING said—‘One galling circumstance with regard to slavery in the United States, was, it being so frequently held up by the Tories as an argument against liberal constitutions; and this could never be satisfactorily answered, until immediate, complete, and unconditional emancipation be obtained for the slave.’

On the evening of Jan. 29th, Mr. THOMPSON delivered an address in the Rev. Dr. WARDLAW’s chapel, the Rev. Dr. HUGH occupying the Chair. In introducing Mr. T. to the meeting, he said—

‘Ladies and gentlemen, you are assembled this evening to see again—and that is no small privilege—our well-known friend before you, (cheers) of whom, in his presence, I cannot trust myself to speak as I would were he absent, but whose eulogium it is unnecessary for me to attempt to pronounce in a meeting of my fellow-citizens of Glasgow assembled in this place, the well remembered scene of his former eloquent pleadings, protracted conflicts, and decisive and splendid triumphs. Mr. T. returns to us from the American shores, with his name and his well-earned fame antarshished. He has neither been defeated nor dishonored. He has retreated, not fled, from America. He has retreated, by the urgency of friends, from lawless physical violence; but he has never fled, and, if I mistake him not, he never will flee from any field of fair intellectual conflict. (Cheers.) He never went thither for the purpose of physical warfare, to fight the pro-slavery men with the fist, or the poignard, or the firelock; he went to proclaim in the ears of America, the voice of truth and humanity; and

thousands and tens of thousands of the best and most enlightened citizens of that country bear him witness that he has nobly fulfilled his mission; for I am confident, that documentary evidence, of the most unquestionable character, will support me, when I say, that when brute violence was not interposed against his person, and in every instance in which the conflict was mental alone, his success has not been less signal in America, than at any period of his career in Great Britain. (Cheers.)

Mr. THOMPSON next went to Edinburgh, and lectured before the Emancipation Society of that city, in the Rev. Dr. PEDDIE's chapel, to an audience of more than two thousand persons—the admission to the meeting being by tickets, sixpence each. On his appearance, he was 'received with several distinct rounds of enthusiastic applause,' and was repeatedly cheered throughout his lecture. His reception by the ladies and gentlemen forming the Committees of the Society alluded to, was very flattering. Resolutions highly complimentary to himself were unanimously adopted. An eloquent and strongly encomiastic Address was also presented to him, at an Entertainment given to him by the Inhabitants of Edinburgh, in the Assembly Rooms, George-street, on the evening of the 19th February, 1836. It commenced as follows:—'Esteemed and Honored Friend: This meeting have come together for the purpose of testifying the regard in which you are held by the friends of liberty and humanity in this city.' It was signed, in behalf of the meeting, by ROBERT KAYE GREVILLE, L. L. D. Chairman. Mr. THOMPSON gave a second public lecture in Edinburgh, in Rev. Dr. BROWNE's chapel, and 'was rapturously applauded as usual.' At the close of it, JOHN WIGHAM, Jr. Esq. was called to the chair, and a series of resolutions were moved by Rev. Dr. RITCHIE, and unanimously adopted by the meeting—among which was the following:

'Resolved, After what has been now and formerly stated by Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON, we are fully persuaded that he has in spirit, procedure, and success, exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the Emancipation Society—that by his firmness and prudence, zeal and perseverance in advocating the cause of the bondmen in the United States, he has amply redeemed every pledge given by him to the friends of human freedom, by whom he was deputed—that, amidst obloquy, peril, and physical violence, he continued to persevere, until, by the verdict of transatlantic friends, the best judges in this matter, his remaining longer would, without promoting the cause, have compromised his own safety. We acknowledge the good hand of Providence that has been around him, bid him cordial welcome to his native shore, renew our expressions

of confidence in him as a talented advocate of the liberties of man, and trust that a suitable field may soon be opened for the renewal of his exertions.'

At a subsequent meeting, at which the Lord Provost of Edinburgh presided, Mr. THOMPSON 'was received with tremendous applause,' and the thanks of the meeting given to him, 'for his intrepid, able and successful services in the cause of Universal Emancipation, and particularly for his arduous and persevering exertions during his recent mission to the United States of America.'

At the Second Annual Meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, held on the evening of 1st March,—Rev. Dr. WARDLAW in the chair,—it was unanimously

'Resolved, That this Society, in compliance with the invitation of many philanthropists in America, and in connection with other Societies in this country, having deputed Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON as their Agent to the United States, to co-operate with the friends of the abolition of Slavery there, in their efforts to awaken their countrymen to a sense of their duty towards more than two millions of their brethren held by them in cruel bondage, express their cordial approval, and high admiration of the power, intrepidity, and devotion, with which, in the face of formidable opposition, unsparring abuse, and great personal hazards, Mr. THOMPSON was enabled, by the grace of God, to pursue, and in a good measure to accomplish the great object of his very arduous mission.'

In London, Mr. THOMPSON gave several public lectures, in all of which he was received with loud applause. At a meeting held in Finsbury Chapel,—WILLIAM KNIGHT, Esq. in the Chair,—the following resolution was offered by EDWIN BALDWIN, Esq. :

'Resolved, That having heard Mr. Thompson's justification of the course he pursued in America, this meeting is decidedly of opinion, that, in the perilous position in which he was placed, and under the circumstances of great difficulty and trial, he fulfilled his duty as a man and a Christian, and is deserving the commendation of every friend of humanity.'

Judge JEREMIE, in seconding the resolution, bore his testimony to the able exertions of Mr. THOMPSON in promoting the cause in which he was engaged, and to the courageous manner in which he had advocated those principles which he had ever maintained. The resolution was then put, and carried by acclamation.

On Thursday, the 18th August, a meeting was held in Exeter Hall, London,—RICHARD PECK, Esq. late High Sheriff of

the city of London and the county of Middlesex, in the chair,—at which, after an eloquent address from Mr. THOMPSON, the following resolution was carried by acclamation, the meeting standing up :

‘ Resolved, That this meeting hail with delight, the safe return of their distinguished countryman to his native land, and respectfully offer him their warm and grateful acknowledgments for his philanthropic and self-denying labors in the United States of America, in behalf of their suffering and oppressed fellow-men.’

Having thus shown how exceedingly honorable has been the reception of our beloved coadjutor in the great cities of England and Scotland,—to the utter confusion of his base traducers in this country,—we must sum up all his labors and rewards, since his return, by saying, that in all parts of the British kingdom, wherever he has travelled, he has obtained the sympathy, applause and co-operation of the wise and good, without distinction of sect or party, in a manner and to an extent wholly unprecedented in the annals of philanthropy. Through his instrumentality, the most tender appeals, the most affecting expostulations, and the most faithful rebukes, have been addressed by almost every religious denomination in that country to its own in the United States, in relation to the awful guilt of American slavery, and the imperative duty of endeavoring to effect its immediate overthrow. If these have not been received, by the religious bodies for whom they were intended, in good temper and with christian comity in every instance,—they have nevertheless made a powerful impression upon the religious community at large, and gladdened the hearts, and strengthened the hands of all the true disciples of ‘ Jesus Christ, and him crucified,’ in this nominally christian land. If they had emanated from political instead of religious bodies of men,—from those who cherish hostility to liberty and free institutions, instead of those who profess to belong to a kingdom which is not of this world, and in which there are no national preferences nor foreign interests,—they would have excited no uneasiness of conscience, created no blush of shame, awakened no feeling of remorse, extorted no tear of contrition : but, bearing upon their form the impress of the spirit of Christ, and manifesting in their

language the intensity of holy solicitude,—and proceeding from the great body of CHRISTIAN BELIEVERS in England and Scotland, with an unanimity of sentiment which overleaps all sectarian divisions,—they startle the dull ear of the American Church like the noise of many waters, and cause American oppressors to quake as though the seventh angel had poured out his vial into the air. Yes—we assure our trans-atlantic brethren, who are so zealously laboring to effect the speedy abolition of slavery throughout the world, that they are aiding us most essentially in the great work of emancipation among ourselves, by their prayers, their testimonies, and their tears. Let them be stimulated anew to greater exertion by the reflection, that, though they are far removed from the immediate scene of action, and cannot directly participate in its perils and triumphs, their distant co-operation is none the less important—nay, it is indispensable : it is, moreover, fast bringing the strife to a speedy and glorious termination.

As specimens of the manner in which this vaunted land of liberty is frequently alluded to in England, in consequence of her oppression, let the following suffice. At a crowded anti-slavery meeting held in Birmingham last year, the Rev. Mr. MARSH rejoiced that ‘ he stood not now in America, where the professors of liberty would not allow him to open his mouth.’ The Rev. T. SWAN forcibly exclaimed—

‘ Blessed be God, in their highly favored country, the friends of the Negro were to be found. Britons were anxious that slaves might cease to breathe in any part of the world; *they were unacquainted with an aristocracy consisting merely in the color of the skin, and they despised that canting and dastardly republic on the other side of the Atlantic*, which boasted its love of liberty, and respect for the rights of man, whilst at the same time it held in the most degrading bondage, and shut out from celestial knowledge, from two to three millions of its subjects.’ ‘ The Christians of Birmingham would not be silent—they would speak out—they would cry aloud, and their voice would be heard in the Senate; it would enter the ears, and he trusted would move the heart of their King; it would go out to the ends of the earth; it would be heard in the islands of the West; it would cause the slaves to rejoice, the missionaries to triumph, and the tyrants to tremble—(cheers)—it would be heard in slave-cursed America, and the PAINTED HYPOCRITES would quail, and be convinced that they required A REVIVAL indeed. (Cheers.) ’

Says the Birmingham Reformer—

'A view of the national sin of America, after admiring the natural grandeur of their country, is like discovering the object of worship in the old temples of Egypt; where, after the stranger had walked bewildered through vistas of superb architecture, he came at last to the filthy idol,—a mouthing and obscene Ape, playing its pranks on a throne of gold! And this is the thing to be worshipped in America—a mockery and disgrace of the human character 'enthroned in the West'—a nation of slave-drivers masquerading it with the cap of liberty—a Christian people excelling all the heathen tribes in the world in systematic wickedness—a free republic exercising greater oppression than was ever heard of in the old king-scourged and priest-ridden despotisms of Europe! * * It is in vain to seek for words to express all we feel in view of these things—it must be the subject of mute astonishment and speechless horror. *The Almighty does not supply man with language to denounce these atrocities;* they excite ideas of abhorrence beyond our capacity of expression. These are infinite crimes, to be judged, condemned and punished by an infinite Being.'

Terrible as are these rebukes, they are all merited. From whom do they come? From the Tories of England? from the enemies of America? No! All who hate our country throughout the world, and who long to see it made a desolation, *rejoice in the existence of slavery in her midst, as a sufficient cause for her final overthrow*: while those who admire the theory of our government, who cherish a strong regard for our republican institutions, and who are struggling to subvert the despotisms of the old world, unite in calling upon us to let our oppressed fellow-countrymen go free, as the first step toward effecting the emancipation of a groaning world.

As evidence of the perfect unison which exists between the christian philanthropists of Great Britain and the abolitionists of the United States, we subjoin the following resolutions—promising that we might have occupied our entire Report with quotations, most cordially approving our principles and measures, and deeply sympathizing with us in the trials which we are called to endure. Such testimony is invaluable.

At a public meeting in Glasgow, Jan. 25, 1836, it was

'Resolved, That whilst this meeting deeply laments the conduct of many Christians in the United States, who, active in other fields of Christian duty, remain neutral in this momentous conflict, or lend their influences to the enemy, it has also great cause of thankfulness to God, that many able, enlightened, and pious philanthropists in all parts of the United States, have organized themselves with heroic firmness in the cause of immediate and universal negro emancipation—that this meeting affectionately professes its friendship and co-operation to these kindred Societies—desires to strengthen their hands and to cheer their hearts, and pledges itself to aid them by its active exertions, its sympathies, and its prayers.'

At a meeting of the Edinburgh Emancipation Society, in the Saloon of the Royal Hotel, Jan. 31, it was

‘Resolved, That with feelings of strong sympathy, respect, and increased affection towards all those American citizens, both male and female, who, far from shrinking, have remained firm and undaunted,—we feel called upon to remember them before the God of righteousness and peace, with whom all the swellings of human passion are as nothing, that He may continue to preserve them, and enable us to persevere in the great cause of universal emancipation, to which we now stand, more than ever, bound to adhere.’

The following resolution was also adopted in the same city, at a public meeting, Feb. 1 :

‘Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with our anti-slavery friends in the United States, under the persecutions to which they have been subjected. We would remind them, that their persecutors are the libellers of the American Constitution, which proclaims the equal rights of all men, while they withhold from 2,000,000 of their fellow-citizens every natural right, and persecute the preachers of the doctrines of the Constitution. That they are the libellers of their Maker, since they found their injustice on that color of the skin which God has given to the negro. That in this, if in any cause, our friends may boldly say, greater is ‘He that is with us, than all that can be against us.’ We congratulate them on the rapid advance of their cause, exhort them to press onwards, and bid them God speed.’

At the second annual meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, March 1, it was

‘Resolved, That this Society express the delight with which they have contemplated the zeal, self-denial, energy, and liberality which so many individuals and Societies, male and female, in America, have displayed in favor of the abolition of slavery—cordially congratulate these American brethren on the auspicious prospects of success which a gracious Providence is now opening, tending to cheer and revive their exertions—and pledge themselves to employ the best means in their power to encourage these devoted friends in their great and hopeful struggle in this cause of enlightened humanity.’

At a public meeting held in Exeter Hall, London, Aug. 18, it was

‘Resolved, That this meeting have learnt with great satisfaction, of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and tender to its President, Officers and Members, the expression of their fraternal regards and christian sympathies :—That they contemplate with delight the rapid multiplication of effective auxiliaries, already amounting to six hundred, based upon the doctrine of the essential sinfulness of slavery, and the consequent duty of immediate and unconditional emancipation :—And while they would encourage the Abolitionists of the United States to steadfast continuance and increased exertion in their great work, they would offer them their cordial and zealous co-operation.’

The appalling defection of the English Baptist delegates, Messrs. Cox and Hoxby, from the anti-slavery cause during their

calamitous visit to this country in 1835,—and the bold and fearless rebuke which they received from the lips of Mr. THOMPSON at the anniversary meeting in New-York,—are yet fresh in the memory of the American people. Those recreant delegates, by their time-serving policy, their refusal to countenance the labors of Mr. THOMPSON, their implied censure of his mission,* their exclusive association with the colonization and pro-slavery parties in the land, their inflexible determination not to take part in any anti-slavery meeting, their criminal silence on the subject of slavery in the Baptist Convention at Richmond, Virginia,—gave a severe blow to the cause of the down-trodden slave, and consequently gladdened the hearts of the slaveholders universally. It was confidently predicted by those who rejoiced in their guilty defection, that they would be sustained in their course by the Baptist churches in England, and that Mr. THOMPSON would be visited with severe censure for his condemnatory language at New York. Since the return of these delegates, they have published a narrative of their visit to this country, in which they endeavor to gloss over their unworthy conduct, but in vain. For, though they reached the English shore several months in advance of Mr. THOMPSON, and were therefore enabled to tell their own story without contradiction during his absence, yet they failed to satisfy their own denomination, and have since been buried beneath an avalanche of British indignation. Neither of them dared to confront Mr. THOMPSON before a British audience, with regard to the propriety of their course in America.

* The following is the note of Dr. Cox, declining attendance at the anniversary meeting in New-York :

MAY 12, 1835.

Gentlemen—If I decline the honor of appearing on your platform this day, on occasion of your anniversary meeting, I must be understood to assume a position of NEUTRALITY, not with regard to those great principles and objects which it is well known Britain in general, and our denomination in particular, have maintained and promoted, but with regard solely, to the political bearings of the question, with which, as a stranger, a foreigner, a visitor, I could not attempt to intermeddle.

I am, gentlemen, yours respectfully,

F. A. COX.

This note was hailed by the enemies of emancipation as expressly condemnatory of Mr. Thompson's agency. Nobody asked or expected him or his colleague to 'meddle with the political bearings of the question,' but simply to lift up their voices against slavery on moral and religious grounds.

A public discussion on American slavery was held in the Rev. Dr. WARDLAW's Chapel, Glasgow, on the evenings of the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th of June, 1836, between Mr. THOMPSON and ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE, 'Delegate from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, to the Congregational Union of England and Wales.' Mr. T. was the challenger. Dr. WARDLAW occupied the chair. In introducing the disputants to the audience, he spoke of Mr. THOMPSON in the following strain:—'He requires no introduction. He is no stranger. You know him. You know his person; you know his character; you know his sentiments; you know his eloquence; you know his zeal; you know his devotedness to his cause. These you have witnessed—these you have approved.' Even the haughty and scornful Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, who was so ready in this country to believe that Mr. T. was 'a felon,' was compelled to say to the audience, in his exordium—'Their affections and feelings had long been engaged to his opponent in this cause.' As a full and accurate Report of this important Discussion, corrected by the speakers themselves, has been very widely circulated, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon it, in this connexion. If any man could have successfully defended the American church and the American people, from the charge of upholding that horrid system which is laying waste so large a portion of God's heritage, Mr. BRECKINRIDGE would have been spared the shame and disgrace of an overwhelming defeat;—for his talents are of the highest order, and as a debater he is fluent, expert, eloquent. No candid mind can examine the Discussion, without perceiving the vast disparity existing between the disputants, not so much on the score of tact and ability, as of temper, urbanity, argument, and veracity. Mr. BRECKINRIDGE seemed to find no relief from the burden of his malevolence toward his gifted opponent and the abolitionists of Great Britain, although he discharged an unequalled quantity of bile upon them as often as he addressed his auditors. Being compelled (to use his own confession) to 'rely almost entirely upon mere memory' for his facts,—

for the all-sufficient reason, that he could find no documents to answer his purpose,—he behaved as one madly beating the air, and was filled with guilty confusion and wild desperation. His whole defence is one great, glaring falsehood—one mass of bitter defamation and self-evident contradiction—fierce in its spirit, spiteful in its tone, false in its matter, and unhallowed in its object. Indeed, so utterly destitute is it of truth, and so perfectly suicidal are its general statements, that even the proslavery presses of this country have been deterred from giving it publicity. On the other hand, the fairness, the magnanimity, the good temper, manifested by Mr. THOMPSON, under the most insulting taunts and malicious provocations, must be apparent even to the most prejudiced reader. While Mr. BRECKINRIDGE had nothing better to depend upon than his ‘memory’ to rebut the most solemn and tremendous accusations against the American Church, Mr. THOMPSON sustained those accusations by plenary evidence in the shape of official documents published by various religious bodies in the United States, who are hostile to all abolition movements. The result of the discussion, therefore, was, not only to raise the latter individual to a more exalted height, if possible, in the estimation of British christians, but to deepen their convictions of our NATIONAL guilt, notwithstanding the temerity of Mr. B’s assertion, that ‘there was, properly speaking, *no such thing as American slavery*,’ that ‘it was absurd to talk of it,’ and that ‘it was not an American question’ !!

As it was one of the conditions of the discussion, that no vote should be taken at the close, expressive of the mind of the audience, the Glasgow Emancipation Society delayed convening a public meeting, ‘for the purpose of expressing their own judgment, and calling for the concurrence of their fellow-citizens, till some time had been allowed for the circulation and perusal of the controversy, as issued from the press.’ It was not, therefore, until the 1st of August, 1836, that such a meeting was held in the Rev. Dr. HEUGH’S Chapel, at which the venerable ROBERT GRAHAME was called to the Chair by acclamation. Its

object was, in the language of the public advertisement, to 'express the sentiments of the Society in reference to the recent discussion on American Slavery, so far as Mr. THOMPSON is concerned; *their approbation of his conduct in the United States*; their unabated confidence in him as their Agent; and their unalterable attachment to the great principle of immediate, unconditional, and universal emancipation.' The audience was numerous and highly respectable. Addresses were made by Drs. WARDLAW and HEUGH, and several other gentlemen. The speech of Dr. WARDLAW was one of the happiest efforts of his great and good mind, full of moral sublimity, lovely in its temper, eloquent in its diction, and worthy of all praise. After referring in grateful terms to those friends of the anti-slavery cause in England, who had been most active in achieving the emancipation of 800,000 slaves in the British Colonies, he bestowed the following panegyric upon Mr. THOMPSON:

'Amongst those to whom, on this ground, obligation ought to be felt and expressed by us, the subject of the resolution I am about to propose to you, holds no inferior place. He exerted a power over the public mind of no ordinary amount. He brought up the cause in our own city, when it had long languished for want of adequate stimulation. He put new life into it; and he kept that life in vigor till the conquest was achieved. We shall not soon forget the triumphant result of his controversy, maintained in this our city, hand to hand, foot to foot, with the phalanx of the colonial interest—headed at that time by their own chosen champion—but a champion whom, for their own sakes, I forbear to name—as I believe they are all as much ashamed of him as we could wish them to be. With the ability, the zeal, the eloquence, the energy, the steadfastness of principle, the exhausting and indefatigable perseverance of our champion, we were more than satisfied. We expressed our satisfaction; and we expressed it not in words merely, but practically. The most decided and flattering proof that can be given of satisfaction with an agent whom we have employed in one work, is to set him to another. We did so. He had done his duty so nobly in the home department of the great cause he had at heart, that, when we had achieved our object in the disenthralment of the slaves in our own dependencies, and we looked abroad upon the world for other fields of philanthropic effort, we naturally and unanimously turned our eyes to him, believing that he who had done so well at home, would do equally well abroad.'

* * * *

'On the ground, then, the broad ground of universal philanthropy, which allows no man to say, "Am I my brother's keeper?" we looked to America. On the ground of the Trans-Atlantic States owing their origin to Britain, and being kindred blood with ourselves, we looked to America. On the ground of their having derived their very slavery from us, and having had it fostered by our example, we looked to America. And when thus, in common with our brethren in the Northern and Southern Metropolis, we looked to America, and resolved on a mission of benevolence to that

land, all eyes simultaneously looked to George Thompson, as the man, of all others, most eminently fitted for the charge of the important and difficult trust. We sent him to America. He went with the best wishes of the benevolent, and the fervent prayers of the pious. He remained in the faithful, laborious and perilous execution of the commission entrusted to him, as long as it could be done without the actual sacrifice of life—till it would have been the insanity of hardihood to have persisted longer. He returned. We hailed his arrival. We privately and publicly testified our approbation of the course he had pursued. The present question is—are we now prepared to retract that approbation? Has the ordeal through which our friend and commissioned agent has recently passed, altered our minds, and disposed us to substitute for it a sentence of condemnation? Are we now ready to cashier him,—to censure him,—to send him to Coventry,—to deprive him of his commission, and declare him disqualified for ever holding another, unworthy of all future service? I express my own judgment in the shortest of all monosyllables: I say, No; and the resolution which I hold in my hand, calls upon you to say, No. I consider the recent controversy as having yielded only fresh ground for confidence; as having fully proved that the challenge he had issued was no empty bravado, but it was founded in conscious sincerity, in the fullest conviction of rectitude of principle, of truth, of facts, of force of argument, and of a fair prospect, not of mere victory, but of benefit to his cause. I shrink not from saying of him thus publicly, what I have said more privately in the Committee, that I consider him, in this as in former controversies, as having borne himself, in every respect, creditably to his character and to his cause; to have established, to the full, his previous statements; to have successfully vindicated his Trans-Atlantic proceedings; to have justified the condemnation of American colonization schemes; and to have fairly fastened the guilt of slavery on the Government and people of the United States; that I consider him, in a word, as having come out of this seven-times-heated furnace unscathed—without a ‘hair of his head singed, or the smell of fire having passed upon him.’ If this meeting are of one mind with me, they will accept the following resolution:—

‘Resolved, That, in the deliberate judgment of this meeting, the wish announced by Mr. George Thompson to meet publicly any antagonist, especially any minister of the Gospel from the United States, on the subject of American Slavery, or on any one of the branches of that subject, was dictated by a well-founded consciousness of the integrity of his purpose and assurance of the correctness of his facts:—and that the recent discussion in this city, between him and the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, of Baltimore, has left, not merely unshaken, but confirmed and augmented, their confidence in the rectitude of his principles, the purity of his motives, the propriety of his measures, the fidelity of his statements, and the straight-forward honesty and undaunted intrepidity of his zeal.

‘I conclude by saying, that, in consequence of the recent discussion, George Thompson, instead of having sunk, has risen in my estimation, both as to personal character and as to official ability and trustworthiness; and never stood higher in my regard than at the present moment.’

Of Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, Dr. W. said—‘I cannot but condemn the contumelious and sarcastic bitterness of some of his personalities, and *I conceive him to have failed in argument on every point that was worth contending for.* His defence of the ministers and churches of America was feeble, inefficient, and fruitless. *The facts against him were overwhelming.*’

MASSACHUSETTS.

As the message of Gov. EVERETT, of January last, was not laid before the Legislature of this State, in season to be examined in the last Annual Report, it would be unpardonable to suffer that servile document to pass without notice or condemnation, in the present Report. A considerable portion of the message was occupied with the subject of slavery, which was treated in a manner calculated to shock the friends, and to animate the foes of human liberty, universally. 'In this State, and several of our sister States,' says the Governor, 'slavery has long been held in public estimation as AN EVIL OF THE FIRST MAGNITUDE.' To sustain his assertion, he gravely adds, that the Union could not have been formed, if the incorporation, extension and preservation of this 'evil of the first magnitude' had not been expressly guarantied to the South by the North as 'a point of the highest public policy'! And he further adds, that 'every thing that tends to disturb the relations created by this compact is at war with its spirit.' So that whoever undertakes to oppose 'an evil of the FIRST MAGNITUDE,' and to call for its suppression, is a disturber of the peace, a recreant American, and, in the opinion of his Excellency, may be 'prosecuted at common law.' He soothingly informs the people, that 'a *conciliatory forbearance* would leave this whole *painful subject* where the Constitution leaves it, with the States where it exists, and in the hands of an all-wise Providence, who, *in his own good time*, is able to cause it to disappear, like the slavery of the ancient world, under the gradual operation of the gentle spirit of Christianity.' And—with marvellous consistency—in order to induce the yeomanry of this Commonwealth *to make a truce with oppression*, he tells them 'to imitate the example of our fathers,—the Adamses and Hancocks, and other eminent patriots of the revolution, fresh from the BATTLES OF LIBERTY'! He might just as pertinently have cited the example of the Apostles, in their attacks upon ancient idolatry, as a dissuasion from the foreign missionary enterprises of the present day! If, as the Governor affirms, the Constitu-

tion has nothing to do with slavery, but 'leaves it with the States where it exists,' then slavery cannot claim any constitutional sanction or support, and is not 'a relation created by the compact.' Like intemperance, lewdness, gambling, or any other 'evil,' whether of 'the first magnitude' or otherwise, it may be combatted without disloyalty, nay, it may not be tolerated without great criminality. It may be fairly doubted, whether Gov. EVERETT, if he had lived cotemporary with 'the Adamses and Hancocks, and other eminent patriots of the revolution,' would have dissuaded them from fighting 'the battles of liberty,' or mocked them with the assurance that 'an all-wise Providence, in his own good time,' was able to cause their oppression to disappear—and, therefore, they had better 'leave the whole painful subject' with old King George and Lord North!

While in Congress, a few years since, his Excellency made a bold defence of southern slavery, in the following style:

'Sir,' said he, addressing the Speaker, 'I am no soldier. My habits and education are very unmilitary; but there is no cause in which I would sooner buckle a knapsack on my back, and put a musket on my shoulder, than that of putting down a servile insurrection at the South'!!*—'The slaves of this country are better clothed and fed than the peasantry of some of the most prosperous States of Europe'!†—'The great relation of SERVITUDE, in some form or other, with greater or less departure from the theoretic equality of men, is INSEPARABLE FROM OUR NATURE'!—'Domestic slavery is not, in my judgment, to be set down as an immoral or irreligious relation'!!—'It is a condition of life, as well as ANY OTHER, to be justified by MORALITY, RELIGION, and international law'!‡

If such were the impious sentiments of EDWARD EVERETT in Congress, it is perfectly in character for him, as Governor of this Commonwealth, to say in his annual message—

'The patriotism (!) of all classes of citizens must be invoked to ~~DO~~ ABSTAIN FROM A DISCUSSION, ~~DO~~ which, by exasperating the master, can have no other effect (!) than to render more oppressive the condition of the slave; and which, if not abandoned, there is great reason to fear, will prove THE ROCK ON WHICH THE UNION WILL SPLIT'!

* So that a system which is full of all uncleanness, robbery, cruelty, oppression and murder, might be prolonged ad infinitum!

† 'An evil of the first magnitude'!

‡ 'Sir, I envy neither the head nor the heart of that man from the North, who rises here to defend slavery upon principle!'—JOHN RANDOLPH, in reply to Mr. EVERETT.

What ! are the people of Massachusetts to be told,—by their own servant, too !—what subjects they may, or may not, examine and discuss ! What ! may *he* stand up in advocacy of the *divine right* of SLAVEHOLDERS, and may not *they*—his own constituents—be allowed to question that right ! What ! is that ‘relation,’ which is ‘inseparable from our nature,’ which is ‘justified by morality and religion,’ and in defence of which the Governor stands ready to shoulder his musket, too delicate, too sacred, to admit of the slightest examination ! What ! must freemen consent to be gagged, because tyrants are exasperated at their liberty of speech ! What ! is FREE DISCUSSION a rock, which, if not carefully shunned, will dash our Union in pieces ! Such are the opinions of our present Chief Magistrate. For intelligent men will observe, that it is *free discussion*—not *slavery*—which he thinks ought to be abandoned ! that it is our remonstrance against the continuance of ‘an evil of the first magnitude’—*not the evil itself*—that threatens the existence of the Union ! What more does the Emperor of Austria, or the Autocrat of Russia, desire, than that his subjects shall ‘abstain from a discussion’ of the principles of civil and religious liberty ? What more did the mother country require of our ‘Adamses and Hancocks,’ than that they should cease to declaim against taxation without representation, and in favor of the inalienable rights of man ? If the people may discuss the subject of human rights only when it is agreeable to the feelings of the tyrant—if they are bound to abstain from its discussion when it exasperates him—then farewell to the hopes of a groaning world ! Yet—a descendant of the pilgrims, and the every day eulogist of our revolutionary fathers—dares to affirm, in a high official capacity, that we, the people of Massachusetts, are solemnly obligated to carry our *patriotism* so far as to be voiceless, tongueless, insensate, deaf and blind, though millions of our fellow-countrymen are held in galling fetters—though we ourselves are outlawed, if hostile to slavery, in one half of our country ! What aggravates his guilt is, that he wrote his message in full view of those dreadful outrages and

sanguinary requisitions, on the part of the South, which are to blacken the pages of American history through all time, but which he had no disposition to rebuke, and found no occasion to mention.

Gov. EVERETT places himself in a fearful attitude, truly. 'There is no cause in which he would sooner buckle a knapsack on his back, and put a musket on his shoulder,' than in defence of that very 'evil' which 'an all-wise Providence, in his own good time, will cause to disappear'!—Thus we have EDWARD EVERETT, 'armed and equipped as the law directs,' *versus* JEHOVAH OF HOSTS! Again: 'Domestic slavery is justified by morality and religion'—yet it is ultimately to disappear before 'the gentle spirit of Christianity.' Here we have RELIGION *versus* CHRISTIANITY!

CALL FOR PENAL ENACTMENTS.

Doubtless, encouraged by the fact, that such a sturdy supporter of slavery filled the gubernatorial chair in this Commonwealth, the Governors of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, transmitted to his Excellency certain documents emanating from the legislative bodies of those States, to be laid by him before the Legislature of Massachusetts, at its last session. This was accordingly done, but unaccompanied by a single word expressive of surprise or disapprobation on the part of the Governor, in relation to their insolent demands. These documents, requiring the passage of a gag-law in Massachusetts on the subject of slavery, were referred to a joint committee, consisting of Messrs. LUNT and CHAPIN of the Senate, and Messrs. LUCAS, CORBETT and MOSELY of the House.

By order of the Managers of this Society, the Corresponding Secretary (Rev. Mr. MAY,) addressed a letter to the Chairman of this Committee, asking permission to appear before them, and show reasons why there should be no legislative action, condemnatory of the abolitionists. The request was granted; and on the 4th of March, the proposed interview took

place, in the chamber of the Representatives. Of the insolent and despotic manner in which the Chairman (Mr. GEORGE LUNT) behaved on that and a subsequent occasion, the people of this Commonwealth, and the whole country, have already been informed. Nothing could have been more ungentlemanly or outrageous.* The gentlemen who addressed, or, rather, who attempted to address the Committee, (for they were all, more or less, prohibited a free utterance of their sentiments,) were Messrs. ELLIS GRAY LORING, SAMUEL E. SEWALL, SAMUEL J. MAY, CHARLES FOLLEN, WILLIAM GOODELL, and WM. LLOYD GARRISON. The occasion was one of deep and solemn interest, and drew together a highly respectable audience, 'made up of refined ladies, (among them the celebrated Miss HARRIET MARTINEAU of England,) members of the Legislature, highly educated men, and religious and moral citizens.' The speeches were characterized by an earnest spirit, a grave manner, deep feeling, and uncommon intellectual power, in all respects worthy of that great crisis. Posterity will read them with delight and admiration.

In their Report, the Committee eulogize the slavish demands of the South upon the Legislature, to enact PENAL LAWS for the suppression of anti-slavery societies, meetings and publications, as 'of the most solemn and *affecting* character'—as 'appeals to our justice as men; to our sympathies as brethren; to our patriotism as citizens; to the memory of the common perils and triumphs of our ancestors and theirs; to all the better emotions of our nature; to our respect for the Constitution; to our regard for the laws; to our value for the institutions of our country; to our hope for the security of all those blessings which the Union, and that only, can preserve to us'!!! They further declare, that 'the right of the master to the slave is as undoubt-

* Dr. Gamaliel Bradford and George Bond, Esq. (at the second interview,) were so indignant in witnessing his scandalous behaviour, that, though not connected with the anti-slavery cause, they remonstrated in decisive and eloquent terms against such treatment. Hon. Mr. Whitmarsh in the Senate, and Robert Rantoul, George S. Hillard, and G. H. Durfee, Esqs. in the House, declared in their place that the committee were highly blameworthy—Mr. Mosely excepted, who behaved in a very honorable manner.

ed as the right to any other property'—that 'any attempt, whether direct or indirect, to deprive him of this property, as of any other, is a violation of the fixed laws of social policy, as well as of the ordinary rules of moral obligation'—that 'his argument, that *the property is his own*, would seem to be unanswerable'—that 'they [the Committee] feel that the conduct of the abolitionists is not only wrong in policy, but *erroneous in morals*'—that it is their duty, 'so far as may be in their power, to recommend those measures which may seem best adapted to stay the progress of the evil'—&c. &c. Moreover, they endorse all the violent and calumnious charges brought against the abolitionists by the South, as strictly applicable. Finally, they append to their Report a string of resolutions, 'expressing their entire disapprobation of the doctrines avowed, and the general measures pursued, by such as agitate the question of slavery'—and urging them 'to leave the whole affair in the keeping of a merciful Providence, who will not require of any man or nation, an unreasonable account'! But they say nothing about the enactment of any PENAL LAWS!

The Report, though ordered to be printed by the Senate, was laid upon the table, to find an eternal sleep.*

IMPORTANT DECISION.

In August last, the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts unanimously decided, in the case of the slave-child *MED*,† brought by one Mary Slater from New-Orleans to Boston, that '*an owner of a slave in another State where slavery is warranted by law, voluntarily bringing such slave into this State, has no authority to detain him against his will, or to carry him out of the State against his consent, for the purpose of being held in slavery.*' This opinion was delivered by SHAW, C. J.

* At the next election, the Hon. Mr. LUNT could not be re-elected on account of his Report. He could not obtain even a nomination as a candidate for the Senate!

† See the pamphlet, containing the Arguments of Counsel, on both sides, and the Opinion of the Court, in the case of *Commonwealth vs. Aves*. This suit was prosecuted by that watchful, heroic, unfaltering band, the BOSTON FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. It is to WOMAN, therefore, that Humanity owes this great decision. Those indefatigable friends of human liberty, Samuel E. Sewall and Ellis Gray Loring, Esqrs. assisted by Rufus Choate, Esq. conducted the plea for the Commonwealth. The Argument of Mr. Loring was a masterly effort, and has obtained for him no small amount of honorable and enduring renown.

CONCLUSION.

[63] We have extended this Report much beyond the limits assigned by us at the outset; and yet,—so eventful has been the past year, so fraught with good and evil to our blessed cause, so crowded with occurrences worthy of being chronicled in these pages,—we have scarcely given a bird's-eye view of what has transpired, or of what immediately remains to be accomplished. Although the progress of anti-slavery principles has been rapidly onward, and the number of anti-slavery converts truly multitudinous—and although a thousand incidents have served to cheer our hearts and strengthen our hands, mightily—still we have preferred rather to dwell upon the formidable obstacles yet to be overcome, and the fearful crisis yet to be encountered, than to recount the number of our triumphs, or indulge ourselves by reposing, even *pro tempore*, upon the toils of the past. It is allowable, indeed, occasionally to stop and survey the ground won from the enemy, by way of encouragement in the strife of Christ with Belial: but it is better always to be occupied with thoughts of new conquests, while the Prince of Darkness retains his supremacy, than to be admiring the trophies we have gathered in our past encounters. It is certainly yet problematical, which of the two deadly antagonists now struggling for mastery in our country, LIBERTY or SLAVERY, will prove victorious. It is yet extremely doubtful, whether our land is recoverable from the terrible maladies preying upon her constitution. While these things are so, it behooves us all to beware how we suffer ourselves to be deluded by the notion, that the danger has passed, and all is safe.

During the past year, Death has been busy in selecting victims of no ordinary worth, of no limited influence, from our long-extended ranks. Among those 'shining marks,' at whom his poisoned arrows have been fatally aimed, are those late venerable and patriarchal philanthropists, MOSES BROWN of Providence, R. I. and GEORGE BENSON of Brooklyn, Connecticut—the latter formerly the President of this Society when it was known by the title of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society. 'They being dead, yet speak.' Three of the Signers of the Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention, have also fallen—THOMAS SHIPLEY and Dr. EDWIN P. ATLEE, of Philadelphia, Pa. (members of the Society of Friends, and pre-eminently distinguished for their active philanthropy and tireless zeal,) and the Rev. DANIEL S. SOUTHMAYD, an early and efficient supporter of the anti-slavery cause. Another strong, unblenching and most lovely coadjutor perished in the youthful yet perfectly mature person of HENRY EGBERT BENSON, youngest son of the lamented George Benson, and late General Agent and Recording Secretary of this Society. On the roll of American philanthropists, the name of this young martyr should shine among the best and brightest—for he hastened his exit by his unmitigated labors to loose the slave from his chains. As the publication of this Report has been delayed, we are called upon to record the loss of another most valuable and widely lamented co-laborer, Miss ANN GREENE CHAPMAN, daughter of Henry Chapman, Esq. and one of the most efficient members of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. She died suddenly, with the peace of Heaven resting on her brow and the love of God burning in her soul—bequeathing (among other benevolent charities) one thousand dollars to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and her example to mankind—a legacy both rich and rare.

But we can spare these beloved friends. Our trust is not in an arm of flesh, but in the Lord Almighty. It is His glorious prerogative to undo the heavy burden, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free. 'Hath he said, and shall he not do it? Hath he spoken, and shall it not come to pass?']

To the Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

On reading the account of the last annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, my attention was particularly arrested by that part of Mr. Johnson's speech,* in which he gives an account of a most barbarous murder, of which, he states, he was an eye-witness. As it is reported, it is without name, or date, or place, and no clue is given, by which its truth or falsity can be brought to the test. The Rev. Dr. Dwight, in his poem called *Greenfield Hill*, published in 1794, alludes to a similar case of cruelty in the following lines :

‘Why streams the life-blood from that female’s throat?
She sprinkled gravy on a guest’s new coat!’

That a murder, equally atrocious, was committed in Georgia, about eight years afterwards, Mr. Johnson positively declares. His story, which I took from his own lips, is in substance as follows :—

‘I am a native of Africa, and belong to the Kisse tribe, who reside in the interior many hundred miles, a six weeks’ journey from the mouth of the Gambia. I was kidnapped when I was about the age of nine years, by persons of the Vey tribe, and was brought down to the coast near Cape Mount, and sold to a Dr. Jennings, who sold me to Capt. Edward Boss of Newport, by whom I was brought to Savannah in the ship *Hunter*, commanded by Capt. Robert Watt or Watts. I was then sold to Commodore Oliver Bowen, who sent me to a Mr. Newman, to learn to work on a farm at a place called White Bluff. In consequence of being whipped, I returned to Commodore Bowen, who moved to Pine Barren, then to Augusta, where he fought a duel with a Major Dennis, by whom he was shot in the hip, and died in about two months. By his will, he set his two slaves, Eliphalet and myself, free at his death. This will, his nephew, Jabez, violated, by selling Eliphalet to a Mr. Severn Jones of Augusta, and keeping me unlawfully as his slave. After a few years, Jabez Bowen was chosen a Judge of the Circuit Court. While he was in Savannah, he bought eleven slaves, took them to Waynesboro’, thence he returned to Savannah, thence to Bullock county, thence on his circuit to Edlingham, thence to St. Mary’s. At this place, about the year 1802, there was a dinner party at the house of a Mr. McIntosh. There were at the table, lawyers Bullock and Flournoy, Judge Mitchell, Christopher Olney of Providence, and the mistress or concubine of McIntosh. During the sitting, Mr. Bullock called to Delia, a slave about 17 years of age, to hand him the gravy. She did so, and in doing it, accidentally spilt some of it on the gown of the female at the table. On seeing this, McIntosh rose in great wrath, seized the carving-knife with one hand, and Delia with the other, dragged her to the wood pile, and cut her throat!! She died instantly. Some of the guests, with myself, rushed to the door and witnessed the transaction. Mr. McIntosh dropped the knife, and called for a bowl of water to wash his hands. Mr. Olney, not being used to ‘their ways,’ immediately called for his horse, and rode off, and was told the next day that he had better return to the North, than find fault with their customs. In a few years, my master Bowen became deranged, and was taken to Providence, thence to Uxbridge by his brother Henry, and put under the care of a Dr. Willard. Some time after that, he became rational, and returned to Providence; became deranged again, and was sent to Philadelphia, where he died. From Providence I ran away to Boston, where I was taken and put in jail, in which I staid seven days, but was sent back to Providence, where I remained a year or two, and was then legally manumitted.’

Here, Sir, we have the particulars of the horrid transaction. If they are true, the fiend McIntosh, was only an imitator of his brother fiend, the St. Domingo planter. If false, the friends of humanity will rejoice, though at the expense of Mr. Johnson’s veracity. Let the investigation be made, and the truth, whatever it is, be made known.

Yours truly,

JOSHUA COFFIN.

* See Proceedings of the Society, page xxvi.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
AT ITS
FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING.

**HELD AT BOSTON, JAN. 25, 1837, IN THE LOFT OF THE STABLE
ATTACHED TO THE MARLBORO' HOTEL.**

THE meeting was opened by an appropriate prayer, by Rev. Mr. Fitch of Boston; the President, JOSEPH SOUTHWICK, Esq. of Boston, in the Chair.

The Report of the Board of Managers was called for; when Mr. Garrison, the Corresponding Secretary, rose and apologized for not having been able to submit the Report to the Board, for want of time to prepare it in season; and therefore he alone was responsible for the sentiments it contained.

Before proceeding to the reading of the Report, he also remarked, that there might be some fears, on the part of the audience, in regard to the security of the Loft; but he assured them that the floor was well propped; and he felt gratified with the consciousness that Abolition to-day, as on every day, stands upon a *stable* foundation. (Applause.)

Mr. Garrison then read the Report, which was listened to with profound attention, and received with much applause.

Rev. Moses Thacher moved that the Report be accepted, and printed under the direction and supervision of the Board.

Rev. Mr. MAY said, this Report contained just what was needed in the present emergency. A delusion extensively prevails, on the subject discussed in that document. It is said we cannot touch slavery in the District of Columbia. Sir, we can touch it; and this Report, which so ably maintains the true ground, on this subject, ought to go forth throughout our whole country, with the sanction of this Society.

Mr. THACHER said, he was fully prepared to adopt the motion of Mr. May; and he hoped the Board would take special care that Senators and Members of Congress be supplied with copies of it. It is the very thing we need. It shows us what we

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were, and what we must be; and that no man, having put on his armor, can put it off till the victory is won. Sir, the great struggle is yet to come. This is evident from the fact that we meet here. Do 'gentlemen of property and standing' think they can stop the progress of free discussion? I trust that Abolition will this day receive a new impetus. Let this Report be published to the extent of the means of the Society; and if there are not means, means must be raised. Let it be sent through the South, that the despot may learn that 'the thing is certain, and the interpretation sure.

Rev. Mr. BRONSON, of Boston, also sustained the motion in a brief, but very energetic and eloquent manner.

Rev. Mr. GROSVENOR said, I rejoice that, at this crisis, this Report is to go out. It is just what we need. I hope it will be a *Report* that will sound through the State, and reverberate upon the distant hills and mountains! I know from what *mind* it has emanated. Sir, while laboring in this cause in the country, I have found the need of just such a document as this. The grand obstacle is not opposition, but apathy and error in regard to the real ground of danger. This is more to be dreaded than opposition. The impression prevails extensively in the country, that we are in no danger from the influence of Southern slavery. 'It cannot be,' say the yeomanry who inhabit the hills of New England, 'that the liberties of the North are in danger.' That Report is adapted, in every part, to show that they are mistaken. We are just now at the point to which every nation comes before it goes to ruin. Here is our danger. The Report shows it. Congress has trampled upon the right of petition. Shall we here be told that we must not speak aught against those in authority? Then why speak at all? Surely, if we may not call in question the doings of those who make and administer our laws, we are already slaves. I rejoice to know that it is the rising spirit of the country that is to redeem this city. The country are for us. Witness the vote of the General Court, granting us their hall. Shall we not increase the tide, till it rises still higher, till it pours down and covers the highest spires in this city? Sir, it is not the first time that I have been in a barn. When I go back and tell the yeomanry of the country that I have discussed the principles of liberty and the rights of man in a *barn*, in Boston, they will reply, 'That is nothing new to us; we have often discussed the same subject in our barns. We understand it.'

The motion for the acceptance, printing, and extensive circulation of the Report, was carried unanimously; and it was resolved to take up a collection, during the session of the Society, by subscriptions and donations, for the publication of the Report, and other purposes. In speaking upon this subject, Mr. Garrison remarked that the first meeting of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society was held in a barn; and one man said if the meeting had been held in the church, he could have afforded to give only five dollars; but now he was rich enough to give fifty dollars.

Rev. MOSES THACHER asked leave to make a communication to the society now, because he must leave the city before the afternoon session. He had recently received a letter from a lady, who had recently been held as property. Yes, I'll call her a *lady* now—she is in the British dominions, in Halifax—she is a *lady* there, though she be called a slave here. I have had the pleasure of seeing her, and a more delicate and conscientious lady I have seldom seen. In the letter of which I speak, she requests me to return her thanks to the citizens of Boston, for the advice, counsel, and assistance they had given her, in gaining her freedom. She is now where she can walk abroad, without fear—she has escaped her pursuers—bloodhounds! I feel that a large portion of these thanks are due to those heroic ladies, who were able to maintain unbroken ranks, and secure a judicious retreat for their sister, in the hour

of peril. A flush of shame comes over my cheeks, that there is not a spot in these United States where a fugitive from bondage and degradation can be safe—that such a person, guilty of no crime, must flee for protection to the dominions of a power with whom our fathers, but a little while ago, contended for liberty of speech and of the press.

The Treasurer (Henry G. Chapman, Esq.) gave an abstract of the Report of the receipts and expenditures of the Society, during the past year. The receipts had been upwards of \$3700, of which all but \$89 had been expended under the direction of the Board of Managers.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Esq. in the Chair—prayer by Rev. Timothy Merritt, late co-editor of the Methodist Christian Advocate and Journal.

Rev. Mr. Grosvenor offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That immediate emancipation being required by God, is a duty, and is safe.

Mr. GROSVENOR said, It is almost an insult to the understandings of this audience, to ask them to listen to evidence of the truth contained in the resolution. Yet, as it is never amiss to refresh recollection, let me refer them to a passage or two of the Bible ; for that blessed book is the corner-stone of the edifice we are building. I would mention the 22d chap. of Jeremiah. I shall read but a few of the first verses, hoping that every person here will read the whole when he goes home. It contains important principles—those which we are inculcating—those which in candor he will be constrained to adopt. ‘Thus saith the Lord : go down to the house of the king of Judah, and speak there this word. And say : Hear the word of the Lord, O King of Judah, that sitteth upon the throne of David, thou and thy servants, and thy people, that enter in by these gates.’ God here sends a message to a *government*—‘thou, thy servants, and thy people.’ And this but develops the principles of his own moral government, and as he is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, we may safely infer that he does so now, and that the principles of the divine government apply to us. To us, then, this message comes. Let us hear it : ‘Thus saith the Lord, execute ye judgment and righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor ; and do no wrong, do no violence to the stranger, the fatherless and the widow, neither shed innocent blood in this place.’ Here is our authority for Abolition. Here, on this single passage would I stand, and feel secure while the bible stands. But I am surrounded by all scripture—for when has God spoken in a different manner ? When has He said to a government, ‘do unrighteousness ?’ All scripture is in unison with this.

Mr. G. proceeded at some length, to show that this doctrine was applicable to our government and people at the present time.

Now as to its being safe. Read a verse or two more. ‘For if ye do this thing indeed, then ’—what—O, ‘you will have your throats cut’ ! What ? will not men hear God ? Will they be scared by their own fears when God assures them of safety ? Is not His opinion better than that of a worm of the dust ? O, I tremble for that man who talks thus. What is he ? Is he a friend of God—a Christian ? NO. He forfeits that character, and I will not acknowledge him as a brother. I am *bound* to be plain. ‘Then,’ what ? ‘shall enter in by the gates of this house, kings, sitting upon the throne of David, riding in chariots, and on horses, he, and his servants, and his people.’—Prosperity shall attend thee, ‘then shall thy light break forth’ (Is. lviii.

8 : in reference to obeying God) 'as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily; and thy righteousness shall go before thee : the glory of the Lord shall be thy reward,'—read 2 or 3 more verses for yourselves. 'LIGHT SHALL BREAK FORTH.' Ah! that is what is dreaded. But who dreads the light of the morning? He who under cover of darkness has been plundering his neighbor's goods. He who has been prowling for prey—he dreads to have the light shine lest his wicked works be reprov'd. 'Thy health shall spring forth.' The nation is sick—and how it would hurt it to get well,—all at once! Why, what is to be dreaded in this? What infatuation! 'O, do let me lie here a little longer,—I am sick, true—but it is so pleasant to be waited on; to have the attendance of physicians and the sympathies of friends—don't cure me too quick.' Yes, our nation is diseased.

Sir, I have been accused of treason. A good Baptist brother minister, in this city, not long since, a D. D. by the way,* said, 'Why, sir, your movements and designs are treasonable. You are operating to subvert our government.' I thought my good brother was mistaken, certainly. I thought I was weaving a crown for my country's glory. Unworthy am I, indeed, but imagination and ardor go beyond ability; I would fain wreath my country with a crown more illustrious than she has ever yet worn. I would make it of four different materials, 'Light,'—'health,'—'righteousness,'—and 'the glory of the Lord.' Out of these four would I weave a crown, and could I approach my country's person, I would put it on her head. Would I blush then for my country, before admiring Europe?—would I hang my head in shame any longer before weeping and bleeding Africa? Would they—would my country—would my God say, I was a traitor? I believe not. Do not be afraid. When God has pledged his word, we ought to trust him. If he has promised prosperity and honor to the nation that will execute righteousness and do no wrong, but deliver the oppressed, there let us leave the matter, and trust God that all things shall work together for good.

But what if we *do not* as God commands us? Read the next verse. 'But if ye will not hear these words, I swear by myself, saith the Lord, that this house shall become a desolation.' What an awful oath!—what a sanction!—what a curse!

A fact which I remember from Livy has made a deep impression upon my mind.—In one of the wars between Rome and Carthage, in which Gracchus commanded the Roman army, and Hanno the Carthaginian; Gracchus on a certain day saw that a battle with Hanno, the next day, was inevitable. He did not evade the necessity—but how should he prepare his army? It was a crisis in the war. That battle would decide whether Rome should continue to be free. He had in his army many volunteer slaves. He called these together and addressed them, 'To-morrow we meet Hanno. Whosoever shall bring the head of an enemy, shall be a free man.' A short address—what was the effect? 'Lead us forth,' was the acclamation, 'now'—they could not wait. He put them off, told them to prepare their arms. At the signal in the morning, they were ready—they marched forth, and, says Livy, 'these volunteer slaves fought like tigers.' But word was brought to Gracchus that the battle waned on his part. Why? 'Every man has in his left hand the head of an enemy.' Gracchus exclaimed, 'throw down your heads and continue the battle, and TO-DAY gives you liberty,'—instantly they obeyed, and inspired with courage more than human, pursued and butchered the enemy till Gracchus called them off. He called them together next morning and—what did he say? 'O, I shall have my throat cut, if I let them all

* Mr. G. next day explained that the minister referred to did not now reside in Boston, but in New-York.

lease'? No. He did not so degrade and level human nature. Kindness melts the heart. He, in the rashness of a modern abolitionist, said, 'Romans! ye are all freemen.' Now for the comment. What was the influence on the slaves? 'They rent the sky with shouts, and stretched forth their hands to the gods, and prayed for blessings upon the Roman people.' (Applause.)

AMOS DRESSER now gave an account of the outrage inflicted on him in Nashville, Tenn. His narrative excited much feeling; especially, his being befriended by the 'stranger' and his wife. Many an eye glistened with emotion when he 'prayed heaven to reward her kindness,' who was willing to share the risk of harboring him in their house. The narrative was substantially the same as has been extensively printed in the newspapers, and need not be here repeated.

Rev. Mr. MAY. Fellow citizens! Can you believe it? You must believe it; for both friends have declared it and enemies have boasted of it. *It has been done*—in our country, and let every body hear it. Let it go forth and sound upon every ear, till every heart is fixed and every man resolve to resist such high-handed encroachments upon the rights of freemen. You have heard Dresser. Is he alone? You are all exposed to just such treatment. There are 10,000 citizens of Massachusetts who would this day be lynched should they lip their feelings or their opinions south of Mason & Dixon's line. Why, haven't you heard it? \$5000 have been offered for that man (pointing to Mr. Garrison,) by the State of Georgia—and \$10,000 (anonymously) for another who once ministered at the altar in this city, (Phelps.) I have received threatening letters from the South, surcharged with imprecations of vengeance, and telling me to persist in speaking and writing against slavery at the peril of my head. And why all this wrath? *Why? WHY?* They do not tell us—except that we *speak for liberty*: that here in New England—the cradle of our country's infancy—so near Plymouth rock where Freedom first put foot on our country's shores—here in Boston where first freedom breathed her resistance to oppression—we dare to feel and think and speak and act as our fathers did. If you have *hearts* you must feel, if you have *heads* you must perceive that the foundations of our institutions are being ruined, that liberty's temple totters, and that causes are at work which will, unresisted, effect its overthrow.

We are told to go to the slave states to speak against slavery. I say, we would go if you will insure that we shall be *heard* before we are lynched. There are many who would be martyrs if they could but once proclaim the truth in the ears of slaveholders. But there is no chance of this. Judge Lynch issues his mandate, and every *suspected* abolitionist is seized and condemned untried, unheard. But why go to the South? Have we not prejudice and persecution and proscription enough to encounter here at the North? Are things made right here yet? How is it in New England?—in our own Massachusetts? Are outrages regarded as they ought to be? NO. Are citizens protected as they ought to be? NO. When we petitioned our legislature, were we heard? NO. (No! No! No! responded other voices.) Even our Governor, in his message meekly insinuated—that is, said, it was the opinion of many good men, that the abolitionists were abusing the liberty of speech, and ought to be restrained. Had he come out, like a man, and shown his face before election, he might have secured to himself the privilege of retiring to the 'dignified station of a private citizen.' (General Applause.) I do not say this as a political partisan. But I do say that such equivocal sentiments in high places ought to receive rebuke. We placed him there, and instead of insinuating that we were abusing a heaven-born right, he ought to have been the first to throw security around it. And I ask you

now whether we are secured and protected in the liberty of speech? So far from public sentiment being what it ought to be, we could not secure a comfortable place of meeting for this society. We are shut out of every church and hall of any size in the city, and driven to a stable. *Never, NEVER* have I felt so deeply ashamed of this city. I was born here, and have always been proud to say it, but now I am ashamed of my own native Boston. (Applause.) But I rejoice to think that there is a better spirit in the country, a redeeming spirit, and I call upon those who have come from the country to tell the city how it looks, and shame Boston into decency. (Applause.)

But I did not intend to make a speech. I got up to ask you whether you would help to deliver our country from reproach, and help to undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free. Will you give money or pledges to sustain the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society? Will you help us to send forth throughout the country a supply of the *Liberator*—that organ that first began the battle against oppression, and that now is the essential weapon for every thorough abolitionist. (Applause.)

Mr STANTON hoped it would be understood, to what object the present subscriptions were to go. In prosecuting his agency in this State, it had been a part of his business to solicit the payment of pledges made at the last anniversary; and he found that many pledges were made with the expectation that the money was to go to the general cause. What is now proposed goes to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

He would say, too, that he had been greatly retarded in the duties of his agency, by having to turn aside to collect these pledges. The business of an agent is to rouse up the public mind that has never yet been excited, not to go about waking up sleeping abolitionists. (A laugh.) He had found that abolitionists the widest awake at an anniversary, get fast asleep as soon as they go home.

As people were moving, he would remind them, before he sat down, of the meeting this evening at the Representatives' Hall. Nor could he refrain from calling attention, for encouragement, to the decided vote by which that place was granted to us. The vote is a fair index to the state of abolition throughout the State. The country members voted for the resolution—the city members against it. Our friends are in the country, and are numerous: and so it is, you see—when *Boston* votes, we go into a stable—but when the *STATE* votes, we go into the *STATE HOUSE*.—(Great Applause.)

[It was afterwards stated by a gentleman in the house, that all the Boston delegation did not oppose the resolution. It originated with a Boston member.]

Several pledges and donations were announced, both from individuals and from Auxiliary Societies. Amongst the latter was a pledge of \$100 from the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, for the support of the *Liberator*. (Announced by Mr. May. Applause.)

EVENING SESSION.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, Jan. 25.

Society met in the Representatives' Hall, in the presence of a crowded audience, many hundreds being obliged to go away, for want of room. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Goodman, of Dracut.

Rev. Mr. SCOTT, of Lowell, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That in view of the success which has hitherto attended the promulgation of anti-slavery doctrines in our land, we should not be disheartened, but thank God and take courage.

The resolution I hold in my hand, said Mr. Scott, takes a view of the past, present, and future. The effects produced by the promulgation of anti-slavery doctrines, so far from dispiriting or discouraging us, should inspire us with new zeal and fresh courage. It is the promulgation of anti-slavery doctrines that has awakened public attention, and produced this mighty movement throughout our land. And what are anti-slavery doctrines? They may all be summed up in one word: *Slavery is sin*, and must be *immediately abandoned*. The principle that one man has a right to make a brute of another, to sell him under the hammer, exchange him for brutes, take from him the Bible, and all means of mental and moral elevation, is fundamentally wrong, whether practised by the good or the bad. No sacredness of character can sanctify it. A minister of the gospel or a deacon of the church, can have no more right than the most vicious man in the community, to make a brute of his fellow-man—of an immortal spirit, destined to the judgment. This principle must be abolished. Make it appear that it is not a bad principle, and then we will cease to contend against it. But, so long as it is admitted to be bad, we will contend that it should be immediately abandoned.

The doctrines to which I have alluded have been promulgated, in spite of opposition and lawless violence, in spite of all the malice of men and devils. It is the success which has attended the promulgation of these principles, which inspires us with fresh confidence in their correctness, and their adaptedness to accomplish the object we seek. Within the last year, there has been 300 per cent. added to our cause. Two years ago, there were but 200 or 250 societies in our land—now there are 700 or 800, and the old ones have been growing in numbers. Our country is awakened; the pulpits begin to be opened. Men of influence are taking ground with us. Notwithstanding the annual meeting of this society has been driven into a stable, there has been success. In the city that I came from, we have recently sent 2300 names to Congress, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, with almost no effort.

It is said, 'I am an abolitionist, *except the measures*.' What do you differ from what has always been the sentiment of our whole country? Until very recently, nobody has attempted to defend slavery *in the abstract*. But, what has this sentiment amounted to? Slavery has grown up under it till it is now become a great Oak, which defies the storms of public sentiment—ay, the winds of heaven too! But, apply this objection to other subjects. Suppose an individual should say, 'I am benevolent, *except the measures*.' What will it amount to? Every body is willing to say to the poor, 'Be ye warmed, be ye filled;' but when we come to the *measures* for feeding and clothing them, the miser starts back! Such benevolence does no good. Suppose a man should say, 'I am a strong temperance man, *except the measures*.'—What good will be do? It is the *measures*, which have given success to the Temperance Reformation; and so it is the measures that must give success to the anti-slavery cause. Ten or twelve years ago, many benevolent men felt as deeply on this subject as they now do; but their feelings and efforts were scattered. Mr. Jefferson, and William Wirt, and many other patriots and philanthropists, have been opposed to slavery; but what has their opposition amounted to? But the movements of the abolitionists have concentrated these feelings upon one point, where the rays of light will continue to blaze and burn, until a fire is lighted, which will burn up slavery.—Suppose the British Anti-Slavery Society had left off the *measures*, what would have become of the slaves in the West Indies?

But, it has been said, we are so severe, so harsh, so violent in our language. With respect to severity of language, its propriety depends upon circumstances. If truth

requires the use of severe language, we are justifiable in using it. Jesus Christ and his apostles, and the Reformers, used plain and pointed language. The Declaration of Independence is couched in severe language. Temperance lecturers have used hard language, and sometimes spoken unadvisedly; but, when has this been brought as an objection against the cause they advocate? But is there no palliation in this case? When has a set of men been placed in more trying circumstances than the abolitionists? They have encountered hard speeches, bitter revilings, persecution, violence. It would require them to be superhuman, never to speak unadvisedly, never to say any thing which they ought not to say. But, sir, the severest language ever used by abolitionists, is calling slaveholders men-stealers and robbers. But, if the doctrine contained in the Declaration of Independence is correct, it is true, that every slaveholder is a man-stealer and a robber. What says it? 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are *born equal*, and endowed with certain *inalienable rights*, among which are life, *liberty*, and the *pursuit of happiness*.' Now, if this be a fact, 70,000 children of slaves, *born equal*, are stolen every year, and robbed of their liberty and the right of seeking happiness in their own way. The children at the South are born as free as the children at the North. If they are born *equal*, as the Declaration of Independence declares, they are entitled to the same rights, and every slaveholder, who makes slaves of the children of his servants, is a man-stealer—he steals the children and robs them of their rights—he is a man-stealer and a robber.

I like to hear things called by their right names. Let a robber meet you on the highway, and forcibly plunder you of your money, is it severe language to call him a robber? But, which is the greatest robber, the man who takes my *purse*, or the man who takes *myself*, my wife, my children, and all I have? It was hard language that the pirate used to Alexander.

But, it is said, Abolitionists are obstinate—headstrong; they brave public opinion, &c. But, in maintaining great principles, men must be headstrong and obstinate.—Daniel was obstinate. He was alone, in a strange land, a captive promoted. How important that he should maintain his influence and popularity with the throne, for the good of his nation! The modern doctrine of expediency would have come in well to his aid. He might have said, I can worship my God, these thirty days, just as well with my windows closed, and then save myself from being thrown into the lion's den, and my nation from the loss of my influence. But, Daniel felt that when his rights and the religion of his God were in danger, then was the time to hold them with a death-grasp.—And so also, the three Hebrew children, as they are called, were headstrong. According to the modern doctrine of expediency, they might have said, 'We can worship our God as well prostrate, as any other way—we will fall down with the multitude; but we will not worship the golden image—we will pray to our God. It is not expedient for us to sacrifice our lives, and go into the fiery furnace, when our influence is so much needed, by our captive brethren.' But, no; they felt that it was the time above all others for them to stand firm. The king was willing to show lenity—he offered to give them another trial; but no—they declared they would not bow down to his image of gold. Sir, Daniel braved public opinion—these three men braved public opinion. If they had followed the modern doctrine of expediency, they would have avoided these dangers; but, it will always be found, as in their case, that the path of duty will come out right. But, take away our measures, and what will be left? We want a sentiment that speaks out.

Mr. H. B. STANTON, offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the District of Columbia, being under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress in all cases whatsoever, the existence of slavery and the slave trade in that District is to be charged upon the people of the free States—is a foul blot upon the character of the nation—and ought to be immediately annihilated.

Resolved, That the refusal of the House of Representatives of the United States to read, refer, or discuss the memorials of THE PEOPLE, praying for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, is virtually a daring denial of the right of petition, and an act of high-handed despotism, which ought to alarm and arouse all the friends of the Constitution and their country, all who value their dearest rights—and which ought to be visited in retribution upon the heads of those recreant representatives who voted in favor of the outrage.

In support of these resolutions, said Mr. S., I shall bring forward but few of the many reasons which might be profitably adduced. The question is often tauntingly put to the abolitionists, 'What have the people of the North to do with slavery? We admit it to be an evil, moral and political—a system of enormous wickedness and cruelty: but why agitate it here?—why do you not go to the South and labor, where the evil exists?' I answer these queries, said Mr. S. like a true son of New England, by putting others. To my opponent, I say, 'You admit slavery to be a sin?' 'Yes.' 'That it ought to be immediately abolished?' 'Yes.' 'That those who have the power, are bound instantly to exercise that power, in its entire abolition?' 'Yes.' 'That they are recreant to humanity, to their country, and their God, if they refuse?' 'Yes.' And now ask what has the north to do with slavery. Look at the District of Columbia, the common capital of this Republic, where 7000 MEN, bearing the image of God, and touched with his immortal fire, are held as goods and chattels, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever! Where exists and flourishes the foulest slave market on the face of the globe! Where men are licensed, at \$400 a year, to sell, at public auction in lots to suit purchasers, native born American citizens, and the money for such license is appropriated to purposes of internal improvement! Where a free citizen of Massachusetts, on business before the national legislature, may be seized and thrown into prison, on suspicion of being a slave, and if he fail to prove himself a free man, may be sold into perpetual slavery to pay his jail fees, and the proceeds of the sale, deposited in the public coffers! Where the slave trader from the coast of Africa, with his crew, may be condemned as Pirates, and hung at the yard arm, while their cargo of 'human cattle' is sold to Franklin and Armfield, the proceeds put into the public treasury, and then the American slave trader may, under the protection of American laws, send them to the New-Orleans market, or sell them in parcels to Republican Senators! What has Massachusetts to do with slavery? Why, the stentorian eloquence of her own Webster, pleading for liberty in Greece and in Texas, is lost in the clamors of the slave auctioneers, shouting, under the very walls of the Capitol, 'How much for a citizen of Massachusetts, sold to pay his jail fees? Going! How much?' Or, the shrill tones of her own Adams, pleading for Constitutional reform, are overpowered by the shrieks of American mothers, torn from their infants, to be sold into distant slavery, desolate and heart-broken. Thus, tyrants laugh at our boasted equality, and the friends of liberty abroad, sink the burning brand of hypocrisy deep into the forehead of the Republic. And who is responsible for all this hypocrisy, treachery, cruelty and crime? THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES. It, according to the U. S. Constitution, has the power of exclusive legislation over the District of Columbia, in all cases whatsoever.—Slavery and the slave trade in the District, are the creatures of law. In 1800, the Congress framed an act, confirming the acts of Maryland and Virginia, in regard to said District, and thus made their acts its own. Therefore, slavery, with

all its abominations, its robbery, its heathenism, its groans, its tears, its blood, its contempt of God, in the imbruting of his image, is the handy work of Congress. It lives and breathes and riots there, by the express and special permission of the present Congress. Yes, said Mr. S., while I stand here to-night, Congress might shiver every fetter in the District, and its 7000 goods and chattels might stand forth men, redeemed, disenthrall'd, emancipated. Do the Congress refuse? Then, on the admission of my opponent, I brand them as recreant to humanity, to their country and their God.

The *free states* are, in a great measure, responsible for the continuance of this dread evil. They elect a large majority of the House of Representatives—and the majority of the Senate, if we include its presiding officer;—and I call upon the people of the free states, of all political parties, to remember, that their political influence is capital, loaned them by God, to be invested for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia,—that their votes should be pledged to humanity, and their names given freely and immediately, to the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

Is it yet asked, why do the abolitionists agitate this subject before the northern public? To arouse the sovereigns of the nation to command their servants to do this work in the District of Columbia immediately. It is in vain that we look to Congress to arouse, while the people slumber. Its members will not move till impelled onward by public sentiment at home. 'Go to our constituents,' they will say, 'if you would have us act.' We are but the passive quick-silver in the public thermometer. If you would have us mount up to abolition heat, you must warm up the atmosphere,—the people.' And, said Mr. S., we are doing it! We are, by our speeches, our publications, our societies, our conventions and our prayers, kindling up a sacred fire that shall cause the public mind to glow with impartial benevolence, and the servants of the public shall feel its warming influence. Agitate then! The member of Congress is but the index to the opinions of his constituents. His bark floats on the popular tide, and his sails catch the popular breeze. Raise the wind, then, among his constituents. Being but the hands upon the public clock, he keeps time according to the pendulum's stroke. Abolition has its fingers on the pendulum. Says the Representative, 'I am but the weather-cock on the public building, to indicate the course of the wind. If you would have me point South, the wind must blow from the North.' I repeat it, said Mr. S., the abolitionists are raising the northern wind. They are calling it down from every hill-top and mountain in Massachusetts; and the southerners might as well stand upon their frontier, and, catching the northeaster in their fist, chain it to Mason and Dixon's line, lest its chilling influence should fall too roughly upon the delicate bodies of the South, as to arrest the abolition tempest now bursting from the white hills and green mountains, the Wachusett and Monadnocks of free, unbought, unawed New-England.

Mr. S. next glanced at the motives which should impel us to labor strenuously for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District.

1. If we succeed, the chains would fall from the limbs of 7000 men: our brethren.
2. The internal slave trade, the bloodiest feature in the whole system, would receive a staggering blow.
3. The Capital would be cleansed. Our altars would no longer smoke with human sacrifices; and there, Liberty might unveil herself to adoration, unspotted with human gore.
4. But these are minor considerations compared with the mighty moral effect of this work. The abolition of slavery in the District, would be like a mill-stone around the neck of the whole system of slavery, which would soon drown it in a sea of popular abhorrence. Such an act would be the verdict of the

whole people in condemnation of slavery, pronounced by the highest legislative court of the nation. It would be AMERICA, deliberately judging slavery to be worthy of death. The system could not survive the sentence five years. Well has the Hon. Mr. Preston, of South Carolina, said, that 'the question must be met here; for the District is the main gate at the entrance of the citadel; it is the bridge over the moat,—and every aggression here must be resisted.' Ah, said Mr. S., I respond to the eloquent Senator, that it is indeed the main gate; it is truly the bridge over the moat, and girded in the panoply of Heaven, and led onward by the same moral Buonaparte, we will assault that gate until it falls, and then, through that gate, and over this bridge of Lodi, we will march such an array of moral power, as will take captive the intellect, the sympathy, the conscience, the soul of the entire South. 5. Recent events in the House of Representatives of the United States have clothed this question with vital importance. Every man in the nation, in his own person, is deeply interested. The District of Columbia has become the Thermopylæ of American freedom. But for this, I would not have detained this assemblage a single moment. On the 18th inst. the House passed the following resolution :

'Resolved, That all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, shall, without either being printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.'

By this act, they have virtually denied to the people the right of petition. By the 1st article of the amendments to the United States' Constitution, it is declared that 'Congress shall make no law * * abridging * * the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.' Mark the words! 'no law *abridging*.' If our memorials are not read nor referred, but thrown aside, unnoticed, among the waste paper of the House, is not the right '*abridged*?' Yea, it is virtually annihilated. Mark again! 'Shall make no law abridging the right of *the people*,' &c. Does this mean that '*the government*' may decide *what* *for* and *when* '*the people*' may petition? That the people shall exercise their rights only when the *government* please? Is the will of our servants, the tenure by which we the people hold our rights? And is not the right of petition not only abridged but virtually denied, when, if we petition on a certain subject, our memorials are not even read, or referred, so that their contents may be known? The vital essence of this constitutional guaranty is, that we the people may petition for what we please. We are the sole judges. We are to decide what are grievances. In this particular, every man is a sovereign, the sole arbiter of his own choice. And Congress, who are but the hired men of the people, are bound to give his petition a respectful hearing.—After they have read and considered his memorial, then, and not till then, are they competent to decide whether or not the thing complained of be a grievance. The genius of our government, and all precedent, determine this to be the invariable rule.

And why are the Abolitionists made an exception, and their memorials thus treated? Evidently because they are the minority, the weaker party, and under the ban of popular proscription. Strange reason! To abridge the rights of such a party, and for such cause, establishes a principle at war with the end and object for which the Constitution was framed. Constitutions are framed to protect minorities in the exercise of their rights. Those who have few natural safeguards,—the weak, the proscribed, the unpopular—they need the shield of Constitutional protection. The strong, the popular, the majority, those who have numerous natural safeguards, do not need Constitutional protection. Their strength, their popularity, shield them from aggression. Constitutional guaranties, then, are the sworn guardians of the weaker party. Hence, the guaranty in

the 1st Article of Amendments is *our* guaranty: it was made to meet just such a *cause* as ours. And the House of Representatives, by abridging our right of petition, has stabbed the vitals of the Constitution. By denying this right to the humblest, to be exercised freely and fearlessly, they have tarnished the glory of the Constitution.—They have made it a rotten parchment not fit to be trampled in the mire. Its beauty, its harmony, its admirable adaptation of part to part, are gone, and it has become an engine of oppression.

Furthermore, the principle established by this resolution, when legitimately carried out, leads to universal despotism. Where is this abridgement of the right of petition to end? Where, and only where, Congress shall please. They have assumed to themselves the right to determine, concerning what matters the people shall petition. They have kindly taken upon themselves the burden of deciding what are and what are not the people's grievances. They have, from pure love to the people, put the books into the nostrils of the democracy. Ah, truly—the servant has turned lord;—and all for the good of his lordship! But there's one, who spurns their collar, and cries, 'TO THE RESCUE!' And will THE PEOPLE falter?

'Is the old Pilgrim spirit quenched within us?
Stoops the proud manhood of our souls so low,
That Mammon's lure or Party's wile can win us
To silence now?

No—when our land to ruin's brink is verging,
In God's name, let us speak, while there is time!
Now, when the padlocks for our lips are forging,
SILENCE IS CRIME!

Yes,—the principle involved in this act of Congress, is a locomotive which will drag the rights of all parties to ruin. Petitions relating to slavery may be proscribed to-day;—but, the same arbitrary power will proscribe petitions relating to the Currency to-morrow; and the Public Lands the next day; and the transportations of the Mails the next; and soon, the Tariff is a subject too delicate to be touched by the rough hands of the people;—and then, Congress may declare their own acts infallible, throw petitions for their repeal back into the faces of the people, decree themselves a perpetual assembly, cut the constitution into shreds, and bid defiance to the popular will.—Ay, by submitting tamely to one aggression after another, the popular will may become subservient, and the mass of the people bow the neck,

And kiss the yoke in kindness made,
And clank their needful chains together!

How easy is it to bring *any* subject under the Congressional ban! Only get up an excitement about it; mob its friends; proclaim Lynch law without benefit of clergy, for all who dare to open their lips in its favor, and the work is done. Congress proscribes the memorialists, hurls their petitions under the table; and says to the people, 'Speak only when your masters please.' Detestable doctrine! Odious tyranny! 'I'd rather be a dog and bay the moon, than such a' Republican. The resolution of the House is despotism, full grown and to the life. And it is a mean despotism. It is saying to us, 'You may petition if *WE* please.' And who says it? The hired men of the people. The servant has slammed the door of the palace in the face of the Sovereign. It is time the men who voted for this resolution, were sent back to the honorable station of private citizens. They are recreant to the trusts confided to them. They are worse than sleeping sentinels; they have turned their arms against

the citadel they had sworn to defend; **THEY ARE TRAITORS.** Let the watchword then be, *Onward to the Rescue!* Our reliance, under God, is in **THE PEOPLE.** The working men are honest. They have identified themselves with us—They control the popular will. The piety of the Commonwealth will rally; and ecclesiastical tyranny shall be buried in the same grave with political treachery. Then let the Legislature of the Commonwealth protest, in the name of holy freedom and impartial righteousness, against this alarming usurpation of power. Let them protect the weaker party, in the full, free and unawed exercise of their rights. Let '*Toleration to the minority, Free Discussion,*' be written on all their acts, and then this persecuted and despised minority shall,

'Prayer-strengthened for the trial, come together:
Put on the harness for the moral fight,
And with the blessing of their Heavenly Father,
MAINTAIN THE RIGHT!'

[Here the disturbance about the doors became so great that the speakers could not proceed. After a short pause, however, during which the resolutions passed, Mr. Stanton made a bold and successful attempt to chain the attention of the audience; and held them in almost breathless attention as long as he chose to address them. If there were any *mob spirits* in the house, they were taken by a *coup de main*, and completely routed. The reporter, however, made no attempt to report this part of his speech, for the same reason, that he would not attempt to report a whirlwind or a thunder-storm. After Mr. S. sat down, it being after nine o'clock, a notice was read, that Mr. Dresser would address the ladies' meeting next day. The name of Dresser was immediately responded by the audience—'*Dresser! Dresser now!*' so that he was forced to come forward. He repeated his narrative, which was listened to with attention and deep emotion.]

ELLIS GRAY LORING, Esq. of Boston, offered the following resolution, which, he observed, had been handed him since he entered the meeting :

Resolved, That true allegiance to his country, to liberty, and to God, requires that every man should be an Abolitionist, and openly espouse the anti-slavery cause.

When any man or set of men differ from the majority on questions of important practical bearing, a respect for the feelings of that majority should make them solicitous to state the reasons for their opinions. Repeated and vigorous have been the efforts of Abolitionists to make known their sentiments, and the grounds of them. These efforts have been partially successful. But seldom has so favorable an opportunity as this presented itself, for making known our views. Now, every man may have his particular reasons for his abolition faith. I state my own. So far as I am known, I believe it is conceded that I have sustained the character of a moderate man. I propose, then, to state some of the reasons why I, as a moderate and cautious man, have found it my duty to be an Abolitionist.

1. Nothing in the *Constitution* of the United States forbids it. There is a great deal of loose assertion on this point. One man finds abolitionism to be contrary to the *letter*, another, to the *spirit* of the Constitution. Surely it was '*to secure the blessings of liberty,*' that the Constitution was formed. But it is well known that there is not one word in the Constitution which forbids the discussion of slavery.—The existence of slavery is recognized there, but only incidentally and as a matter of fact. But can any one force out of it a prohibition of this discussion? I defy him to produce the clause. Abundant evidence might be given to show, that the framers

jot, in trying to hold their slaves ? No. The South would lose the protection they now have from the Constitution, in regard to runaways. Their bondmen would pass over the line and be free. The whole *property* of the South, so to speak, would get up, some morning, and *walk off*.

But what would the South *gain*, by a dissolution of the Union ? Will she gain exemption from anti-slavery discussions and anti-slavery doctrines ? Mr. Preston, of South Carolina, admitted, on the floor of Congress, that all the literature of the world, the whole religious sentiment of Christendom, all philosophy, were opposed to slavery. Do our Southern friends intend to shut all this out ? Will they draw about them a *cordon sanitaire* to exclude the literature and philosophy and religion of all the rest of mankind ? This is somewhat difficult in the nineteenth century. Mr. Preston gave an account of the origin of the anti-slavery mania abroad. It began with a few obscure individuals in England. Now, said he, a man cannot be in the cabinet who is not an abolitionist. So in France. The officers of anti-slavery societies in France, are cabinet ministers. What did Mr. Preston propose ? Alas ! that the Southern States should hug the institution, and stand up against the world. This, Mr. President, is easier said than done. If the North would do its duty, every Southern man would go back from his visits to the free States, humbled and thoughtful, a missionary in the cause of freedom.

But there is another difficulty among Mr. Preston's friends. They find they are not sound at home. One half the slaveholders in Virginia were a little while ago talking about abolishing slavery. The storm of opposition to anti-slavery movements has hushed their voices for a while ; but let the tempest raised by their own demagogues subside, they will again be heard. There is a party at the South, who will not submit to the doctrines of McDuffie. At the head of this party is Mr. Clay, who has recently openly avowed his repugnance to the new doctrine of the South, on this subject. No ; the real danger lies nearer home. The advocates of slavery find a great and growing antagonist in the consciences of slaveholders themselves. One of the most distinguished men of South Carolina, on receiving a copy of Dr. Channing's work on Slavery, committed it to the flames ; and on being remonstrated with, for so illiberal an act, replied to a friend of mine who was present, that he was afraid it would fall into the hands of his daughters, and that its specious eloquence might create uneasiness in their minds. Gen. Duff Green is a man of far reaching views. He has lately been appointed editor of the 'Southern Review,' a work got up to sustain the present position of the South. He has, in a labored article, exhibited the true ground of their fears. I will read an extract :

'We are of those who believe the South has nothing to fear from a servile war.—We do not believe that the Abolitionists intend, nor could they, if they would, excite the slaves to insurrection. The danger of this is remote. We believe that we have most to fear from the organized action upon the consciences and fears of slaveholders themselves ; from the insinuations of their dangerous heresies into our schools, our pulpits, and our domestic circles. It is only by alarming the consciences of the weak and feeble, and diffusing among our people a morbid sensibility on the subject of slavery, that the Abolitionists can accomplish their object. *Preparatory to this*, they are now laboring to saturate the non-slaveholding states with the belief that slavery is a sin against God ; that the "national compact" involves the non-slaveholders in that sin ; and that it is their duty to toil and suffer, that our country may be delivered from what they term its blackest stain, its foulest reproach, its deadliest curse.'—Mr. President,—I wish our Northern opposers had the candor to represent as fairly our object and measures.

But, it is said, your means are inadequate—you have not legal authority; nor have these, your advocates, an opportunity of speaking to the South directly. It was the remark of a wise man, 'Let me make a nation's ballads, and I don't care who makes the laws.' Give us tongue and pen, and I don't care if all the laws of all the oppressors on earth are against us. Give us a fair field, and we will overthrow slavery. People underrate the efficacy of discussion. What good will your talking do? say they. I reply: Did you ever hear of any great reform which was *not* brought about by talking? Certainly, the strangest remedy for a great wrong like slavery, I ever heard proposed, was, never to say a single word about it. Look at the reformation in the church; at the abolition of the African slave trade; at the abolition of slavery in Great Britain. These reformations were set on foot by *talking*. Thought is greater and elder than action; and when the public mind is sufficiently prepared, by discussion, the legitimate action follows, of course. We have just the means in our hands that have effected all reformations. Look at the first awakening of public sentiment in regard to the African slave trade. The whole world was slumbering over its enormities. Even religion tolerated it. The great and good John Newton wrote home from the coast of Africa, while pursuing this business, which is now outlawed as piracy, that he had been enjoying sweet seasons with his God! A quiet student in a University was appointed to write a thesis; and the subject given him for his task, by his professor, was the African slave trade. He studied the subject; began to collect matter; his soul kindled at the enormities that met him; he imparted his knowledge and poured forth his feelings into kindred bosoms. The advocates of the abolition of the slave trade, among his humble friends, at length numbered twelve. The great men, the rulers, the 'wise and the prudent,' stood aloof; the commercial interests, the religion of the nation,—every thing seemed against them. But they persevered, in the midst of obloquy and opposition; they talked, they wrote, they went on 'conquering and to conquer.' After a twenty years conflict, the slave trade was overthrown. That student was THOMAS CLARKSON. Posterity looks upon such men and deeds in a vastly different light from cotemporaries. Five or six years ago, a poor and solitary individual of the working class came among us, with nothing to depend upon but his God, and the native powers which God gave him. He raised the thrilling cry of immediate emancipation. His encouragement was at first small indeed. But the grand, the true, the vital idea of immediate freedom to the slave, burned bright within him, and supported him. He, too, at length, had his twelve associates, and the first Anti-Slavery Society was formed. From this small beginning, and owing mainly, I believe, under God, to the clear vision, the purity of character, the energy, and the intrepidity of that individual, our cause has advanced till it numbers 800 societies. An Anti-Slavery Society has been formed in the United States every day, for the last two years. There are 300 societies in the single state of Ohio, one of which numbers 4000 members. Yet, the individual who started this mighty movement is rejected and scorned by the great and little vulgar of our day. No matter. Posterity will do justice to the name of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. (Tremendous and long continued applause.)

But, the fact is, those who condemn our means can have little studied human nature or history. The apostle Paul was taunted with relying on the *foolishness of preaching*. Which is the more powerful, the sword or the pen? Public sentiment is the great moving power; and public sentiment—what is it, but the opinions of you and me, Mr. President, and of the men and women round us in the community? Ay, sir, of women too, I say. The Hon. Balie Peyton, of Tennessee, was lately talking

on this subject with a friend of mine, and remarked that he did not like these abolition petitions that the women signed—some affected, he said, to despise them; but he regarded them in a very different light. These women, sir, said he, have the education of the rising generation, and the youth of our country will be brought up from their cradles like Hannibal, to swear on their domestic altars, eternal hatred to Slavery.—(Great applause.)

But we concede too much, when we say we have no power to act. Look at the 26,000 slaves, in the District and Territories under the jurisdiction of Congress. Has the North nothing to do with them? Sir, we as a nation, hold these 26,000 slaves. We are responsible for their bondage, because they are held under the authority of laws made by our representatives. Perhaps, looking at the millions who are suffering under American tyranny, some may scorn to notice these 26,000 slaves. But we regard it as a matter of no small moment, that our national metropolis is converted into a great slave mart, where men, and women, and children are sold like cattle.—When we know that there are in the District of Columbia, grated prisons to store slaves, intended for the southern market,—principally young persons, groaning in these prisons, torn forever from their homes and the bosoms of their parents—and that all this is done under the laws of Congress, made by our representatives; that the public prisons of the District, which we, here in Massachusetts, help to pay for, are made the reception of human beings, destined for this cruel traffic; when we know that the slave trade between Washington and New-Orleans is carried on by a line of packet vessels, as regularly as the trade between New-York and Liverpool, the subject assumes a form in which we have a direct personal right and responsibility. Who is there who will pretend that we have no right to speak out on this subject? If our way is not right, what is right? We have become a party to these enormities, and we shall continue to be partakers of the guilt, unless we lift up our voices in the strongest remonstrances against them.

But, gentlemen say we use very intemperate language. When our lecturers are speaking on this subject, they speak out of full hearts. Their minds are brought daily in contact with the atrocities of the slave system. Would it be strange that they should use strong language? Will you, who are a Whig or a Democrat, abandon your party because some of its members use violent language? The fact is notorious, that political editors and political speech-makers are daily in the habit of using denunciation and abuse, which far transcends our vocabulary of invective, yet, who ever heard any one objecting to the principles of either of the political parties of the day, on this ground? 'O, but,' I am reminded, 'you are defeating your object by your violence.' I have always remarked that they who are most troubled lest we should defeat our object, are precisely the persons who wish with all their hearts to have it defeated. There may, however, be some good and conscientious men, who stand aloof from us, on this very ground. But, I ask, whether these same men deny all co-operation with the political parties of the day, on account of their violence? I have very seldom heard of such persons. I ask, whether, in carrying forward any great object, we are to wait till we can get men as agents to carry it on, who are infallible? We seek men of the right stamp—we look for honest men—men of principle—and we trust that, out of good and honest hearts, there will not come much wrong. But if we are to wait till we get perfect agents, we must leave slavery to work its own cure, in rivers of blood.

'But, you exasperate.' And what does that prove? Does it follow that, because a man is exasperated, no good is done? When cool reflection returns, the truth will

reach the conscience. Nothing exasperates an uneasy conscience so much as truth. Can any one tell me when the South will feel any less exasperated at the discussion of slavery than now ?

But, again, 'you increase the sufferings of the slaves.' Here is a worse libel on the slave-master than any thing the abolitionists have ever said. Are slaveholders indeed such an inhuman, brutal set of men, that they will wreak their vengeance for the misdeeds of the abolitionists upon the poor defenceless slaves ? Abolitionists have not said any thing like this. I will not, I do not believe this aspersion. I have made many anxious inquiries of slaveholders and others, who have been at the south ; and so far as I can learn, the fact is, that the slaves are better treated than formerly, and for this reason: The masters know that, if they abuse their slaves, it will some how or other get to the ears of the abolitionists, and will be a swift witness against them. I know that the more respectable slaveholders have kept the violent in check, by this consideration. But, I call upon those who object so much to the language of abolitionists, to answer this question to their own hearts: Is it our words, or our principles, which offend you ? I fear that many who object to our phraseology, are those who are reluctant to have the real character of slavery brought to light. I am sure the objection often comes too, from men, well-meaning perhaps, but men who have no realizing conception of what slavery is ; who do not make the case of the slave their own ; whose sympathy is very cool for their black fellow-man. Our ardor seems unreasonable to such men, and if we speak half the truth of that system of tyranny and pollution which disgraces our land, they think our language harsh and exaggerated. But why are they not as sensitive on other subjects ? Simply because their hearts are in these, on one side or the other. I read abuse in political papers, far exceeding any thing said or written by abolitionists ; yet no sensation is created—no excitement—no mobs, on account of the violent language of political partizans. No ; it is our principles, more than our words, that form the real stumbling blocks. Will not something be pardoned, in free Massachusetts, to the spirit of liberty ?

'But, why don't you use mild language ? Is it the way to persuade men, to call hard names ?' Persuasion is not at all times our first object. When we wish to persuade, we employ the gentle pen of Angelina Grimke. But, if we wish to rouse the North, and this we avow to be our first object,—we speak in a harsher key. We mean to hold up slavery in all its loathsomeness—we mean to make it base and odious—to make every man, woman and child in New-England feel that it is so. For this purpose, our language must be sometimes *rough* *hewn*—we can't use fine instruments.

'But, what is your plan ?' says one, 'give us your plan.' Yes, our enemies would be very glad to get us into the warfare of details and local measures. We might contend about these for a century, and nobody would be the wiser or the freer ;—the master would sit secure in the enjoyment of his wealth in human bones and sinews. We say to the slaveholders: we give you our general plan, which is to 'do justly, and love mercy.' We leave all the rest to you ; if you think our advice dangerous, appoint your special constables, commission your stipendiary magistrates, arrange the details to suit yourselves, for you best know your own needs ; but do *the thing*—have it somehow or other done, and done at once. Where there is a will, there is a way.—'Ah, but this is all visionary—extreme—impracticable.' So far from it, [that any man who will devote half an hour to reading documentary evidence, may satisfy himself that it is not only practicable, but the only practicable mode of emancipation. Its practicability and safety have been abundantly proved by experience, in all parts of

the world, and under the most diverse circumstances. Gradual measures, the necessity of preparation for the slave, projects of melioration—all these are delusive pretexts for perpetuating this unrighteous and oppressive system. Those great men, who assisted in the formation of the Constitution, Dr. Rush, John Jay, and Franklin, went home from that work, and formed societies for the abolition of slavery, not, be it remarked, for its abolition in their own State only, but throughout the country. But, as they adopted the principle of gradual emancipation, they effected comparatively little. So long as you acknowledge the master's right to hold his fellow beings as property *for the present*, he is not very solicitous for the future. You may say as much as you please about the duty of emancipation at some future time. It does not touch his conscience or his pocket. The societies which were formed by those venerable men, were little felt or noticed, because they rested upon no deep and vital principle. But the adoption by the anti-slavery societies of the present day, of the principle of immediate emancipation, has thrown the whole South into a ferment.

But, Mr. President, suppose it to be admitted that abolitionists may sometimes lose temper, and sometimes lack taste; that their views and measures are not uniformly marked with judgment and good sense; these circumstances should constitute a stronger call on those who deem themselves more judicious and temperate, to come into the ranks of men whose general object they cannot but approve, and who may be benefitted by their counsels. The current objections to the abolitionists as a party, can have little weight in determining the course of any reflecting man. I would ask such a one to look at what the abolitionists have done and are doing. I ask him to look at eight hundred Anti-Slavery Societies formed in five years; to consider that we have seventy lecturing agents in the field; that Congress is now shaken by almost weekly conflicts connected with our efforts; that the Texas question is lowering ominously on our borders, and may, at any time, convert the whole country in three weeks into two well defined parties, pro-slavery and anti-slavery; that every city and village in the whole nation is more and more stirred up on the slavery question. I would ask, do you believe all this excitement is to subside? Or do you not rather see that the great issue is made up in our land, between Slavery and Freedom—and that one or the other must fall? Very soon your side must be taken, be your fears or your scruples what they may. Massachusetts, and the other free States, will soon be compelled by the force of circumstances—or rather by that Providence who shapes our ends—to occupy their true position. Is there a death-struggle to go on in this land, between Liberty and Slavery, and does any man doubt on which side Massachusetts will be arrayed? It is idle to question it. The moral contest which is growing warmer and warmer, must sooner or later be substantially a sectional one. No man in this part of the Union can long be neutral in this contest. And, thank God, the true spirit is rising; not so much in the cities indeed! Our progress is comparatively little known there,—but before long a voice will be heard from the country that will startle our sleepers. In the words of a distinguished journalist, 'the nation has been winnowed to furnish men of the most unquenchable enthusiasm and the most obstinate constancy, to carry forward the cause. Violence merely serves to exalt and inflame the ardor with which they pursue their object. Those who administer it are merely chafing the ears of the bull-dog who has fastened upon his prey.' Under God, and in the truth, we feel that we are invincible.

I move, Sir, the adoption of the resolution.

On motion of Rev. Mr. ST CLAIR of West Boylston :

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society tender to this House of Representatives, for the use of their Hall this evening, their hearty and sincere thanks.

THURSDAY MORNING.

Thursday, 9 o'clock, A. M., ISAAC WINSLOW, Esq. in the Chair.

Prayer by Rev. Mr. FITCH.

Rev. Mr. NORRIS of Bradford, offered the following resolution :—

Resolved, That while the cause of Abolition preserves the most unbroken harmony throughout the ranks of its numerous friends, it promises the only safe remedy to slavery, and produces insurrections only among slaveholders at the South, and the enemies of liberty every where.

Mr. N. said, It is consoling to my mind, that in the midst of commotion in the religious world, the abolition community has always been united. One sentiment pervades this brotherhood, that of benevolence and sympathy. We are not made up of ambitious political jugglers and smugglers—but abolition originated with the best friends of God and the purest spirits in the land. Hence their union. We are not distinguished as a political party. Our distinction is, that we plead the cause of God and of humanity throughout the world. Having commenced on this principle, we have a right to expect permanence and success. Our society will stand and will triumph. Onward shall be its course until it has done its work, and raised every man to his privileged level with his kind, and to the privilege of knowing and serving God.

The resolution says that abolition promises the sovereign and only safe remedy for slavery. Others speak of another remedy—and they are the enemies of abolition—they speak of a general insurrection of the slaves, and say this is the natural and inevitable result. They tell us to stand aloof, and let God take this work into his own hand—‘ why should we interfere to stay the thunderbolts of heaven ? ’ We are guilty indeed, and deserve God’s vengeance, but let us remember that God delights more in mercy than in vengeance. May we not believe that in his Providence, he has deposited abolition as a leaven in our land, destined to work until the whole country is leavened ? I believe our nation will yet be saved by abolition, and that God will not suffer us to plunge into insurrection.

It promises a *sovereign* remedy. Men talk of Mason’s and Dixon’s line, as if beyond that we could not reach with abolition. Why, as well pen up the wind. With these principles we have a fair field. We can send out truth, and no enactments can keep it out of minds—we can scatter light, and no legislative barriers can quench its rays—and more, the Holy Spirit is our helper to work upon the consciences of the guilty, and bring them to the embrace of the truth. It is the adoption of these principles which renders us invincible.

So far as abolition is embraced, it is peaceful and safe—it is resistance that makes insurrection. Temperance, wherever it prevails, brings happiness and peace, but where resisted or neglected, misery and vice prevail. Adopt abolition, and we shall be safe, except when the spirit of slavery rises in resistance. It is this, universally, that has made insurrection. I have had some observation and experience to prove the truth of what I say. I had the honor of being a member of the last General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. I attended a prayer meeting for the slaves, and for praying and speaking a few words in that meeting, I was censured by the tremendous vote of that venerable body. But I am happy to say, that *fourteen* members stood firm in anti-slavery principles; and I think the leaven is at work which will ever in future prevent a similar attempt in that body to suppress freedom of speech. That was an insurrection of the whole General Conference. In like manner have insurrections been excited; in Nashville, when Dresser was lynched for being an aboli-

tionist; in Boston, in New-York, in Canterbury and Canaan. (Applause.) Let abolition prevail, and peace will prevail.

Seconded by Rev. Mr. ROOT of Dover, who spoke as follows: Mr. President: It is asserted in the Resolution, that this enterprise promises the 'only effectual remedy for slavery.' I am one, Sir, who believe we can do something, and that we have a right to do it, for the relief of the slave. It is continually said, 'Your efforts can do no good, you are rivetting the slave's chains, you are driving the master to madness.' Sir, who are they with whom we have to do? Whom would we persuade to do righteousness, to unbind the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free? Fellow citizens. With these can we have no influence? I will not believe we cannot. It is a slander upon our southern brethren to say they are impervious to argument, and insensible to persuasions of justice and mercy. No class is more sensitive and chivalrous—none more alive to reputation. Gen. Duff Green says so. Gov. McDuffie says so. They feel that the reputation of the whole south is in jeopardy. They complain that we are holding them up to execration. This, Mr. President, is what we are doing. It is not in vain to address the south. Though they cry out against our interference, yet it is because they feel that they are about to be exposed—this we can continue to do—this we *will* do, till they QUIT STEALING. (Applause.) They are not immoveable. The time *will* come, when they will give ear to our appeals for justice and mercy, and honor too. We have divine truth on our side, and it is injustice to God to suppose that his truth will not have effect. Only agitate, and agitate, and illustrate and press, and the work will be accomplished.

But it is said, and that not long since—'They have a *right* to their slaves.'—Monstrous! They have no right. Strange that at this day and in this part of the country such a claim should be set up. How easy to disprove their '*right*.' I appeal to the *sense of justice* in every breast. Look at the case. Suppose a few white citizens are captured by Algerines. Do you say *they* have a right to their plunder? A few years ago, when the Algerines captured a few of our fellow citizens, the news of the outrage electrified the land, a thousand voices spoke for justice, vessels were fitted out, and the public mind would not rest till our fellow citizens were rescued from their barbarous bondage. How fearfully inconsistent, now, should we allow 2,000,000 of our fellow men to be kept bound for years; and the number kept good for generations. The cases are parallel. No matter how many links connect the slave with his ancestors, rightfully free in their native Africa; no matter how long laws have legalized their bondage; they were born free, and no equal man can take away their birthright. Free they were originally, and no circumstances can change the nature of things.

How easy to disprove this claim from the Declaration of Independence. 'All men are *born equal*.' Whence then the right of one to usurp tyranny over another?

We disprove it too from the Bible. 'Thou shalt not steal,' 'He that stealeth a man shall be put to death.' The slaves can say as Joseph did, 'For indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews.' But if the Bible warrants slavery, then why not give them the Bible? Ah, they *dare not*. It teaches nothing like the *right* to hold men in involuntary bondage, nor as property. No, there is nothing can give a right but 'a *bill of sale* from the Almighty.'

I know something of slavery, I have seen it. But I would not rail against my brethren. I have experienced great hospitality. The southern people are a noble and generous race, and their good traits too frequently cover the odiousness of their slave system from the eyes of northern men. It is not uncommon for gentlemen from the North to make the tour of the whole South, and absolutely never to see slavery as

it is. 'They see and experience the generosity of the South, and return 'corrected of their prejudices,' as they say, and even in love with the whole system of things there. But it needs a residence of years, a citizenship there, to see the horrors of slavery. This was my lot.

One thought, to urge and encourage us in our course.—These men, for whom we plead, *cannot speak for themselves*. Their mouths are muzzled. How deplorable! Why, we think it an abridgment of the liberty of speech to be driven *here*, to utter our opinions; and perhaps it is partially so: but suppose you could say nothing. This is the slave's case. How cheerfully ought we to volunteer our services to plead the cause of the needy; and how hard-hearted he who is reluctant to speak, and to hear the story of oppression, and who shuts up his bowels of compassion! 'How dwelleth the love of God in him?' 'He that loveth God, loveth his brother also.' He, in his turn, shall cry and not be heard. How cruel and unchristian to shut up churches against this cause! Is not this stopping the ear from the cry of the poor and needy? How inconsistent with christian character!

Let us to-day avow anew eternal enmity to slavery. When we remember the contest of our fathers for liberty, how they spoke, and fought, and bled; can we let our voice cease, or our hands grow weary in the work of carrying out what they began? Whatever men may think, I would say, 'let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, let my right hand forget her cunning,' if I ever cease to speak and to act for the poor slave.

The great moral war is but begun. The collision of truth with error, of duty with expediency, will produce commotion, but truth and duty must and will prevail. Should my name reach the next generation, let it be found in connexion with Abolition. I would sooner be execrated as a tory of the Revolution, than to be known hereafter as one who stood aloof from or opposed the movements now in progress for laying the last stone on the yet unfinished temple of Liberty. (Applause.)

But above all; when I am summoned to judgment, let me then be found to have been the unflinching friend of God's poor; and let me hear my Saviour say, 'Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me—come, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.' (Applause.)

Rev. Mr. RUSSELL, of Lynn. Mr. President, I hope the resolution will pass.—I feel it a duty and a privilege to make a few remarks. When I look around, I see much to discourage and alarm: but when I look back, and compare the present with the past, I thank God and take courage. It was my privilege to attend the first anniversary of this Society, at a time when colonization absorbed the mind of the nation, and there were few hearts to feel; few brethren and few ministers to speak directly for the slave. We now see an answer to our prayers, the result of our labors. What do I see? *Eight hundred Anti-Slavery Societies*, a multitude of minds feeling for us, pleading the cause of the needy, breasting the enemy, fighting, not with carnal weapons, but the keen and potent ones of truth and kindness and love. When I see this change, I am encouraged, and my heart leaps for joy. I look forward to the time when the banners of liberty shall wave universally over our land.

The resolution asserts the peacefulness of abolition principles. They are strictly so. But how often is it thrown in our faces, that 'you abolitionists are stirring up strife!' Sir, to this we plead both guilty and not guilty. We *have* 'stirred up,' (with emphatic gesture) and ever may we be guilty of 'stirring up,' while this inhuman apathy prevails. (Applause.) This effect has always been produced when truth has battled it

with error. When Christ appeared, He 'stirred up' a certain class whose wickedness he reproved. When arraigned before Pontius Pilate, this was the charge and the acclamation—'He stirreth up the people'—'crucify him—crucify him.' It was true in part. He 'stirred up,' not the people, but the Pharisees, Lawyers and Doctors—those 'whited sepulchres'—fair outside, but within full of hypocrisy and wickedness.

Follow the apostle Paul. *He* 'stirred up' the people too. When at Damascus, he preached Christ, the Jews were 'stirred up' to kill him, and it was only by his being let down by the wall in a basket that he escaped.—When he preached at Ephesus, the seat of Diana's temple, those whose craft was in danger were 'stirred up' by one Demetrius, and quite a mob was raised, the most part of which knew not wherefore they had come together—only they knew that Paul's preaching was opposed to their received religion, and so to put it down, they strained their throats for the space of two hours, crying out, 'GREAT IS DIANA OF THE EPHESIANS.' At Thessalonica too, the Jews which believed not, 'stirred up' 'certain lewd fellows of the baser sort,' and set all the city in an uproar, and assaulted Jason's house that harbored Paul and his company, and when they did not find them, drew Jason before the rulers of the city, and accused him of harboring those that had in other places turned the world upside down, and declared they had now come there for that purpose. Why, verily Paul had the spirit of a modern abolitionist, (applause)—wherever he went, some how or other the people were at once 'stirred up' to mob him.

It has been just so in every succeeding age. Luther stirred up Pope, Cardinals and Friars, till the church was reformed. Moral Reformers have ever turned the world topsy turvy, and 'stirred up' the people, till they should stand right end up, with their feet planted on the everlasting rock of truth. They are not so now. Heaven speed reform till disorder shall be rectified, and the world shall be brought to rights.

When Garrison enlisted in this cause, he did it to 'stir up' the people, and he HAS DONE IT. (Applause.)

There have been insurrections produced by abolition principles, but where and for what object? Not at Southampton to cut the throats of men, but at Boston to mob the ladies, (applause)—insurrections of 'gentlemen of property and standing' to make a coalition with southern nabobs. I will tell what I have seen. I visited Bath in Maine last year, and pleaded the cause of 2,000,000 of fellow men in the Baptist church there. Immediately the officers of the customs 'stirred up the people,' and said, we must put this down. Our vessels will be burned in the southern ports,—we can't carry their cotton—we shall lose our business. Drum him out of the town. When George Thompson came to Lynn, the people were 'stirred up' and exclaimed, 'we shall lose our shoes'—'our town will be ruined,'—and certain 'gentlemen of property and standing' gathered a company, and said to them, 'If you will mob him, we will find rum and eggs.' (Applause.)

But abolition light and love are going South. They are progressive, and soon will they kindle up a spirit of benevolence in our land which many waters cannot quench.

I have read the history of Slavery from the beginning, and have observed that insurrections are more to be traced to pale-faced aristocrats than to the suffering blacks. When Thomas Clarkson first preached abolition, who was it that would have thrown him into the dock? Those who got their living by the Colonial trade. What caused the insurrection in St. Domingo? When, after the French National Convention had voted to the free blacks the right of suffrage, 25,000 of these, with 30,000 whites, asked for their rights, and they were refused; it was not till they had been goaded on

by oppression for two years, that they at last rose in insurrection, and then not excited by abolitionists but by their oppressors.

Insurrection has always been excited by oppression, and not by preaching light and love. We have infinitely more to fear from the mad course of 'gentlemen of property and standing,' in the North, East, West and South, than from the slaves themselves. They are passive, and will endure while there is a gleam of hope; but extinguish that star, and they will be goaded to desperation. Extinguish the light we are sending out, and leave the slave not even a distant hope of freedom, and we shall witness in our country the scenes of 1794 in St. Domingo. Seal up our lips, and gloomy is the prospect for our land. Our only hope is in God, that while we labor for the slaves, they will continue submissive, until He who directs the counsels of nations shall either providentially mete out his vengeance upon their oppressors, or bring their Jubilee, when liberty shall be proclaimed to the captive and the opening of the prison-doors to them that are bound.

Rev. Mr. FITCH offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That, while we look well to the dangers which threaten ourselves, as the advocates of free discussion, we ought also to keep full in mind the wrongs and sufferings of the slave.

He spoke in support of it as follows:—Mr. President: There is danger, at this juncture, lest we lose sight of the end of our organization as an Anti-Slavery Society. We are opposed and oppressed. We are forbidden to speak and are driven into corners, and there is danger that in resisting oppression and claiming rights, we shall forget the greater sufferings of those for whom we plead. There is danger that our benevolence will degenerate into selfishness. Let us dwell less on our own wrongs and the danger that threatens, and think and say more about the infinitely more oppressive wrongs of the slave. I don't like this turning aside to inflict chastisement (deserved indeed) upon Boston.* I would leave Bostonians to the corrosions of shameful recollections, and to the lashings of their own consciences. (Applause.)

What are the wrongs of the slave? Perhaps you are a husband and a father.—You have by industry acquired a little which you determine to devote to buying a farm at the west. The time is fixed for removal. The night before you are to start, your house is broken open and your little all is lost. The plunderer you call a *thief*. This is a great deal to suffer, but what compared with the endurance of the slave? What name does he deserve who robs a man of himself? Or, what if just at the end of your journey, you are robbed of all, and left houseless and friendless amongst strangers or in a wilderness? You are yet a man and free, you have all the bodily faculties of a man, and can choose where you will go and what to do to support yourself and family. But what is the condition of the slave? With a mind that cannot be completely repressed, he feels the burdensome consciousness that he is almost a brute, nay, almost a thing. Is the wide world open to him? No. He must exist and labor at the will of another. He is robbed of a property, which you have not lost—himself. But suppose your wife is set up and sold to the highest bidder—your children too, sold and carried you know not whither. Can you imagine the outrage? This is **SLAVERY**. It is said that when we call this *robbery*, we use a hard word. I do not feel that it is. That word comes far short of expressing the amount of iniquity and horror of the system. **SLAVERY** is the hardest word that slavery can be called, and **SLAVERY** let it be called. But use not the word without thought. Gather into a force

* Alluding to a debate on a resolution introduced by Mr. Stanton, which was withdrawn, and passed in a modified form, the next day.

of feeling all your pity, horror and indignation for the sufferings of your brother, and then express it in one word—SLAVERY !

Why, I am told, it is common to work slaves to death. I do not mean an every day business, that would be unprofitable; but at certain junctures, to make close calculations and in time of good markets for cotton or rice, to deliberately task the slaves beyond their powers of endurance to hurry the crops into market. It is calculated they *can afford it* ! Yes, the increased price of cotton will more than replace the loss by death, of a few negroes ! ! Is MURDER a 'hard word' for slavery ? Who would not rather die any other way ?

There is another point I cannot bring up without shame. Perhaps there are some here who have heard what I am about to relate before; for I am in the habit of speaking on this subject in season and out of season. Bear with me. A fact. It is stated by a clergyman who learned it in Washington, and gives me liberty to repeat it, withholding his name. A pious physician of that city told him, that a mulatto female, a member of the same church with himself, called on him one day in great distress, for his advice. She stated that her master's son was in the practice of compelling her to his bed. She dared not complain to his father.

[Mr. Fitch also alluded to an authentic case of criminal intercourse with a female slave on the part of a certain D. D. and his son at the south, and then remarked :]

This is slavery. Can any other word express it ? It is worse than forcible violation of female purity, for it legalizes the iniquity, and 'so wraps it up.' Is it not desirable to look to the sufferings of the slaves, and to do something that shall rectify moral sentiment at the south ?

Mr. GROSVENOR wished to refer to a fact in Roman history, in connexion with the facts related by Mr. Fitch. The topic is both delicate and indelicate. The incident is the case of Lucretia. She would survive her violation only long enough to make known the brutality of Tarquin. The exposure of her virtuous body to the eyes of the Senate, excited universal indignation, and the populace joined and drove the Tarquins forever from the throne. This occurred in heathen Rome; but in Christian America, Tarquins are protected by law, and our Lucretias are cut off from self-defence.

Mr. JOHNSON, a colored man, was introduced, who said he could tell us something about slavery. He *knew* what it was. I was born in Africa, several hundred miles up the Gambia River. Fine country dat; but we are called heathen in dis Christian—no—I don't know what to call it—in dis—*enlightened heathen country*. (Laugh.) But the villagers in that country are very kind. When you go into house, first question is, have you had any thing to eat ? Bring water—you wash—and den eat much you want, and all you got do is tank em for it—not one sip you pay. If you are sick, nurse you, and make you well; not one sip you pay. If you want clothing, one woman put in two knots warp, one puts in two knots filling, and so on; den men weave it, and you cut out just such garment you like; not one sip you pay. (Applause.)

When I was nine years old, I was out with my aunt to get figs; figs grow wild in dat country; I had to crawl amongst de bushes; when all at once I feel something pull my leg. I look round, and could see no aunt, nothing but man of my own color; and I never seed my aunt since. Dis man took me to Massurdoo (Mesurado ?) First white man I ever see was Com. Bowen of Providence, R. I., and I tot he was de devil. (Laugh.) My own color told me he was a man, but I could not believe it. I was bro't to Savannah. I could not eat corn-meal; not used to it; so I have little bit

rice, and little hominy; then go out every day to 'plunder,' (get something to eat.) Dis kept me from being sold, till, being the last one, Capt. Boss look for me two days; den said you mustn't go way to-day; gave me all rice I wanted; set me upon table like dat, (pointing.) Capt. Boss talk to people; dey look at me, and feel of me. By and by, man wid mallet begin to talk and swing his mallet; dey talk once in while; he 'jabber, jabber, jabber,' I no understand; den he fetch his mallet down, and all stop. Capt. Boss said, you go wid dat man. My master was Com. Bowen. He was more father than master. He always said he should set me free before he died. But he died soon, and I was left by will to his nephew, Judge Bowen, from Providence, with instructions that I should be free as soon as I could take care of myself. But not to dwell, I WAS IN SLAVERY. (A deep emotion was produced in the audience by this simple narrative.)

He stated some of his experience and observation of the evils of slavery. One day my master was dining with a gentleman who had a wife as black as dat hat. A young colored woman, as likely for *her color* as any lady in dis assembly, (a laugh,) waited on table. She happened to spill a little gravy on the gown of her mistress. The gentleman took the carving-knife, dragged her out to wood pile, and cut her head off; den wash his hands, come in and finish his dinner like nothing had happened! Do you call dat a Christian country? I never saw the like in Africa. Mr. Olney dropped his knife and fork, and eat no more. The court was sitting; he was then a lawyer. He told the thing to several, but they only said, That is a Northern man, he ain't used to our customs; let him take himself back again, if he don't like our ways.

I have seen a Christian professor, after the communion, have four slaves tied together and whipped raw, and then washed with beef brine. I knew eight slaves once shut up in a barn one night, to be whipped next morning: it was winter, and they all escaped the lash, for they *died*! I have known a man offer \$500 for shooting a slave for going to meeting. I knew one Tom Buckine, he was whipped 150 lashes every Monday, and washed with brine, for going to meeting, but that did not stop him.—Directly after he was whipped, he would jump over fence and pray for his master.

It is common for the slaves to have 'stents,' and if you no do them, you get whip. If child cries, and mother has to stop to nurse it, and so the row gets behind, the husband helps it along to keep whip off wife's back, and frequently gets it on his own: for who could see a woman whipped for taking care of his own child? (Emotion.) *Slavery is most cruellest thing in de world.* [Mr. J. here expatiated very sensibly upon the peculiar evils of slavery in this country, and very suddenly pointed to Mr. Garrison, and said, 'Dat man is de Moses raised up for our deliverance.'—(Tremendous applause.) [The reporter did not perceive the connexion of his narrative of events in Boston, with those of his previous life. He said,] One night as he was going over to Cambridge, he stopped at the toll-bridge, and got into conversation with a man about the difficulty of getting pay for certain medical prescriptions, on account of not being a licensed physician. This man told him an easier way to get money. 'I can tell you how you can make \$5000 easily.' He 'took the hint,' (reference was had to the reward for Mr. Garrison's head,) and replied, 'I would not be the man to do that, I would defend him with my blood; I would wear a sword and cut the man's head off, who should offer to touch him.' (He also stated some anecdotes of 'Walker's Appeal.') I lent it to a man. He said, 'I have read your book.' Well, how you like? 'O, very well, all *but*—' Well, bring your '*buts*' to me; I've got an axe to chop them off. (Laugh.) He afterwards lent it to a Mr. Welch, who also liked it 'all *but*.'—He proposed the same disposition of his difficulty. Mr

W. said also, 'He (Walker) wants to shed blood.' He then had this argument with Mr. W.: 'Wan't you a transport?' 'No.' 'Well, your fathers were—banished to an island—dare not go back—death; came to this country; they (English) wanted to put them under 'injunction.' Now, how did you get liberty?' 'Our fathers fought for it.' 'Were you Christians?' 'Yes.' 'What! and fought for liberty—God forbid.' (Applause.) 'O, tread on an insect, and if it can do nothing more, he will bite your foot.' (Applause.) I will contend for liberty as long as I live. (Applause.) This day we are met to help the liberty of the slaves. Some say they had rather be slaves than free. What! If you had horse, would you give him a pint of corn a day; can a man be content wid dat? O! how many children, boy like dat, go to master's crib every Saturday night, and draw out two quarts corn for a week. Man and wife draw half a bushel, and two or three herring. What, if you hold em up in tumb and finger, de wind would blow em away, so salt eaten. Masters often give servant nine-pence to get food for dog; yes, he would pay dog's board, but leave slave to take care himself. [The narrator was requested to give an account of his escape from slavery. It would appear that Judge Bowen, in some way, took law, in reference to certain blacks, and in their behalf, into his own hands, so as to offend his fellow judge, and matters came to such a pass that Judge B. drew a pistol upon him in the Court House. 'They had an "insurrection" in court,' said Mr. J.; (his manner, and the previous references to 'insurrection,' caused a great laugh.) His difficulties finally compelled him to come to his native North. The narrator was brought along, though still held as a slave. The story became still more interesting and amusing, so that the reporters dropped their pens, and enjoyed the sallies of his wit with the audience.]

Mr. WRIGHT moved the thanks of the Society to Mr. Sears for the use of his loft for its anniversary.

Mr. AMASA WALKER. Mr. President, I second the motion. Mr. Sears neither expects nor desires a vote of thanks. He has cheerfully accommodated us, and he is not the man to fall into the current, when it is fashionable to proscribe and repress men for speaking their opinions. But I wish to say a few things suggested by the motion. It is doubtful whether even this place can be had for an anti-slavery meeting another year. It is a question whether there can be a hall for free discussion on this site; and if not, I know not but anti-slavery will be absolutely expelled from Boston, i. e. to hold its meetings. I trust we feel to-day, little fear of becoming extinct. The subject I am about to propose, then, is very appropriate to be brought before the Anti-Slavery Society, and claims regard from all the friends of free discussion in Boston, and even throughout the State. The Marlboro' Hotel property is now owned by the Free Church, under the title of the Marlboro' Corporation. They gave for the property \$46,000: to build will cost \$29,000 more; then the rents in front will pay the interest of all, and leave the Hall free. This is the object we wish to accomplish. Mr. Sears, who is trustee for the Corporation, could sell the property for \$10,000 profit to-day; but we are unwilling to let it go, without an effort to accomplish our wishes. We want, then, to borrow, not beg money enough to erect a large and commodious hall, that this city may have one place consecrated to religion and free discussion. 'Can't you get money?' No. This Corporation is poor. The wealth and aristocracy are against us. The Free Church has done nobly. They have put their shoulder to the wheel; but they can carry the enterprise no further. How do we propose to raise it? We will mortgage the property for security for the necessary amount, give our notes for five years, and pay interest semi-annually. The Corpora-

tion perpetuate themselves, and by their act of incorporation, hold the property for the parochial interest of the Free Church.

Mr. MAY spoke as follows:—Mr. President, I rejoice that I am here. It will not be taking God's name in vain to say, I thank God that I am here—for if ever kind feelings, high purposes, holy resolutions were awakened in my heart, it has been in the meetings of this Society, or in the company of abolitionists elsewhere. Think not, sir, because my domestic ties have withdrawn me from my public agency in this cause, that my interest in it has abated, or my ardor cooled. This, I trust, will never be—certainly not until the crying abomination of the land is annihilated; and then, if I live to see that day, which cannot be far off, having joined with an overflowing heart in the grateful Hallelujah of the redeemed, I pray that I may have resolution, renewed and strengthened by success, to unite in an assault upon some other evil that afflicts our country and the world.

Mr. President, I am now, you know, a resident in the Old Colony—not many miles from Plymouth rock. My thoughts have often, of late, reverted to the memorials of those high-souled men, who first came there seeking an asylum from civil and ecclesiastical tyranny—and I have been impelled onward in the enterprise, which has brought us here to-day by the perception I have clearly had, that the abolition of slavery is but another and a broader phase of the same great and holy cause, for which our Pilgrim fathers and mothers cheerfully sacrificed all the comforts of life in civilized England—encountered the perils of a voyage across the broad Atlantic—and the hardships and dangers of living in this then howling wilderness.

(Here Mr. May went on at some length to trace the resemblance, and show the identity of their purposes and ours.)

If then, said he, fidelity to the sacred principles of civil and religious liberty, and of sound morality, public and private, demanded of our puritan forefathers so great exertions and sacrifices as they made, surely the far grosser violations of these same principles, which we see at this day in our country, demand of us at least as great exertions and sacrifices of personal comfort, to the extent even of our lives.

I know, Mr. President, I shall be told by some, that the resemblance I have endeavored to point out is not real—for the Puritans were molested in their own rights, persecuted in their own persons—whereas we abolitionists, they say, are meddling in other folks matters—we, who have none to molest us, or make us afraid, in the exercise and enjoyment of our own civil and religious privileges, are undertaking for persons whom we never saw, who are far away from us, and persons, too, who have never solicited us to assist them.

Sir, I am ashamed that there are men and women, ay, professed christians and christian ministers, too, in our country, who would have it thought, that a man must suffer injury in his own person, or his own rights before he can reasonably complain—that it is therefore no grievance, no concern of mine, that there are millions of my fellow beings, my countrymen, who are trodden down into the dust, who are denied every thing that makes this life pleasant, and are shut out even from the light of heaven. I am heartily ashamed, I am sincerely grieved that there are such men and women, professing christians too, in our land; but, Sir, it is notorious that there are such, many such in this Commonwealth, in this very city; ay, Sir, among the lineal descendants of the Pilgrims. To such, therefore, it is necessary to show, which can too easily be done, that we are ourselves most seriously molested, by the system of slavery and its abettors, in the exercise of our civil and religious liberties.

[Here he spoke of several respects, in which the colored and also the white citizens of Massachusetts suffer a serious abridgment of their privileges and immunities, in order that the slaveholders may not be disturbed in their unrighteousness.]

But these, Sir, which I have already mentioned, are trifles in comparison with others I am going to speak of. Although we of the North are citizens of this Republic, and as such must be partakers in the prosperity or adversity of the nation; although we see that from the beginning the institution of slavery has been a fruitful source of evil to our body politic; although we must of course share in the disgrace, that is brought upon us by this glaring inconsistency between our professions and our practices—and must ere long suffer with the rest of our guilty countrymen under the inflictions of the Almighty's hand, if his hand be not shortened that he cannot vindicate the unchangeable laws of his moral government; although, Sir, we have been brought to perceive, that we and our fellow-citizens of New-England have been and still are, in various ways, implicated in the sin of slavery, yet are we most peremptorily forbidden to repent, or to do any works meet for repentance. This, Mr. President, is the most cruel constraint that could be imposed upon us—to be compelled to be partakers of other men's sins, compelled to be silent in view of the greatest wrongs man can inflict upon his fellow. Rather than submit to this, who would not wear the chain himself? Yet this is the constraint which the abettors of slavery in our land would fasten upon us. They have summoned their hosts from all quarters. They have taken the reins of government into their own hands, and Jehu-like (all the while proclaiming their zeal for liberty) have driven through the land, trampling under foot every one who has dared to raise his voice above a whisper against American Oppression.

Sir, for one, I regard this as tending to the destruction not only of our civil liberty, but of our religion also. Would any one here present inquire, how it affects our religious liberty? We believe, I trust, that God is not to be worshipped by a service of the lips alone. We desire to be of that number, who love God not in word, neither in tongue, but in *deed* and in truth. 'Whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?' Now, Sir, we do see millions of our brethren in this country, who have need of every thing that renders this life desirable, to say nothing of another; and I do contend that to require of us to withhold our compassion from them, to forbid us to plead for them, and rebuke the sin of their oppressors—to forbid us to do all we can to awaken a public interest in their behalf—to enter forcibly our meetings when we have assembled to consider their wrongs, and pray and consult together for their redemption—to burn up our books, and threaten us with punishment at common law, and to inflict punishment upon us without law—what is all this?—in the name of common sense, what is it? but to persecute us for righteousness sake,—to abridge the liberty of our consciences,—and to deny us the privilege, the inestimable privilege of following God as dear children—following the example of his beloved Son, who went about doing good, and who labored incessantly to expose the great wickedness of his nation, to enlighten the ignorant, and raise up those who were bowed down. I had much rather our opposers should attempt to prevent our ever entering a place of worship—ever offering a prayer to God in an audible voice, than that they should attempt, as they are doing, to prevent our worshipping our Heavenly Father in *deed* and in *truth*.

I might say more on this point, Sir, did time permit. But I trust I have said enough to show, that, in this country, the cause of civil and religious liberty is identified with the anti-slavery cause. And yet, Sir, with deepest shame I acknowledge,

this sacred cause finds but little favor in the metropolis of New-England, in the capital city of Massachusetts. Here, Sir, the birthplace of the American Revolution, the cause of impartial liberty is shut out from all the churches and halls, that are under the control of the citizens. Thanks to the representatives of the yeomanry of Massachusetts, we were well accommodated last evening. But, Sir, in this city, although Faneuil Hall is still standing, the friends of liberty 'once sacred, now trampled upon,' the friends of true liberty, can find no shelter *but this*. And I fear, Mr. President, that another year, we shall not have even so good a room for our meeting as this, unless the motion of my brother, who preceded me, shall prevail upon all, who are able, to assist in the erection upon this spot of a building such as is contemplated, and which we are assured shall be ever open to the advocates of our oppressed countrymen, and to every cause of moral reformation.

True, Sir, the building is to be appropriated in part to the use of a particular church, and that church of a denomination different from my own. But I am on that account none the less willing and anxious to have the members of that church well accommodated. To them, Mr. President, you know, and all the abolitionists of Boston know, that we owe more than to all the other churches in this city. They have done all it was in their power to do on our behalf. They have suffered with us and for us. And it is a pleasure to me to know, that we now have an opportunity to confer a favor upon them. I hope, I trust, this opportunity will be eagerly embraced by all truly liberal christians among us, of every denomination. I ask not any one to compromise his religious opinions. I have not compromised, and do not mean to compromise my own. I am as much of a Unitarian as ever—as much of a Unitarian as I am of an Abolitionist. But, Sir, I believe I am less of a sectarian, than perhaps I once was. Highly important as I deem the theological questions, that have been and still are in controversy between us and our orthodox brethren, I cannot consider them by any means so important as the *great moral principles*, on which is based the kingdom of Christ—the kingdom of righteousness, peace and joy in the holy spirit. I cannot regard doctrines, which too often play round the head but come not to the heart, so truly evangelical as those which stir men up to labor and to suffer in the cause of humanity. And when I see any one zealous and firm in advocating and maintaining the great moral, beneficent principles of the Gospel, him I desire to embrace as a brother in the Lord, let him be of what sect he may. I am free to acknowledge, Sir, that I do not feel so much united to a Unitarian, who is not an Abolitionist, as I do to one of any other sect, who is an Abolitionist. The more I have contemplated this subject, the more clearly have I been brought to perceive, that in our country *the true righteousness* must be *anti-slavery*. For the crying sin of our nation is the sin of slavery.—We all have been, we still are implicated in it. And that surely must be a very questionable sort of religion, that overlooks, or winks at the great transgression of our own time, and our own nation.

I do therefore, Sir, most earnestly hope that all the Abolitionists in the State, of every religious denomination, will cordially assist, as they may be able, in the erection upon this spot of the large and commodious building proposed, for the accommodation of our brethren of the Free Church, and for our own accommodation, whenever we may wish to assemble in this city again.

[The meeting, at this period, became interlocutory. Many informal inquiries were made respecting the proposed Hall: Who were to control it? What security would be given for its perpetual freedom? What were 'moral subjects?' (to which it was to be open)—What amount was wanted? &c. Mr. Walker afterwards spoke in a

very animated manner. A subscription of \$3,000 by Mr. Philbrick was announced, (applause,) which would be increased to \$5,000, if the security was satisfactory.]— (Applause.)

Mr. GARRISON introduced the following resolutions, which were adopted by acclamation:

Resolved, That it behooves the friends of humanity throughout the country, and especially the people of the non-slaveholding States, to lift up their voices in thunder-tones against the admission of Texas into the American Union.

Resolved, That the continued and all-prevailing efforts of our beloved coadjutor George Thompson, in England, and the faithful and christian remonstrances of our English brethren, in opposition to American slavery, call for a renewal of our warmest thanks to them, and are exerting upon public sentiment in this country a most salutary influence.

It was then moved to adjourn, to attend the Ladies' A. S. Society at half-past two o'clock, P. M., and to meet at the Anti-Slavery Rooms, 46, Washington-Street, at 9 o'clock next morning.

FRIDAY MORNING.

Society met in the Anti-Slavery Rooms, Isaac Winslow, Esq. in the chair.

Prayer by Rev. Mr. Himes.

Mr. Himes offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the grant to this Society, by the Representatives of the people of this Commonwealth, of the use of the State House, in which to hold our Annual Meeting, is a keen rebuke to those churches in this city, who have refused to us the occupancy of their houses of worship, that we might plead in them the cause of two millions of American brethren—and is a decided proof, which we record with gratitude to God, that, although the political and religious aristocracy of Boston may oppose the progress of impartial liberty and righteous equality, the piety and democracy of the Commonwealth hate despotism, sympathize with the oppressed, spurn the gag, defend the rights of the minority, and advocate freedom of thought, of speech, and of action.

On motion of Mr. Southard, three thousand extra copies of the number of the Liberator containing the proceedings of this meeting, be ordered for gratuitous distribution.

Mr. Garrison read from the Glasgow Chronicle, some very interesting accounts of the proceedings of Anti-Slavery meetings in England, in which the labors of Mr. Thompson are spoken of in terms of unqualified approbation. This, said Mr. Garrison, is the 'renegade from justice!' In this country, the 'miserable fanatic'—in England, the 'indefatigable philanthropist,' (quoting from the paper.) He also read a very interesting letter from a Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society in England, to the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of New England, which was received with much applause. In this connection, the following extract of a letter from Rev. B. Godwin, of England, to W. S. Andrews, dated Oct. 6, 1836, was read, and ordered to be entered on the minutes of the Society, in connection with the resolution yesterday introduced by Mr. Garrison, in relation to the Abolitionists of Great Britain.

'I rejoice in the hope, that the two countries are becoming better acquainted and more closely connected. Never, I trust, will the sword of war be mutually drawn.—Mr. Breckinridge, in his letter to Dr. Wardlaw, has declared that general prejudice and dislike to America are prevalent in England. *He is greatly mistaken.* It may be the case among the High Church and Tory party, who dislike her free institutions, but *with no others.* We honor, we admire America; and, O! that she were but free from that plague spot, Negro Slavery!'

Mr. May offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That while we this day rejoice and give thanks to God, for the progress of our cause, we deeply lament the removal, by the hand of death, of several of our beloved fellow laborers in this work, particularly our much esteemed and deeply lamented George Benson and Henry E. Benson.

Mr. May said, he had often thought, while contemplating the progress of this cause, that justice is not done among men, to those who labor in private. We are apt to think that those whose names are continually before the public are the ones who are doing most in this cause. But, it is not so. I can never forget the deep impression made upon my own mind, by the private conversations of that excellent man, George Benson. I well remember the truthfulness of his mind to principles which were then new to us, but familiar to him. His epistolary correspondence, also, was abundant; and he always took occasion to press this subject upon the attention of his friends, to entreat and persuade those who stood aloof, and to rouse the apathy of the friends of the cause. I am unable—language is inadequate, to express the feelings of my heart, on this occasion. I have not ‘words that burn’—I have ‘thoughts that breathe,’ but cannot find words to utter them. And I feel that almost an equal tribute is due to the memory of his son, Henry E. Benson, late Recording Secretary of this Society.—(Here the speaker was so overcome with emotion, as to be unable, for a while, to proceed, and his feelings seemed to find a response from almost every eye in the house.) Having known him for years as a lovely youth, I have had the pleasure of knowing him for months as an indefatigable laborer in this cause. The adjoining room witnessed his incessant toil—there he labored, with an assiduity, which spared not himself—and there, I hesitate not to say, he sacrificed his life. We saw his health failing—we remonstrated—but he saw the cause suffering for just such labors as his—he went on—he lingered a little while, and—died. And, O, how he died! Would to God we could all die as he died! (Deep emotion.)

It was ordered, on Mr. May’s motion, that the Board of Managers be directed to make an appropriate entry upon the records of the Society, in relation to the death of George Benson and Henry E. Benson.

Mr. May made some statements respecting a letter he had received from a distant abolitionist, in relation to the Liberator, urging its support. It remonstrated with those who had become hostile to the Liberator, on account of the incidental remarks which the editor had made respecting the Sabbath. It dwelt upon the fact, that while many other anti-slavery papers took the opposite ground, in regard to this subject; with great zeal, yet the Quakers had not, on that account, withdrawn from them their support. Mr. May said that, on reading Mr. Garrison’s article, he immediately turned to Calvin’s Institutes, and found that the views presented by Mr. Garrison were precisely those entertained by that Reformer. I do not agree, said he, either with Mr. G. or Calvin on that subject—but I am willing to hear; and especially, I would not make Mr. G. an offender for a word; especially as he has not made it the object of his paper to propagate his peculiar views, but only alluded to them incidentally. We all know that the weapons of the enemy are aimed continually at Mr. Garrison. Mr. G. has the power of speaking in thunder-tones—he has spoken so—he has waked up the nation. O, had I the tongue and pen of Garrison, I too would speak in thunder-tones. I, for one, am determined, if Garrison is shot down, that the same ball shall carry me along with him! (Great applause.) Will any abolitionist be so timid, or so ungrateful, as to wish Mr. G. set aside? I rejoice that no power on earth can

set him aside—(here Mr. Garrison left the room.) I wish for some immediate action, to secure the support of the *Liberator* and its Editor.

Mr. Walker of Boston, said, this topic touches my heart. The success of the *Liberator* is identified with the success of our cause. The enemies of the cause would give more to have the *Liberator* stop, than any thing else. It is even now a great cause of exultation, that the *Liberator* languishes for want of support. The *Liberator* is entitled to a circulation of 20,000. It has been the great pioneer in this cause, and it ought to be the centre—the organ of the Society. We do not all feel perfectly pleased with *all* Mr. G. says. Like Martin Luther, his language is rough, and sometimes violent. But, Mr. Birney has said, 'My Anti-Slavery trumpet would never have roused the country—Garrison alone could do it.' Sir, I wish the *Liberator* might be adopted by the Society—at any rate, that we all feel a deep interest in its support.

The only trouble about the *Liberator* is, that it is always a little ahead of public sentiment. But, if nobody was in advance of public opinion, would public opinion go ahead at all? The complaint is, that it is *ultra*. Now, *ultra*, if I recollect my Latin, is *beyond*. The *Liberator*, then, is a little beyond us. Is not that the reason we are so ready to find fault with it? When slavery ceases, then I trust the *Liberator* will cease to be *ultra*. If we concentrate our influence, we may have a paper three times as large.

Mr. Stanton said, his excuse for saying any thing was, that he was an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Wherever I have been, I have recommended the *Liberator*; and I know it to be the opinion of the Society I represent, that the *Liberator* ought to be sustained; and any one who is conversant with these matters must know that it is utterly out of the question for a moral reform paper to be sustained by its subscription list. It is often asked, 'Why does not the American Society sustain the *Liberator*?' The uniform reply of that Society to this question has been, 'Why does not Massachusetts sustain it, as it ought?'

The views of these speakers were also sustained in an animated strain, by Messrs. Chaplin, Norris, and St. Clair; all agreeing that the *Liberator* must be sustained.

Mr. Garrison having returned, rose and said—Mr. President, without affecting any diffidence, I have been out and in several times during this discussion, hoping that it would be brought to a speedy close. It cannot but be grateful to my feelings—indeed, I am overwhelmed by a full tide of emotions—to know that my humble labors in this righteous cause are thus highly appreciated by those who are united for the peaceful but utter overthrow of American slavery. But, sir, while I duly appreciate the kindness and generous confidence of my abolition brethren, as exhibited toward me on this as well as on many other occasions, I am constrained to say, with all sincerity, that I think there has been too much said, and too frequent reference made, in applauding terms, respecting 'Garrison' and 'Garrisonism'—certainly, many things have been uttered in my hearing, wholly unanticipated by me, and which ought not to have reached my ear. Still, though not far advanced in life, I have seen enough of the world, and the folly of courting the breath of popular favor, ever to feel elevated by human applause, or depressed by human censure. There is but one Being in the universe whose frown I dread, whose smile I seek; and if, in doing his will and acting in his service, I shall happily be hailed among the benefactors of mankind, to him be the glory forever.

Sir, the position which I occupy is purely accidental. What is it that has given me notoriety, and made me widely conspicuous? It is not that I have labored

so much more abundantly, or successfully, in the anti-slavery cause, than others: for I dare not measure my efforts with such men as Samuel J. May, William Goodell, Henry B. Stanton, Theodore D. Weld, Elizur Wright, and others. It is not that I have made any moral discoveries, or established any new principles. It is simply because I happened to perceive and expose the cruelty and hypocrisy of a professedly benevolent Society, and to depict the true character of American slaveholders. For so doing, rewards have been offered for my head, lynch law has been administered to me, and the whole nation thrown into commotion. These things, and not any personal merits, have made me in some places an object of hatred, in others of sympathy, in all of notoriety. I have only echoed the 'self-evident' truths set forth in the Declaration of Independence—nothing more. Yes, something more—the cheering and thrilling sentiments contained in that book which tyrants have always proscribed, that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men'—that he requires the oppressor to 'break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free'—that, 'in Christ Jesus, there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, but *all are one*.' The practical enforcement of these truths has alone caused me to be denounced as a madman and fanatic by my enemies, and unduly applauded by my friends.

I am accused of using hard language. Sir, I have not been eager to repel this accusation. It gives me no uneasiness, and I cannot suffer myself to be turned aside from my warfare against merciless oppressors to antagonize with captious critics respecting the propriety of my diction. This is not the time to consult rules of taste, and evince literary acumen. Who are my accusers? The entire South, reeking with pollution and blood—slaveholders, slave-traders, slave-drivers,—'recreant priest and lynch committee'—northern apologists for crime, and terror-stricken recreants to God and liberty—all charge me with using hard language!! Am I to give heed to such instructors, or to aim to suit their taste? Not so long as they trample upon the image of God, and justify robbery and pollution by wholesale! Not, sir, that I mean to say that I have always used the very best words, and have never violated the rules of good taste. No human composition is faultless—least of all is it to be expected, that the editorial articles of a newspaper, written necessarily in great haste, will always be precise in language and perfect in execution. But, sir, while millions are groaning in bondage, and women are sold by the pound, in our country, it is solemn trifling to think of sitting down coolly to criticise the phraseology of those who are pleading and toiling for their deliverance. The interests of this cause are too momentous to allow us to spend our time in studying rhetoric, or polishing our language.

One other charge. It is not only said that the *Liberator* uses hard language, but also that it is calculated to stir up the slaves to insurrection. But, even were this true, what American, who prides himself upon the fact that our fathers fought for liberty, will dare to arraign me for imitating their example? Is it wrong to resist oppression unto blood? A voice from Bunker Hill cries, 'No!' The gory soil of Lexington and Concord thunders, 'No!' A revolutionary war of seven years, and the conflict with Great Britain from 1812 to 1815, during which blood flowed in torrents, answer indignantly in the negative. The encouragement and applause given by the American people to the fighting Greeks and Poles, reply 'No!' Look at the doctrines promulgated by the slaveholders themselves! A prominent article in the *Constitutions of Maryland and Tennessee* is in the following words:—'*The doctrine of non-resistance to oppression is ABSURD, SLAVISH, and destructive to the good and happiness of mankind*'!! This authorises every slave in the land to rise up against his master. If it had been found in any anti-slavery publication,

it might well be termed an 'incendiary' document. You well remember, sir, that the young men of Boston sent a standard to the Poles, to stimulate them afresh in the work of butchering their oppressors. If another Nat Turner should appear in the South, what better motto could he select for his banner than the article I have just alluded to?

Sir, it is not pleading the cause of the oppressed, but oppression itself, which stirs up the slaves to revolt. Those who bind heavy burdens, and wield the lash of cruelty, and rob the poor and needy, and dispossess men of their bodies and souls, are the real instigators of servile insurrection. For myself, it is well known that I am an 'ultra' peace man, under all circumstances; that I dispute the right of any portion of mankind to redress their wrongs by violence; and that I could no more justify the slaves at the South in fighting for liberty, than approbate their masters in holding them in bondage. But the creed of the American people, which they have practically enforced, is, 'Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.' Let them not marvel if the victims of their power should adopt it as their own.

One word as to the Liberator. I have no desire that it should be supported any longer than it is regarded as a useful instrument in the anti-slavery cause. I ask no man to approve of every sentiment contained in its columns, or to patronize it, except on the ground of its advocacy of the rights of plundered millions. It is neither my aim nor expectation to please every individual subscriber to the Liberator, in every particular: such a coincidence, while men differ so widely in their tastes and notions, on various subjects, is utterly impracticable. It must suffice, that free discussion is its motto, and that those who are opposed to me in sentiment are always invited to occupy its pages.

There must not, there cannot be, a spirit of competition between the Liberator and the publications of the American Society. But, it will be seen at once, that the Liberator, if left to depend upon its subscription list alone, cannot maintain its ground, whilst the Emancipator, for instance, sustained by the funds of the Parent Society, is issued on a much larger sheet, and afforded on the same terms. I do not wish the Liberator to be the organ either of this or any other Society, nor any body of men to be responsible for every sentiment it may promulgate; and I am quite sure that I shall not permit any persons to control my pen, or establish a censorship over my writings.

As the Sabbath question has been alluded to, allow me to say, that it has not been the object of the Liberator to maintain my peculiar views on that subject. I have inserted in its columns, many articles advocating either directly or indirectly the generally received opinions respecting the Sabbath; but none of my numerous subscribers among Friends has in consequence discontinued his subscription. In reviewing Dr. Beecher's speech, it was my object not only to convict him of gross inconsistency, but to enforce the truth that we are to be wholly consecrated to God at all times—to maintain a perpetual sabbath—to observe every day as holy unto the Lord. It was no Jacobinism that I wished to advocate. But the leading, all-absorbing object of the Liberator shall continue to be, as it has been hitherto, the overthrow of American slavery—not to conflict with any religious sect or political party.

After considerable discussion, as to the best method of securing the desired object, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Board of Managers be instructed to take such measures as they may deem necessary to sustain the Liberator; leaving its editorial department entirely in the hands of William Lloyd Garrison.

Mr. H. B. STANTON offered the following resolutions :

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the United States, by its recent vote to lay petitions for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, on the table, unread and unrefereed, has virtually denied the right of the people to petition for a redress of grievances, and has stabbed the vitals of the U. S. Constitution.

Resolved, That while we disapprove the treacherous conduct of those northern Representatives who voted for that resolution, and declare them unworthy of the trusts confided to them, we do most cordially approve *the vote* of those gentlemen who recorded their names against it, and call upon their constituents, of all parties, to sustain them in *this particular*.

Resolved, That we do most especially commend the undaunted course of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, in defending the unrestricted right of THE PEOPLE to petition for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia.

Resolved, That we believe it to be the duty of THE WHOLE PEOPLE OF THIS COMMONWEALTH, of all political parties and of every religious sect, to rally now while they may, and, invoking the aid, and guided by the wisdom of Heaven, rush into the 'imminent breach,' to rescue the Constitution from ruthless violation, to save the cause of God's perishing poor from immolation, and to roll back the tide of anarchy and impiety, which is now flooding the nation.

Resolved, That we invoke the Legislature of this Commonwealth, as they love their fellow men and fear their God, as they love their country, have sworn to support its Constitution, and would perpetuate its freedom, to request their Representatives in Congress to use their influence to procure, without delay, the rescinding of the vote above mentioned, and to sustain, unabridged, the right of the people to petition that body:—and also, to instruct our Senators and request our Representatives to vote for the immediate abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia.

Resolved, That it is the solemn duty of THE PEOPLE of this Commonwealth, of all parties, to immediately petition the Legislature of this State, to thus instruct their Senators and request their Representatives.

Resolved, That THE PEOPLE of this State should vote for no member of the National or State Legislature, who is not in favor of freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of the people to petition for a redress of grievances:—and who will not sustain, by his influence and vote, the rights of the minority as well as the majority, in a free, unmolested, unawed expression of their opinions, on all subjects, and will not give to their petitions a respectful hearing.

Mr. Stanton said he thought he saw, from the aggressions of Congress upon our liberties, that our nation is on the downward road to ruin. For our sins, a righteous God is at open war with us. I am astonished, that in all our 4th of July orations, it seems to be taken for granted, that our liberties are secure, and the perpetuity of our institutions decreed by Heaven. But, Sir, it is a delusion. Our dearest rights are rapidly fading away. The right of petitioning for a redress of grievances, the barrier against the encroachment of arbitrary power, is denied to the people. Daniel Webster could talk of the people coming to the rescue, when the *Bank* was assailed. But, how contemptible is this party question of dollars and cents, compared to the interests involved in the denial of the right of petition! Why, Sir, our liberty is but a name, our Constitution but a blotted parchment, unless this right may be enjoyed by the meanest—untrammelled, unmolested, unawed. I was in the State House, at the opening of the Legislature this winter, when the Governor administered the oath of office to the members. It was a solemn scene, when they invoked High Heaven to witness their promise to support the Constitution of the United States, and of Massachusetts. And, Sir, does not that body know, that while slaves are bought and sold as cattle, in the metropolis of this nation, our mouths are shut, our petitions are hurled back in our teeth, and, in defiance of the Constitution, we are told we must not speak on this delicate subject?

When the Constitution is thus violated—when it is stabbed in its vital part—when the most sacred rights of the minority are offered up a living sacrifice on the altar of

despotic power—when the Constitutional safeguards to personal liberty, freedom of speech, of the press, of remonstrance, are ferociously attacked in quick succession, where is the **LOUD PROTEST** of the Legislature of this Commonwealth? Its members did invoke the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, to witness their solemn vow to support constitutional freedom:—and if we can get nothing at the door of Congress, can we get nothing at the door of the Legislature of Massachusetts? Has the free spirit, the glory of this ancient Commonwealth, departed? **LET THE PEOPLE TRY.** These resolutions, said Mr. S., are not intended to have a partizan bearing. They speak of the duties, not of a party, but of **THE ENTIRE PEOPLE**, of all parties and of all creeds. They aim a blow at all parties. Only one individual is spoken of—John Quincy Adams. He, certainly, belongs to no party. And to his credit I say it, all parties avoid him as they would a red-hot thunderbolt. He is too independent. His conscience is his own—which cannot be said of any thorough partizan.

Mr. Hall of Boston, approved of all these resolutions but the last. He did not rise for the purpose of finding fault, or cavilling; but he deprecated political action, at least in the present stage of the question, as it would excite much clamor, and in his opinion do much harm.

Mr. Garrison replied—He was surprised to hear that sentiment from one of the original signers of the Declaration of Anti-Slavery Sentiments, by the Convention at Philadelphia, which expressly states that we are to make use of 'moral and political action' for the removal of slavery. True, abolitionists have nothing to do with politics, as understood among politicians, with reference to the political parties of the day; but they have something to do with politics, so far as relates to this question. Surely, they ought not to vote for any man who will not maintain the right of petition, and go for the abolition of slavery, where Congress has the power; and this is all that the resolution affirms. Are we to be deterred from discharging our duty by the clamors of unprincipled and violent men?

[Further remarks were made by Messrs. Garrison, Hall and others, of which we did not take notes.]

Mr. STANTON. There is political action in this country, on this subject, at the present moment. We feel its oppression now. In the nature of things, there must continue to be political action. Our petitions are thrown under the table, to be swept out with the waste paper of the House, and they will continue to be. Then, the inquiry is, shall we sit quietly by, and permit the present political action to continue, (for continue it will,) or shall we introduce a system of action more in accordance with the spirit of our free institutions? Our brother says, let us avoid political action. Avoid political action? We have political as well as religious responsibilities. We might as well avoid the atmosphere and hope to live, as to dodge our political responsibilities, and to expect the favor of Heaven upon the discharge of our religious duties. In this nation, where the people rule, every man who has a vote, is bound to use it for the promotion of political and moral right.

Our brother speaks of 'the consequences' of such a course. The consequences of doing right? The motto of Abolitionists is, 'Duty is ours—Consequences are God's.' Let us not seek to be wiser than Jehovah. But, to calculate consequences for a moment. From any conduct of ours, however unwise, I can scarcely conceive it possible that the consequences should be more disastrous than they now are. What may we expect will be the result, if every abolitionist determines not to vote for any man who will not act right on this question? It will not necessarily lead to the organiza-

tion of a political anti-slavery party :—but, every candidate who comes before the public, will be interrogated on this subject, and the consequence will be, that the present political parties will set up anti-slavery men. It has been so in the temperance cause:—it will be just so in this. Such has already been the case, in some parts of the country. The political papers in Mr. Slade's district, in Vermont, got into a warm contention upon the question, which of their candidates was the greater abolitionist ! I am no politician, in the common acceptation of that term. I abhor the conduct of both and all parties, and shun their squabbles as I would the miasma of a pest-house. But, I would fain have good men to rule over us. Let it be known that there are 10,000 men of uncompromising integrity in Massachusetts, who will not bow the knee to the Baal of party, and Baal tumbles to the ground. To secure these 10,000 votes, the contending parties will each nominate good men, and then, whichever may succeed, our end is attained. Then, too, abolitionists may vote according to their party preferences concerning other subjects, and yet their liberties be secure. But, whatever may be the result, the responsibility is upon us, and discharge it we must. Political action is now had, and will be, though we are silent. Shall the people so act as to renovate the politics of this country, and thus save our liberties ; or shall they slumber on till they have passed away forever ?

The resolutions passed *unanimously*, except the last—and that, with but one dissenting voice.

Mr. JAMES SPOONER, Jr. introduced the following resolution, which was adopted :

Resolved, That the thrilling narrative of that stolen man Johnson, of itself, forcibly illustrates the meaning of Jefferson's declaration, ' I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just ; ' entirely removes the charge that Abolitionists magnify the evils of Slavery ; and loudly calls for the *active* sympathies of every free man, woman, and child in our land.

Rev. Mr. EASTON, a colored gentleman, introduced the following resolution :

Resolved, That the spirit of insurrection and insubordination of the slave population of this country, is restrained more by the influence of the free colored people thereof, than by all the oppressive legislative enactments of the slaveholding States.

Mr. Easton said, the resolution intimated that the eyes of Abolitionists might get off the right object. Another thing, also : Abolitionists may attack slaveholding ; but there is danger still that the spirit of slavery will survive, in the form of prejudice, after the system is overturned. Our warfare ought not to be against slavery alone, but against the spirit which makes color a mark of degradation. He said the choicest interests of this country are, in the Providence of God, committed to the free people of color. They understand this ; I mean the intelligent portion of them. I speak as their representative, when I say they are conscious of the great responsibility that rests upon them. They hold an intermediate position between the oppressor and the oppressed, to oppose the opposition of the one, and to hold in check the exasperated feeling of the other.

Mr. STANTON remarked, that the agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society were instructed to wage the same warfare against prejudice which they do against slavery, and if possible to kill them both at one blow. The resolution passed.

After attending to some other miscellaneous business, the Society adjourned.

OFFICERS OF THE MASS. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, FOR 1837.

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DISCUSSION

IN THE MASSACHUSETTS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON THE ABOLITION QUESTION.

[From the Boston Daily Advocate.]

WEDNESDAY, January 25, 1837.

The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, after having engaged Julien Hall for their meeting, and advertised it, conformably, were ordered out of it. The Society yesterday morning applied for the use of the Hall of our House of Representatives, and it was granted without debate, but soon after the House found itself in the midst of the abolition excitement, as Mr. Field of Charlemont, moved the following order :

‘Ordered, That the committee to whom the subject of slavery has been committed, be instructed to consider what peculiar obligations are imposed on the non-slaveholding States, and Massachusetts in particular, in relation to slavery;’ which was carried, 114 to 87. Mr. Lee of Templeton, then moved to reconsider the vote, on the ground that this order would open a consideration of the whole subject of slavery, which he wished to avoid.

Mr. Park of Boston, asked the gentleman from Charlemont, if he did not, when he entered the House, hold up his right hand and swear to support the Constitution of the United States ?

Mr. Field of Charlemont, thought there might be some doubt as to the true construction of the Constitution in this respect, and therefore wished for ‘light.’

Mr. Goodrich of Roxbury, thought the order too broad and indefinite in its wording, and embracing too wide a field of inquiry.

Mr. Rantoul of Gloucester, did not see any present necessity for legislative action, and of course action would be unprofitable. When there *was* a real necessity, he would act, but he hoped the time would never arrive requiring the entertaining this question.

Mr. Richmond of Plymouth, hoped the subject would be discussed, and light thrown upon the constitution in respect to it. If we dare not look at this subject, we ought to stop praising ourselves in 4th of July orations, about our liberty.

Mr. Perkins of New Bedford, hoped the order would be reconsidered. As one of the committee alluded to, he was entirely unprepared to express any opinion on the grave constitutional questions involved in this inquiry.

Mr. Whittemore of Cambridge, hardly knew what the order meant, or what the mover would be driving at, and could not understand what possible benefit could arise

from it. He should oppose the passage of the order, not wishing to see the State of Massachusetts, *as such*, take any part in this controversy.

Mr. Field wished an opinion from the committee, based upon a deliberate examination of the whole subject.

A member, whose name we could not hear, (as the Speaker names them very indistinctly, and in a low tone,) opposed the order. The House had, this morning, granted the use of their Hall to the Anti-Slavery Society. If this order passed, the next thing would be to attack the right of property in slaves.

Mr. Blake of Boston, believed that no two members of the House disagreed on the abstract question of slavery; but, for God's sake, let us keep clear of that fanaticism on this subject which some other States are cursed with in respect to it, from the well-meant efforts of misguided individuals. There were obvious objections to entertaining this question, and he hoped this vote would be reconsidered, and another vote also, (giving the use of the Hall to the Anti-Slavery Society,) as intended to throw into this House the apple of discord and fire-brands of disunion.

The vote was reconsidered by an overwhelming majority, and the order then negatived.

Mr. Park of Boston, then offered an order that permissions for the use of this Hall be suspended, until the Committee on Public Buildings report on the expediency of the same. [This was designed to cut off the Anti-Slavery Society from the use of it, as granted in the morning.]

Mr. Park hoped the Sergeant at Arms would not be pestered with applications for the use of the hall—the hall was now *clean*, and he wanted to keep it so.

Mr. Richmond of Plymouth, trusted the Anti-Slavery Society would be allowed the use of it. If, after granting the use of it to others, we now took it away from this Society, after having once granted it to them, it would not look well.

Mr. West of Hadley, was in favor of the order, except that part of it which revokes an already granted permission to the Anti-Slavery Society; it would have a bad effect to do so, and so far from putting a stop to excitement, would increase it.

Mr. Gray of Boston, was inaudible from the bad cold which appeared to seize the members at the moment he rose.

Mr. Chapman of Greenfield, advocated the passage of the order so far as it was general, but objected to the special retraction of a grant.

Mr. Lee of Templeton, took the same ground.

The general branch of the order was then passed almost *nem con*.

The suspending clause being then put—

Mr. Turner of Scituate, hoped the permission already granted to the Anti-Slavery Society would not be reconsidered—it was fairly given, and should not be retracted.

Mr. Kinsman of Boston, moved an amendment, that the committee report forthwith. Negatived by a large majority.

The suspending clause was then negatived, 210 to 180.

THURSDAY, January 26.

Mr. Johnson of Andover, yesterday moved to reconsider the vote by which the use of the Representatives' Hall was granted to the Anti-Slavery Society for last evening.

Mr. Park of Boston, (the great agitator of this subject,) asked for a candid hearing.

Mr. Johnson said the gentleman could not be heard, to which

Mr. Park rejoined, that such a complaint had never been made before in respect to him.

Mr. Park went on to say, that he endeavored yesterday to get rid of this matter by a *side wind*, but as that did not obtain, he should try it again.

He now objected to the notice of the Anti-Slavery Society, in which it is announced that one Amos Dresser, a man who has been *lynched*, would address the meeting this evening, and they intended to adjourn here from a stable loft, to send all over the Union, the fame of this great meeting in the Representatives' Chamber.

He had nearly been lynched himself last year, while attempting to rescue females from the mob in front of the Anti-Slavery Rooms in Washington-street, being mistaken for an abolitionist !

This subject was pressed in such a manner, that he should not be *meaty mouthed* in respect to it. He feared the effect the meeting here would have all over the Union. It would be bruited in the public prints in the strongest terms.

A motion was made to adjourn, but negatived.

Mr. Richmond of Plymouth, said he, as well as the gentleman from Boston, felt *some* regard for the credit of the Commonwealth; he did not wish to see his plighted word retracted.

The gentleman talks about a lynched man—lynched for what ? why, for telling the truth. We have slept over these matters long enough.

These petitions do not break windows and tear down houses: it was those who opposed them. He would venture to predict that if this vote was reconsidered, the anti-slavery cause would be strengthened. He spoke with a good deal of warmth of the right of discussion, and the right of the slave to be free. He thought it a most important subject—this violence that had been done to a northern citizen—and he thought it quite time to inquire if such things could be done by the southerners with impunity.

Mr. Folsom of Hingham, advocated the reconsideration. Why do not these philanthropists go to the south, and beard the lion in his den—not stay here barking behind his back ?

Mr. F. went on in a very hyperbolic strain about the integrity of the Union being endangered.

Mr. Ward of Danvers, thought it would be impolitic and unjust to withdraw the consent of the House, after it had once been given in an affair of this kind. The House had pledged itself—and should it now stultify itself, by assuming that it did not know at the time what it had granted ?

A member in the gallery, hoped we should not retract our pledge; it would look like persecution.

Mr. Abbot of Andover, said after the notice had gone out in the public prints, it was too late to retract; it would be impolitic now to refuse what we have once granted.

He had no fear of a mob, and trusted that the citizens of Boston had too much good sense to attack the right of free discussion. If the hall is refused, it will produce a shock or revulsion of feeling in favor of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr. Cook of Boston, was not present yesterday: if he had been, he should have voted against it; but he now considered the *honor of the House pledged*; the use of it had been granted, and there was no honorable retreat. He moved to lay the order on the table; negatived, 228 to 190.

Mr. Park said, 'change makes change.' The Society had changed their ground—

they asked for free discussion, but now they announce a man for exhibition, who has been lynched.

Mr. Ruggles of Fall River, said he last year opposed the granting the use of this hall to the Colonization Society, without at the same time giving the same privilege to its rival, the Anti-Slavery Society.

If we now refuse that equal treatment, it will be said that we are committed to slavery. The gentleman (Mr. Park) put his opposition to the use of the Hall on the ground of mobs. Good God ! has it come to this ? Are the House afraid that 'the gentlemen of property and standing' in this city will mob us in our own Hall ? Is it indeed true, that free discussion is destroyed in the very cradle of liberty ? He hoped not. He despised the contemptible, craven spirit, prevailing on this subject. He would maintain free discussion as long as the breath remained in his body, let come what would. He did not fear the gentlemen of property and standing—let them do their worst. He trusted the deep disgrace would not rest upon the city of Boston, of mobbing a man who came here to tell us of the outrages committed upon him by southern slaveholders.

During the discussion, two or three efforts were made to adjourn, and to lay the question upon the table : but the House put them all down—being determined to take the question of reconsidering—which was decided in the negative—233 voting in the affirmative, and 234 in the negative.

Mr. Ruggles of Fall River, was truly eloquent in his defence of the right of free discussion. We have seldom heard a more manly, noble eloquence, than he evinced on this occasion. It was of the true sort, coming as it did from the heart.

DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY, FOR THE YEAR 1836.

B. Scott, Salisbury	\$ 2,00	Amount brought up	\$2659,50
Hanover A S Society	78,59	Abigail Carter, New Bedford	5,00
Rev. Mr. Harding's society, Wal-		Sarah P. Carter, "	5,00
tham	13,70	Elizabeth A. Carter, "	5,00
Attleboro A S Society	6,00	Abby G. Carter, "	5,00
Col. at An. meeting, Jan. 20	106,50	Joseph Carter, "	15,00
Union Char. Soc. Salem	10,00	Anna E. Colton, Worcester	5,00
T. Campbell, Salem	1,00	Daniel Gregg, Acton	20,00
John Ford, Abington, collections	14,50	Thomas Brooks, "	2,50
James Morrell, Boston	2,00	I. M. Wilder, Hanover	25,00
Miss H. Sargent, "	1,00	J. Curtis, "	4,00
J. Gifford, Sandwich A S S.	5,00	Jacob Dodge, Wenham	2,00
Haverhill Female A S S.	5,00	Assessments at Convention	80,82
Mary G. Chapman	3,00	I. M. Wilder, Hanover, L. M.	15,00
From individuals in Worcester	22,00	A friend	1,00
Mr. Lovell, Cambridge	1,00	I. M. Bidwell, Lowell	5,00
Plymouth County A S S.	50,00	Thomas Drew, Salem	1,00
Holden A S S. by J. E. Cheney	15,00	Jacob Noyes, Boston	5,00
Joseph Southwick, Boston	100,00	Woodstock, Ct. by A. Walker	1,10
John Sullivan, "	35,00	Thomas W. Durant, Roxbury	5,00
Lynn A S S. by C. Robinson	100,00	A friend	3,00
Wm. Lloyd Garrison, an. sub.	5,00	Edward N. Harris, L. M.	15,00
A. A. Lane, Boston	1,00	Rev. I. Sawyer, L. M. by S. Read-	
I. Greenwood, "	6,00	ing Female A S S.	15,00
Lewis Hersey, "	1,00	John S. Kimball, Boston	100,00
Aashburnham A S S.	11,00	Edmund Jackson, "	100,00
J. T. Woodbury, Acton, sub. to		Drury Fairbanks, " L. M.	15,00
S. J. May's agency	25,00	S. Philbrick, "	100,00
Holliston A S S.	19,23	Mrs. S. Philbrick, "	50,00
Lynn Female A S S. to constitute		A friend, by H. G. Chapman	100,00
D. Henshaw and T. H. Atwell		Dr. A. Farnsworth, Groton	100,00
Life Members	30,00	Chris. Robinson, Lynn, L. M.	15,00
Aan T. Greene, Boston	200,00	Calvin Temple, Reading, L. M.	15,00
Henry Chapman, "	100,00	Mary Weston, Weymouth	2,81
Ellis Gray Loring, "	100,00	Col. at Rev. Mr. Bent's church,	
Francis Jackson, "	100,00	Falmouth	2,85
Henry G. Chapman, "	110,00	Mrs. Elijah Demond, L. M.	15,00
Drury Fairbanks, "	10,00	Hiram A. Morse, L. M.	15,00
Boston Female A S S.	1000,00	Boxboro' A S S. by Rev. J. W.	
Miss Rice, matron Sam. Asylum	2,00	Cross	20,00
By hands of J. E. Fuller, to consti-		Collec. at 46 Wash. St., Nov 13	24,12
tute Life Mem. of Isaac Wins-		Jesse Allen	2,00
low, Danvers; John Rogers, Bos-		Mary Hardy	4,00
ton; A. Bowen, Fall River; H.		Josiah Hayward, L. M.	15,00
Chase, do.; J. Noyes, Boston	70,00	E. T. Pritchett, L. M.	15,00
For the same of Lydia B. Capron,		Asso. in Groton, by T. S. Andrews	5,74
Gilbert E. Capron, A. Bussett,		Rebecca Louge	5,00
Sarah Easton	60,00	S. E. Sewall	4,00
To constitute Rev. S. H. Peckham,		Daniel Holbrook	20,00
Life Member, by ladies	15,00	James Christie	10,00
John J. Appleton	43,37	Francis Clark	15,00
To constitute Rev. N. Hervey, Mar-		John E. Fuller	5,00
blehead, L. M. by R. Woodbridge,	15,00	Benj. Kingsbury	50
Nath. Thurston, Lowell	1,00	Rev. James R. Cushing, L. M. by	
A friend, "	1,00	E. Haverhill Female A S S.	15,00
Joseph Wilson, "	5,00	Squires Shove, Danvers	10,00
Contributions at Convention	99,70	Rev. Jonas Perkins, Weymouth, L.	
A friend	3,00	M. by Weymouth & Braintree	
' Friend ' to the slave, by A. Rand	37,00	Female Eman. Society	15,00
A friend to the slave, New Bedford	18,00	A friend	6,00
	<hr/>		
	\$2659,50	Total	\$3721,44

DONATIONS

*Taken up at the Annual Meeting of the Society, held in the Stable Loft
January 25, 1837.*

Taunton A. S. Soc. by Mr. Read	\$25,00	Amount brought up	\$143,46
Abraham Williams, Salem	1,00	Miss Miriam Jackson, Boston	1,00
William Colman, "	1,00	Dr. Amos Farnsworth, Groton	50,00
Thomas Drew, "	1,00	Samuel Williston, E. Hampton	100,00
Schuyler Lawrence, "	50	James Spooner, Plymouth	3,00
Mrs. Venus Manning, L. M. by		L. Richardson, "	1,00
Baron Stow	15,00	East Randolph by F. Holbrook	20,00
Union Char. Soc. of colored people in Salem	10,00	Abner Sanger, Danvers, L. M.	15,00
Collection at the door	32,96	Edwin Morton, Plymouth	10,00
J. T. Hilton, Boston	2,00	Andrew Robeson, New Bedford	50,00
Solomon Woodward, Taunton	5,00	Loa Robinson, Boston	5,00
		T. W. Durant	5,00
	<hr/> \$143,46	Total	<hr/> \$403,46

HONORARY MEMBERS

OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Arthur Tappan, New-York.	William Ridgway, England.
William Rawle, Philadelphia.	Josiah Wedgwood, do.
Rev. S. J. May, Scituate, Mass.	Capt. C. Stuart, do.
Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, New Haven, Ct.	Joseph Phillips, do.
Rev. George Bourne, New-York.	William Wilberforce, do. (dec.)
Hon. S. Crafts, Craftsbury, Vt.	Thomas Clarkson, do.
Hon. A. Clark, Danville, Vt.	Henry Newman, do. (dec.)
Rev. W. A. Chapin, Craftsbury, Vt.	William Crawford, do.
H. Merrill, Esq., Peacham, Vt.	Edward S. Abdy, do.
Moses Brown, Providence, R. I. (dec.)	George Thompson, do.
Rev. O. S. Murray, Orwell, Vt.	David L. Child, Esq.
J. Ridgway, Staffordshire, Eng.	Rev. Amos A. Phelps.

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OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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Prince Farmer, Salem.	Amasa Walker, do.
John Remond, Salem.	John C. Smith, do.
Charles Stuart, England.	Edmund Jackson, do.
George Thompson, "	William Carleton, do.
Edward S. Abdy, "	George B. Emerson, do.
Samuel E. Sewall, Boston.	I. S. Withington, do.
Daniel Gregg, "	Henry Chapman, do.
Charles C. Barry, "	Samuel Philbrick, Brookline.
Ellis Gray Loring, "	Isaac Winslow, Danvers.
James C. Odiorne, "	W. Farnsworth, Roxbury.
Isaac Knapp, "	Rev. A. Jackson, Kingston.
William H. Hayward, "	E. L. Capron, Uxbridge.
Increase Gilbert, "	Moses Brown, Providence, R. I. (dec.)
Rev. E. M. P. Wells, "	Rev. G. B. Perry, Bradford.
Wm. Lloyd Garrison, "	Rev. E. Seagrave, Attleborough.
Benjamin C. Bacon, "	Rev. Jotham Horton, Lynn.
Rev. Henry Jones, Cabot, Vt.	Rev. P. R. Russell, do.
Rev. D. T. Kimball, Ipswich.	Richard Clapp, Dorchester.
Dr. I. Kittredge, Beverly.	Rev. J. W. Cross, Boxborough.
Dr. C. T. Hildreth, Boston.	A. F. Boston.
Silas Osborn.	S. H. Winslow, Portland, Me.
Wm. Oakes, Ipswich.	Angelina E. Grimke, Philadelphia.
Ebenezer Dole, Hallowell.	Eliza Watson, Boston.
John Taylor, Bath, Me.	Daniel Henshaw, Lynn.
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Joseph Tillson, Boston.	Isaac Winslow, Danvers.
Phineas Wheeler.	John Rogers, Boston.
Mrs. George Thompson, England.	Abraham Bowen, Fall River.
Mrs. Calvin Philleo.	Harvey Chase, do.
Mrs. Amos A. Phelps, Boston.	Jacob Noyes, Boston.
Mrs. Increase Gilbert, "	Lydia B. Capron.
Mrs. S. H. Winslow, Portland, Me.	Gilbert E. Capron.
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Mrs. J. C. Smith, Boston.	Sarah Easton.
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Dr. Charles Follen, New-York.	Rev. Edward N. Harris.
Rev. George B. Cheever, Salem.	Rev. Isaac Sawyer, South Reading.
Rev. C. P. Grosvenor.	Drury Fairbanks, Boston.
Joseph Sewall, Esq., Boston.	Christopher Robinson, Lynn.
Francis Jackson, Esq. do.	Calvin Temple, Reading.
Rev. Henry C. Wright, do.	Mrs. Elijah Demond.
John Sullivan, do.	Hiram A. Morse.
Perez Gill, do.	Josiah Hayward.
D. Chute, do.	E. T. Pritchett, Amherst.
John S. Kimball, do.	Rev. James Cushing, East Haverhill.
Marcus Whiting, do.	Rev. Jonas Perkins, Weymouth.
Timothy Gilbert, do.	Mrs. Venus Manning.
Rev. Baron Stow, do.	Abner Sanger, Danvers.
Rev. J. V. Himes, do.	

SIXTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PRESENTED JANUARY 24, 1838.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY ISAAC KNAPP,
No. 25, CORNHILL.

1838.

REPORT.

IN a struggle for the emancipation of a people, who have been for centuries groaning in bondage, it would be strange if a day or an hour could pass, without the occurrence of events deeply interesting alike to the friends and foes of the sufferers. What, then, must not a whole year bring forth? The Managers of the State Society are constrained to confess, that, if they should attempt to trace, minutely, the progress of the anti-slavery cause, through the length and breadth of the land, since the last annual meeting, and to accompany such a delineation with elaborate reflections, their present Report would swell to the dimensions of a huge volume. Upon those topics which they have selected for consideration, they propose to dwell with as much brevity as their importance will allow.

The past year has exhibited the American people covering themselves afresh with pollution and blood, and audaciously defying the God of justice in the language of blasphemy. If they were answerable for no other crime, their treatment of the Indian tribes would suffice to justly subject them to the direst punishment that offended Heaven has ever bestowed upon any nation. In ferociousness of spirit, in unrelenting hostility, in meanness and treachery, toward these doomed tribes, it is difficult to find a parallel case in the records of human depravity. The invasion of ancient Rome by the Goths and Vandals—the partition of Poland, and present treatment of its inhabitants, by Russia—the subjugation of the Greeks by the Turks—these examples fail in comparison. It may be safely affirmed, that the war now waging by this nation against the Indians, has an aggravation of guilt, on our part, scarcely equalled by any tribe

or nation, in any age or clime, since the first murderer slew his brother Abel. The recital of the wrongs and sufferings which they are now experiencing, and have been called to endure within the last five years, (a recital not from their own lips, but by those who are engaged in their expulsion or extermination,) is soul-harrowing. The primary object of the South, through the instrumentality of the national government, is doubly atrocious: first, to get forceful possession of their lands—and next, upon those lands to establish slavery, with all its woes and horrors. To accomplish this object is now the great concern of the nation. It must be attained, though innocent blood be poured out like water, though a hundred millions of dollars be expended in the contest, though heaven and earth cry out with their myriads of warning voices against it, though the wrath of Almighty God be kindling like an oven to consume the whole land. Mark the imperious language of Brigadier General Wool, in a proclamation dated at ‘Head Quarters, Army Cherokee Nation, New Echota, Georgia, March 22, 1837,’ and addressed to the civilized, christianized, hapless Cherokees:—‘The President, *as well as Congress*, has DECREED that you shall remove from this country. The people of Georgia, of North Carolina, of Tennessee, and of Alabama, have decreed it. *Your fate is decided*: and if you do not voluntarily (!) get ready, and go by the time fixed in the treaty, [a spurious treaty,] you will then be FORCED from this country by *the soldiers of the United States*....Why not abandon a country no longer yours? Do you not see the white people coming into it, *driving you from your homes, and possessing your houses, your corn-fields, and your ferries?* Hitherto I have been able, in some degree, [probably in no degree,] to protect you from their intrusions: in a short time it will no longer be in my power. If, however, I could protect you, you could not live with them (!)—*Your habits, your manners, and your customs, are unlike and unsuited to theirs*(!)—*They have no feelings, no sympathies, in common with yourselves* (!)—Leave, then, this country, which, after the 25th May, 1838, *can afford you no protection.*’

All Europe and America have 'rung from side to side,' with bitter execrations upon the head of the Russian Autocrat, on account of his barbarous treatment of the Poles; but never has he evinced a more sanguinary spirit than this Brigadier General Wool. Yet *he* is only the agent of the American government. The guilt rests like an avalanche upon the whole country. The Southern exterminators demand the sacrifice, and the man-butchers of the North are hunting the victims to be offered up on the altar of slavery!

The experience of every hour confirms the fearful truth, that, of all systems of villany, slavery is the most prolific with crimes; and that, of all wrong-doers, slaveholders are the most ferocious and incorrigible. Whatever their pretensions to patriotism, or virtue, or generosity, or self-respect, or piety, may be, the fact is incontestible that, as a body, none are so base, none so profligate, none so mean, none so degraded, none so impious, as themselves. In their treatment of all those whose skins are not colored like their own, they manifest that they neither fear God nor regard man. To the charge that they have been unduly censured, it may with truth be replied, that the charge itself is a libel,—a virtual defence of men-stealers. 'It is in vain to seek for words to express their guilt: it must be the subject of mute astonishment and speechless horror. The Almighty does not supply man with language to denounce it in proper terms: it excites ideas of abhorrence beyond our capacity of expression.' The making merchandize of God's image—the murdering of souls—the abrogation of all the laws of God—the licensing of wholesale pollution, robbery, and sacrilege—the exaltation of one class of men above all that is called God, and the debasement of another class below all that is brutal—'these are infinite crimes, to be judged, condemned and punished by an infinite Being.'

Among the earliest incidents that occurred subsequent to the last annual meeting of this Society, deserving special notice as illustrative of the fierce spirit of slavery, was the presentation of two petitions by John Quincy Adams, in the House of Representatives, Feb. 6, the first from several 'ladies of Freder-

icksburg,' Virginia, praying for the abolition of the domestic slave trade. This was laid on the table, after some confusion—Mr. Patton of Va. declaring 'upon his honor,' that there was not on the paper the name of a single individual of respectable character. (They were all colored women, whose signatures had been forged.) The other petition purported to be from twenty-two persons,—**SLAVES**. Mr. Adams said he would withhold the petition, until the Chair had decided whether it came within the order of the House. He intimated that it was probably of a spurious character, sent to him for the purpose of making him ridiculous before the public—as in the sequel it proved to be. The uproar which ensued in the House beggars description. The slaveholding mockers were caught in their own craftiness. They had forged the petition to show their contempt of northern petitioners, and especially of Mr. Adams; but they did not believe he would be so *daring* as to offer it to the House. Their punishment, like that of Cain, was greater than they could bear. They shrieked out in agony, like the unclean spirits in the presence of Jesus, 'Why hast thou come to torment us before the time?' Mr. Lewis said it was in the power of the House to *punish* this atrocious attempt to present a petition from slaves. If it was not, they had better go home. Cries were now heard in various parts of the House, for the instant expulsion of Mr. Adams! Mr. Thompson drew up a resolution to that effect—but afterward proposed the adoption of another, not less ridiculous, that Mr. Adams be immediately brought to the bar of the House, to receive the severe censure of the Speaker. He styled it an incendiary attempt of the gentleman from Massachusetts to excite the slaves to murder and rapine, and declared it was punishable by the laws of the District! Mr. Haynes wished a resolution, declaring that the Hon. John Quincy Adams had rendered himself justly liable to the censure of the House, and that accordingly he is censured. Mr. Granger of N. Y. entirely condemned the course of the gentleman from Massachusetts. The right of petition belonged to freemen, not slaves! Mr. Wise of Va. said he would not censure Mr. Adams, unless at the same time he could censure those members of the House, who had put it in his power to

take this course, by receiving northern petitions. He likened the petitioners for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia to 'every description of reptiles and vermin.' The House had thrown itself into a fever—and for what? Why, merely because one of the abolition petitions presented happens to be a black one. He would as lief be bitten by a black mule as a white one. He feared the whites, and not the blacks. The slaves had more right and more reason to petition for abolition than the white people of the North, who had no interest in the subject. When the petitions came from the WHITE SLAVES OF THE NORTH, then it was that he felt excited and alarmed. Mr. Mann of N. Y. considered Mr. Adams as being in the *wane of his intellect*. Mr. Cambreleng said the petition was a hoax, got up by slaveholders in the District, (probably in the House,) and that he understood its prayer was for the expulsion of Mr. Adams and every other abolitionist from the House! Mr. Glascock contended that this was no excuse. It was undoubtedly the intention of the gentleman from Massachusetts to insult the southern members, and trifle with the House. Mr. Jenifer of Md. said, let the gentleman present his petition, which he claims the right of doing, and he (Mr. J.) would vote, not only for a resolution of censure, but for the expulsion of the member. Mr. Dromgoole of Va. moved that as Mr. Adams had given *color to the idea* that slaves have a right to petition, and avowed his willingness to be their organ, he be severely censured by the Speaker in presence of the House.—Mr. Pickens expressed his gratification at the unanimity (!) of feeling manifested on this subject by the members from the South. Mr. Bynum offered a resolution, that an attempt to present a memorial from a slave or a *free negro*, is a contempt of the House, and calculated to embroil the House in strife and confusion; and that any member guilty of the same, is justly amenable to the censure of the House. After a great variety of absurd and incoherent resolutions had been proposed, the following were adopted:

'Resolved, That this House cannot receive the said petition, without disregarding its own dignity, the rights of a large class of citizens of the South and West, and the Constitution of the United States'!—Yeas 160! nays 35!

'Resolved, That slaves do not possess the right of petition secured to the people of the United States by the Constitution'!—*Yeas 162! nays 18!*

Mr. Adams was defended with distinguished ability by Mr. Evans of Maine, and Messrs. Lincoln and Cushing of Massachusetts—and by these members only. During the whole of this unparalleled excitement, he behaved with exemplary equanimity and admirable self-possession. His speech, in vindication of his course, was the hewing of Agag in pieces by the hand of Samuel. He contended that there is not a word in the Constitution of the United States excluding petitions from slaves. The right of petition God gave to the whole human race, when he made them *men*,—the right of prayer, by asking a favor of another. It belongs to humanity: it does not depend on the condition of the petitioners: it is supplication, it is prayer: it is the cry of distress asking for relief. Referring to the spurious petition from Fredericksburg, he remarked—'The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Patton) says he knows these women, [the petitioners,] and that they are infamous. *How* does the gentleman know it?' Mr. Patton explained. He did not say that he knew the women personally. He knew from others, that the character of one of them was notoriously bad. 'Mr. Adams rejoined. I am glad the gentleman now says he does not know the women; for if he had not disclaimed that knowledge, I might have asked *who* it was that made these women infamous—whether it was those of their own color, or their masters? I have understood that there are those among the colored population of slaveholding States, who bear the image of their masters. [Great sensation.] * * * Did the gentleman from South Carolina think he could frighten me from my purpose, by his threat of a Grand Jury? If that was his object, let me tell him *he mistook his man*. I am not to be frightened from the discharge of a duty by his indignation, nor by all the Grand Juries in the universe. * * * It is said that I have trifled with the House. That I deny. No, sir, I had a higher purpose; and having disclaimed such intention, no man has a right to charge me with it. Sir, I never acted under a more solemn sense of duty; I never was more serious in any moment of my life. I have disclaimed nothing I have done or said. I have retracted

nothing. I have done my duty ; and I should do it again, under the same circumstances, if it were to be done to-morrow !

Such was the fearless, dignified and victorious spirit with which Mr. Adams repelled one of the most groundless and furious attacks ever encountered by the representative of a free people. No other man,—not an abolitionist,—could have been found in the free States, probably, capable of so much endurance, or of achieving such a victory. The infamous suggestion of Mr. Waddy Thompson, that Mr. Adams should be indicted by the Grand Jury of the District of Columbia as a felon and an incendiary, plainly shows that the southern slaveholders, if they had the physical power, would incarcerate within the walls of a penitentiary, every northern representative who should dare to lisp a syllable in opposition to slavery upon the floor of Congress. If further proof were needed, it is contained in a letter of Messrs. Claiborne and Gholson, members from the State of Mississippi, to their constituents, dated Washington, Feb. 14, 1837. The writers, alluding to Mr. Adams and the slave petition, use the following venomous language:—‘ He is sunk beneath reproach, and his late wicked attempt has withered him with scorn to worse than a cypher. Mr. Adams is to-day *as odious as a traitor*. If his conduct was not treason in name, *it was treason in fact*; and it has met its reward!—if not in a traitor’s grave, *a traitor’s infamy!*’ If more evidence be needed of what the spirit of slavery would do, if it could safely, to our representatives who dare to speak their own thoughts, read the following murderous passage from the Charleston (S. C.) Mercury, the oracle of slaveholders:—‘ *Public opinion in the South would now, we are sure, justify an immediate RESORT TO FORCE by the Southern delegation—EVEN ON THE FLOOR OF CONGRESS—were they forthwith to SEIZE AND DRAG FROM THE HALL, any man who dared to insult them, as that eccentric old showman, John Quincy Adams, has dared to do. If there be laws against incendiaries, in the District of Columbia, HE SHOULD BE INDICTED.* If the privileges of the House are to screen an Abolitionist, who holds concert with the slaves of the Dis-

trict, *it is time that Virginia and Maryland should interfere, AND PUT DOWN SUCH A NUISANCE AS CONGRESS MUST BE UPON THEIR BORDERS.*' If still other and more authoritative evidence be required to prove that the slave-tyrants of the South are resolved upon administering lynch law to all the enemies of their accursed slave-system, who may chance to be within their power, let the following atrocious declaration of Mr. Preston of S. C., made in the U. S. Senate on the 4th instant, annihilate the last fragment of northern skepticism:—'This much he would say: let an abolitionist [Gerrit Smith or William Jay, for example] come within the borders of South Carolina,—if we can catch him, we will try him; and notwithstanding all the interference of all the governments of the earth, *including this federal government, WE WILL HANG HIM.*' No doubt of it. Mr. Preston was neither joking, nor attempting to bluster. It is a fact in the awful history of the times, that every northern citizen, who refuses to bow down to the Moloch of slavery at the South, and who proclaims his abhorrence of the conduct of slaveholders, from that moment becomes AN OUTLAW in one half of the American Union. He can more safely trust himself in the paws of the bear, than in the hands of the bloody-minded men of the South. He may travel with impunity among savage tribes, and all other parts of the world are accessible to him; but if he is caught at the South, he will be suspended upon a gibbet for the crime of loving liberty for all men, irrespective of clime or color; and though he may suppose that he is shielded from all danger by the American Constitution, yet will he find that even the national government has no power to save him from an ignominious fate!—In vain shall he appeal to his unblemished character as a man, a citizen, and a christian; in vain claim the liberty of speech and of conscience, secured to him by the clearest constitutional provisions as an inalienable right; in vain protest that his heresy consists simply in a hearty subscription to the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence; in vain appeal for justice to the Supreme Court of his country; for there is none able to deliver him. Die he

must; die ignobly; die upon the gallows. '*We will hang him*'! is the murderous assurance from the lips of a U. S. Senator, in his place in Congress. Shocking as it is, and calculated to chill the blood of every friend of humanity, it called forth no expression of surprise, or indignation, or horror, from any Senator. 'The Defender of the Constitution' was dumb—and who else should presume to speak? If the time-honored adage be not, in this instance, strictly true, that 'silence gives consent,' what is that silence but a virtual abandonment of the vindication of northern character, and the defence of northern lives? An expression, so sanguinary as that which fell from the lips of Mr. Preston, should have brought every northern senator to his feet, and elicited such a reply as would have caused the bloody-minded South Carolinian to hang his head as a detected, self-convicted ruffian. But no one stirred—the threat was made with impunity. The boldest held his breath!

On the 4th of March, 1837, Mr. Van Buren, the new President, made his inaugural address to the people of the United States. Better, far better for his reputation, if he had never emerged from village obscurity, than that he should have been elevated to the station he now fills, to put forth to the world such inhuman and anti-republican sentiments as are embodied in that address. If there be one constitutional provision more emphatic, more unequivocal than another, it is that which gives Congress exclusive jurisdiction, in all cases whatsoever, over the District of Columbia; and, consequently, it has both the power and the right to abolish slavery and the slave trade in that District—or, in other words, to 'establish justice' between the inhabitants of the District, and to secure to them the blessings of liberty. This truth has been admitted and reiterated, from the time of the cession of the District up to the present hour, by southern as well as northern statesmen; nor can it be denied, without subverting the whole instrument. When Maryland and Virginia gave up all right and title to that free gift of territory, they necessarily relinquished the law-making power over it. Whatever laws, regulating their own internal concerns, they may have since modified, repealed or enacted, their

legislation has ceased to operate in the District of Columbia, as completely as in Massachusetts or Vermont. Whatever changes have taken place in the laws of the District, since its cession to the United States, they have been made solely by Congress. The slavery, therefore, which exists within its limits, has the sanction and is upheld by all the States in the Union, through their Senators and Representatives. It can be overthrown only by the power that sustains it. Hence, whenever a constitutional majority demand its abolition, it is lawful to obey that command. Indeed, it exists in express violation of the letter and spirit of the American Constitution ; it is, therefore, a dangerous usurpation, which, aside from all considerations of humanity, ought to be crushed instantly. In what section or clause of the Constitution is authority given to Congress to foster or even tolerate slavery, by express statute, upon the soil that might be ceded to the United States ? The doctrine of the South, properly understood, that Congress has no right to meddle with slavery, is sound. It follows that that body had no right to accept of that which it could not constitutionally touch : it exceeded its power in receiving slavery, but having committed the crime, it has power to repudiate it at any moment. By the Constitution, every slave in the District of Columbia is a free-man ; because an instrument expressly designed 'to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty,' cannot empower the legislative body acting under its provisions to establish and sustain slavery, and secure the victims of slaveholders ; and because all the laws of Congress, transforming one portion of the inhabitants of the District into chattels personal, are by that great instrument null and void. It is not necessary to pursue the argument. The right of Congress to abolish slavery in the 'ten miles square,' is indisputable : even Mr. Van Buren, though anxious to please the South in every thing, admits it. As to the expediency, the duty of such abolition, who that 'despises fraud, or loathes rapine, or abhors blood,' or fears perjury, can for one moment doubt ? Who that loves his country, and would not have her (what she is now) a by-word and a hissing among the tyrants of the old world, will not be eager to see the stain

of pollution wiped from her brow, and her garments of blood made white like snow? Who that assumes to be a man, much more a patriot and christian, will dare to contend, that either the honor, prosperity or security of the nation, requires the continuance of a system of all possible villanies at the Seat of Government? A territory of equal size, reeking with so much pollution, and filled with so much oppression, probably cannot be found in any part of the world. It is the head quarters of the dealers in slaves and the souls of men: the noise of the whip, the shrieks of violated innocence, the groans of heart-broken men and women, the clanking of chains, and the voice of the slave-selling auctioneer, are heard in the midst of it continually. Its prisons are crowded with doomed victims; its slave-trading ships are actively engaged in the commerce of blood; and coffles of slaves are as regularly driven from its soil as from any portion of benighted Africa. These horrors have been enforced by Congress for almost half a century; and how much longer they are to be tolerated by those upon whom the awful responsibility rests,—the American people,—the God of the oppressed only knows. The President of the United States declares, with a brow of brass and a heart of stone, that they shall not cease so long as he occupies his present station. With a folly as surprising as his wickedness is transcendant, he bids defiance in advance to any expression of the will of the people on this subject, and pledges himself to be governed in his conduct by a slaveholding banditti. In his inaugural address, he proclaims that he has gone into the Presidential Chair, ‘the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of every attempt, on the part of Congress, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, against the wishes [not merely of Maryland and Virginia, but] of the slaveholding States!’—‘No bill,’ he adds, ‘conflicting with these views, can ever receive my constitutional sanction.’ No—not though a majority of the people call upon him to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free; though all that is merciful and just beseech him to relent; though the voice of God thunders in his ear, ‘Execute judgment, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hands of the spoiler.’ He cannot,

must not, will not break the rod of oppression. When the tigers of the South shall signify, that their appetite is glutted with blood, and that they desire the release of their prey, then, and not till then, will he consent to the deliverance! And he has the effrontery to add, that experience has proved his views 'to be humane, patriotic, expedient, honorable, and just!'—'Humane' to place mothers and daughters under the lash of the slave-driver, and surrender up their bodies to pollution! 'Patriotic' to deprive thousands of guiltless men and women of their inalienable rights! 'Expedient' to join hands with thieves and adulterers, and to license the trade in human flesh! 'Honorable' to withhold the hire of the laborers, fatten upon stolen wealth, annihilate the institution of marriage, sunder all the ties of consanguinity, and make havoc of all the relations of life!—'Just' to make man a thing, the priceless soul property; to fetter, scourge, maim, murder the innocent; to blot out the intellect of beings created in the image of God, and to consign them to remediless bondage! Such is the humanity, such the patriotism, such the religion of a man, who aspires to be the representative of democracy, of christianity! Democracy, in its purity, rejects with indignation his hollow pretensions. Christianity associates him with her enemies. He has voluntarily thrown aside his mask, and revealed the deformity of his features. Having in the pride of his heart demanded, 'Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice to let the oppressed go free?' it is no marvel that he is resolved to regard the will of the people disdainfully. But let him beware. Like ancient Pharaoh, he has placed himself at the head of a slaveholding army, and chosen all the chariots of Egypt, and is pursuing those, who, trusting in the living God for deliverance, are led by a pillar of cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night. Into the Red Sea have the persecuted gone forward, though at first ready to despair; and the waters have become a wall unto them on their right hand and on the left. Their implacable foes are just behind. Let them not tempt the Almighty, but retreat while they may. Already they drive heavily, for their chariot-wheels the Lord is taking off! If they persist in their merciless intentions,

the depths shall cover them—they shall sink as lead in **THE RED SEA OF PUBLIC OPINION!**

These animadversions are stimulated by no political antipathies, no party predilections. Fidelity to the sacred cause which we espouse calls them forth. Up to the present time, the anti-slavery enterprise has been prosecuted with the utmost impartiality toward all men ; and this is proved by the fact, that men of all religious sects and all political parties are united in its support. It must continue to stand aloof from partyism, from sectarianism. Whoever or whatever assails it, must expect to be rebuked, and, if possible, removed out of its path. The spirit of abolition is of heaven, not of men : it is the spirit of Him who was anointed to preach good tidings unto the meek—who was sent to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound—to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God. Whatever, therefore, resists it, is Anti-Christ. As all are not Israel, who are of Israel ; so neither are all abolitionists, who profess to be. Some have joined themselves to the anti-slavery ranks, who love their sect or their party more than they love the perishing slaves. Such will find themselves necessitated to withdraw, unless indeed the hope of exciting divisions shall induce them to remain. To love any man,—ay, even a father, a mother, or wife, or child,—more than this cause, is to be disloyal to it. We have the confession of Mr. Preston, of S. C. that the District of Columbia is **THE CITADEL OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.** The President of the United States is the chieftain who guards it, and resolves to defend it to the last. In opposing him as an individual, abolitionists make no war upon democratic principles. In associating himself with the enemies of our race, he must expect to meet with the same opposition that they are justly exciting. The democratic party are not called upon to abandon their principles, but only *the man who has betrayed those principles.* It is certain that they must make this sacrifice,—which truly is no sacrifice,—and select some worthier candidate, or they will find themselves in a minority at the next Presidential

election. The balance of political power is already in the hands of the abolitionists, and their number is multiplying with unexampled rapidity. Into which ever scale they shall throw themselves, by their regard for humanity above all party considerations, they will outweigh all opposition. None would deprecate the necessity of such a movement more than themselves. But, without a full retraction of the tyrannous pledge which Mr. Van Buren has given respecting the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, they can neither consistently nor conscientiously vote for his re-election. They must oppose him as they oppose all who uphold the slave-system.

At the last session of the Legislature of this State, a large number of petitions was presented to the Senate and House, requesting those bodies 'to protest, without delay, in the name of the people of this Commonwealth,' against a resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States, adopted January 18th, 1837, laying upon the table 'all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, without being either printed or referred, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.' This resolution was justly declared to be a virtual denial of the right of petition, a violation of the American Constitution, and dangerous to the union of the States. The memorials were referred to a committee, consisting of Messrs. Lee of Templeton, Richardson of Boston, Eaton of Haverhill, Thompson of Charlestown, Huntington of Northampton, Collins of Chester, Cooley of Hawley, Newton of Washington, Goodrich of Roxbury, Perkins of New Bedford, Barstow of Rochester, Crosby of Brewster, Coffin of Edgarton, and Upton of Nantucket—that is, one from each congressional district in the State. Before this committee, in behalf of the petitioners, appeared George S. Hillard and Henry B. Stanton. These gentlemen were listened to by the committee in the most respectful and courteous manner, at great length, with no symptoms of impatience, and to great acceptance—the conduct of the chairman (Mr. Lee of Templeton) furnishing a striking and honorable

contrast to that exhibited by Mr. Lunt, of Newburyport, on a similar occasion in 1836. Mr. Hillard spoke with ability in defence of the right of petition. The argument of Mr. Stanton was one of extraordinary power, covering the whole ground of controversy. Its effect upon the committee, and upon the crowd of anxious spectators that filled the Representatives' Hall, was electrical. It was first stereotyped in their understandings, consciences and hearts, and has since been stereotyped in another form, and printed for circulation through the length and breadth of the land. Thousands and tens of thousands have read it—but who has ventured to deny its premises or conclusions? No one. It is unanswered, simply because it is unanswerable. Hundreds of thousands, yea, a long line of posterity, even after the overthrow of slavery, shall yet peruse it with admiration and thanksgiving. In listening to it, as it fell like inspiration, in burning strains, from the lips of the speaker, men began to feel the divinity stir within them, and the meanest of their race rose in their estimation almost to the height of a seraph—only, indeed, ‘*a little lower than the angels.*’ Their sluggish blood grew warm; for the fires of truth and humanity were kindled within them, consuming their prejudices like flax, and melting their rocky hearts with fervid intensity. The occasion was one of great moral sublimity. Mr. Stanton, though laboring under physical indisposition, was happily enabled not only to meet but even to transcend the high expectations of the friends of liberty. His words became living coals; and his eloquence bore all things onward like an overflowing stream. More graphic, heart-stirring thoughts, sentiments, appeals, cannot be found in the same compass from the lips of any ancient or modern defender of the rights of man. Take the following as a specimen. Alluding to the fallacious hope, which certain statesmen of the South seem to cherish, that, by dissolving their connection with the North, they will be able to shut out the effects of anti-slavery agitations, he eloquently remarked—

‘Never! The effects of anti-slavery agitations are not hemmed in by State lines, nor circumscribed by local boundaries. They are moral in their nature; obey no laws but those of the human mind; owe allegiance to no constitution but that of

the immortal soul. Impalpable yet real, the truths we proclaim overleap all geographical divisions, and lay their strong grasp upon the conscience. Moral light, diffused at the north, is like the Aurora Borealis : it will travel onward to the South. The slaveholder may intrench himself behind bristling bayonets—but the truth, armed with the omnipotence of its Author, breaks through the serried legions. At Mason and Dixon's line, he may pile his prohibitory statutes to the clouds as his wall of defence—but truth, like light, is elastic and irrepressible—and, mounting upward, will overleap the summit, and penetrate his concealment. Yes, sir, if the Union were rent into ten thousand fragments—yet, if on every fragment there was a slaveholder, anti-slavery agitation would search him out, and scatter upon his naked heart the living coals of truth. God has written the verity of our principles on the inside of every oppressor in the land. He can destroy the record only with his nature. And, if the American slaveholder, returning wearied from the destruction of every anti-slavery pamphlet, and press, and society, and man in the nation, should seek repose in his chamber, these words, written with the finger of God, would flame out from its walls, in letters of blinding intensity :—‘ Wo unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong ; that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work ! ’

Of the unyielding purpose of the friends of emancipation, Mr. Stanton gave the committee the following impressive and truthful assurance :

‘ Undeterred by official proscription or private denunciation, by prosecutions at common law or persecutions without law, by legislative enactments or ecclesiastical anathemas, the friends of the slave, guided by the wisdom, cheered by the favor, and protected by the power of God, will prosecute their work. And that man, or that party, which shall attempt to arrest this cause in its onward march, will be borne down by the advancing host.’

It is doubtless to the powerful advocacy of the prayer of the memorialists, by Mr. Stanton, on this occasion, that the people are indebted, under God, for the noble response that was subsequently made by both branches of the Legislature. The committee reported to the House a preamble and resolutions, declaring unequivocally that the act of Congress, in refusing to refer or consider the petitions of the people on the subject of slavery, was ‘ a virtual denial of the right of petition itself’—‘ at variance with the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the United States, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions ’ ;—‘ that our Senators and Representatives in Congress, in maintaining and advocating the full right of petition, had entitled themselves to the cordial approbation of the people of this Commonwealth ’ ;—and

‘that Congress, having exclusive legislation in the District of Columbia, possess the right to abolish slavery in said District, and that its exercise should only be restrained by a regard to the public good.’ These were adopted, in the House, after an animated discussion, by the triumphant vote of 378 to 16; and in the Senate, yeas 32, nays 1. The result astounded men of all parties, and carried dismay into the heart of the South. The Boston Centinel and Gazette (a paper unsurpassed for its malignity toward the anti-slavery cause, and its servility to southern dictation) styled it ‘A proud day for the Abolitionists!’ The Daily Advertiser (not less hostile in its character) argued that ‘the agitation of this subject in the Legislature was without a shadow of justification or pretext’! It ‘warned the Legislature against any such course’—‘they were not called upon, by any obligation whatever, to interfere in the matter,’ i. e. to defend the strangled right of petition!—‘the only effect of the resolutions would be to increase the irritation already produced’!—‘the passing of them could not fail to be mischievous’! It was ‘moreover persuaded, that the Legislature, in thus countenancing the views of the abolitionists, had pursued a course entirely at variance with the prevailing sentiment of the people of this State’!!—The Morning Post stigmatized them as ‘fire-brand resolutions,’ and hoped ‘that the democratic members at least, would be consistent, and unitedly oppose their passage—they owed it to their country, to themselves, and to their party’!! It was in this manner almost every daily paper in Boston attempted to intimidate and brow-beat the members of the Legislature—but in vain. They were neither to be frightened nor misled by the tools of the Boston aristocracy. The resolutions which they adopted, instead of increasing irritation, served to diffuse satisfaction and tranquillity throughout the Commonwealth. To the South, of course, and its northern allies, they gave serious offence. Alluding to them, the Richmond Enquirer exclaimed, ‘This is absolute infatuation—we had almost said, fanaticism. Thanks be to Mr. Van Buren, however, so long

as he remains President, no bill for the abolition of slavery in the District can become a law of the land !'

As Congress had risen before the adoption of these resolutions by the State Legislature, they failed to be laid before that body. Since, however, the passage of Mr. Patton's resolution of the 21st ultimo, by the House of Representatives at its present session, laying all petitions relating to slavery on the table, unREFERRED, unread, undebated, Mr. Cushing (having previously laid them upon the table) has attempted to call them up for consideration ; but, by the decision of the House, though emanating from a sovereign State, they cannot be allowed even a hearing—and they accordingly lie upon the table, voiceless and contemned ! As the Legislature of the State is now in session, it only remains to be seen in what manner the representatives of freemen will treat this new outrage upon the character and dignity of this Commonwealth. As they have appointed committees to report upon slavery in the District of Columbia and the Right of Petition, (as well as upon the annexation of Texas,) it is to be presumed they will speak out in language not to be misunderstood—in a tone not to be disregarded.

'Startling and stern, the northern winds shall bear it
Over Potomac's to St. Mary's wave ;
And buried Freedom shall awake to hear it
Within her grave.'

Has it indeed come to this ? Is Massachusetts to be treated as a bond-slave ? Are all her citizens in chains ?

And what, but more than slaves, are they
Who're told they ne'er shall be denied
The right of prayer ; yet, when they pray,
Their prayers, *unheard*, are thrown aside ?
Such mockery they will tamely bear,
Who're fit an iron chain to wear !

'Turn not, ye despots, on your heel :—
It is not for an act of grace
That, suppliant, at your feet, we kneel—
We stand—we look you in the face,
And say—and we have weighed the word—
That our petitions *SHALL* be heard.'

In the House of Representatives of this State, March 27, 1837, the Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred an order of January 20th, directing them to inquire into the expediency of 'restoring the writ de homine replegiando, or of providing some other process by which one under personal restraint may try his right to liberty before a jury,' made an elaborate report through their chairman, (James C. Alvord,) to which was appended an act, the first section of which provides that 'if any person is imprisoned, restrained of his liberty, or held in duress, unless it be in the custody of some public officer of the law, by force of a lawful warrant or other process, civil or criminal, issued by a court of competent jurisdiction, he shall be entitled, as of right, to the writ of personal replevin, and to be thereby delivered in the manner' specified in the remaining sections of the act. This report was adopted with entire unanimity. Thus it is settled, that every person who may be hereafter seized in this State, as a runaway slave, shall have the benefit of a trial by jury, instead of having his liberty put into the hands, and dependent merely on the certificate of any magistrate whom the unprincipled claimant might select, granted on a summary and ex-parte examination. 'This trial to him,' in the language of the Report, 'is of tremendous interest, involving consequences, in some respects, even greater than those which await the judgment on the most abhorred crime known in the land. For our constitution provides, that even this shall "not work corruption of the blood." But a judgment against one, condemning him as a fugitive slave, does work corruption of blood, and forfeiture to himself, his children, and his children's children, to the latest generation.' The act of Congress of the 12th of February, 1793, authorizing persons claimed as runaway slaves to be given up on oral testimony or affidavit, taken before and certified by any magistrate of a county, city, or town corporate, wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made, the committee deem to be unauthorized and void, inasmuch as it is a well settled principle that Congress cannot confer any part of the judicial power of the United States on State magistrates or

officers. They pertinently ask, 'Who, that knows the extreme jealousy of freedom, which was the characteristic of the times, can believe that the founders of our Constitution intended to hold the trial by jury "*sacred*" on every question of dollars and cents, however insignificant, and in relation to the slightest misdemeanors, and to deny it on the great question of PERSONAL LIBERTY? that they would yield it as a RIGHT to every man for the investigation of his title to an ox or a horse, and withhold it on a trial which involved the ownership of his own limbs and faculties—in one word, his ownership of HIMSELF?' Strange that this rational discovery was not made sooner; and passing strange that the colored citizens of this Commonwealth should, for almost fifty years, have been deprived of that protection for their liberty, which they and all others enjoy for the smallest items of personal property!—The astounding fact is only another humiliating proof of the indifference with which the rights of that deeply injured class of our fellow-citizens have been regarded, even in this enlightened Commonwealth. But, thanks be to God! they are henceforth to be fully protected in their personal liberty, the whole system of legal kidnapping having been demolished at a blow. The unanimous decision of the Supreme Judicial Court of this State, that 'an owner of a slave in another State where slavery is warranted by law, voluntarily bringing such slave into this State, has no authority to detain him against his will, or to carry him out of the State against his consent, for the purpose of being held in slavery,' was highly important, but far less so than this restoration of a trial by jury.

It is the strength and glory of the anti-slavery cause, that its principles are so simple and elementary, and yet so vital to freedom, morality and religion, as to commend themselves to the understandings and consciences of men of every sect and party, every creed and persuasion, every caste and color. They are self-evident truths,—fixed stars in the moral firmament,—blazing suns in the great universe of mind, dispensing light and heat over the whole surface of humanity, and around

which all social and moral affinities revolve in harmony. They are to be denied, only as the existence of a God, or the immortality of the soul, is denied. Unlike human theories, they can never lead astray ; unlike human devices, they can never be made subservient to ambition or selfishness. When Jesus gave this rule of action to a Jewish lawyer, who interrogated him, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' and illustrated its meaning by the case of the man fallen among thieves, aided by one with whom he was at mortal variance because of sectarian and national antipathies, the Great Teacher evidently intended to inculcate this among other truths, that all men are bound to rally upon the broad ground of a common humanity; to succor the distressed, without reference to the caste, the creed, the country, or the name of the sufferer ;—or, in other words, that when a victim of robbers lies weltering in his blood, he only is 'neighbor to him,' who pours wine and oil into his wounds, forgetful of all other considerations ; while he who passes by on the other side does but act the priest and the Levite. We repeat it, therefore, that it is the strength and glory of the anti-slavery cause, that men of all sects not only ought to unite, but are united, in one common phalanx, to break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free. Why should it not be so ? It is a reproach to the name of Christianity, that while its professors, however widely differing in their religious or political sentiments, eagerly associate together for the purpose of MONEY-GETTING,—to establish banks, build rail-roads, dig canals, and erect manufactories,—they are slow, almost reluctant, to give each other the right hand of fellowship in carrying on an enterprise of mercy. When they themselves are thirsty, they ask not who it is that proffers them a cup of cold water ; when they are oppressed, they care not who it is that breaks their fetters ; when they are threatened with death, they demand not, in a cavilling spirit, who it is that comes to their rescue. When the mother country attempted to bind the chains of civil despotism upon the limbs of our fathers, how ineffectual would have been their struggle for emancipation, if they had stood aloof from each

other on account of sectarian or political disagreements, and refused to co-operate together en masse for a common object, to effect a common deliverance ! Would the war have been finished in seven years ? Would it not have been ended, disastrously, in less than seven months ? If each religious sect, if each political party, had resolved to prosecute the war *per se*, in an invidious and antagonistical form, would England have lost the brightest gem that was ever set in her regal crown ? Never. And what were they styled, who, in those times that 'tried men's souls,' for any pretext whatever refused to stand shoulder to shoulder in breasting the tide of British despotism ? Tories—traitors to their country—the enemies of liberty. Why were they bound to forget their creeds and their names, and to throw themselves, as one man, into 'the imminent deadly breach,' for the preservation of their liberty ? First, because it was a common good which was to be secured ; secondly, because it was common ground to be occupied by all who were not willing to wear the yoke of bondage ; thirdly, because disunion would have been inevitable defeat ; and lastly, and for the all-conclusive reason, that all sects and parties in England, the government, the people, were united together for the subjugation of the colonies, and nothing but a similar union of the people of the colonies could have procured their independence.

The moral conflict now waging against American slavery is, in many of its aspects, a parallel case. Its object, like the love of God, consults the happiness of all men : it is a common one, in which all sects and all parties have an equal, the deepest interest. The ground on which it is fought is a common one, broad enough to contain all who would occupy it. Disunion in the ranks is defeat—no true friend to the cause will seek to foment it. Those who refuse to enlist, because they are not agreed upon other and minor points with the gallant band who are struggling against the opposing hosts of despotism—what are they ? Are they the friends of emancipation ? No. What are they ? Neutrals ? Neutrality in such a struggle is the abhorrence of God, and active rebellion.

against his government. The Moloch of slavery finds worshippers and defenders among all classes of society throughout the land; and it is to be remarked,—it is a fact too alarming and too important to be forgotten,—that, wherever they are—at the east or west, the north or south—whatever the party they espouse, or to whatever denomination they belong, their sympathies, feelings, interests, opinions, blend together like the drops of the ocean, to sink the victims of oppression beyond the fathom line of humanity. Their language is one; their shibboleth the same; their grand hailing sign of distress the same; their grip and knock the same. In their spirit, they are alike; in their purpose, identical; in their fellowship, undivided. Upon almost every other subject, they differ wide as the poles asunder; but upon the duty of paying homage to the bloody idol set up in our land, their agreement is perfect. Are the children of this world to be always wiser than the children of light? If Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Unitarians, &c. &c. are joined hand to hand, and heart to heart, in earnest defence of slavery; if they associate together, plot together, co-operate together, to uphold that execrable system; shall not, may not, cannot members of the same religious persuasions, who desire the utter extirpation of slavery, and will not bow down to the image of Baal, nor pass through the fire to Moloch, be *as* united, *as* forgetful of their other variances, *as* ready to act in company? If the friends and the opponents of the national administration are found in the same phalanx, fighting in defence of the worst oppressors; shall they not also be found leagued together for the rescue of the oppressed? When the standard of HUMANITY is unfurled to the breeze, in the sunshine of heaven, who that is created in the image of God, who that is human, will not rally under its folds? Let us suppose a case. In the progress of the revolutionary struggle, there were many dark periods, when the cause of liberty seemed to be at its last gasp; when its champions began to fear, that the night of despotism must inevitably settle over the land, with no hope that there would ever be another dawn of Freedom's day.

Let us suppose, that, in the darkest hour, when Washington and his barefooted followers, in the midst of winter, were retreating before their victorious enemy, and tracking their snowy path with blood, some of them had suddenly thrown down their arms, and declared that they could no longer be associated with men whose religious or political creed differed from their own, or who refused to subscribe to any creed. Suppose they had attempted to seduce others from the cause, by inflaming their suspicions and alienating their affections, by artful appeals and slanderous representations. Suppose they had tried to cut off the supplies which were sent to enable the tried and faithful few to carry on the war, until victory perched upon their standard, or the last drop of blood had oozed from their veins. And suppose that these factious individuals had boasted of their patriotism, and professed that they were actuated by love of country, and gave as one reason for their mutinous conduct, that, in withdrawing themselves from the army, they believed they should be able to do more execution, inasmuch as a large portion of the enemy coincided with them in religious profession, and would certainly be more willing to be shot down or taken captive by them, than by those who held to a different creed. What would have been thought, what said of conduct like this? Would not the whole world, civilized and savage, have cried out, 'Shame! shame!' But suppose, in addition to all this, that they had eulogized the conduct of those tories, who had refused to join the little patriotic army, as 'men who had a quick sense of propriety, and were not willing to be identified with their movements;' whose hearts bled for the oppressed colonists, but who were beaten off from active exertion in their behalf, in consequence of the character and measures of those who were carrying on the war. Suppose they had declared that their feelings had often been exceedingly pained by the abuse which was heaped upon tory ministers and other excellent tory Christians, who did not feel prepared to enter fully into the efforts of the revolutionists. Suppose, further, they had carried on a secret correspondence with the disaffected in various parts of the

land, as well as made their appeals to them in public, urging them to come forward in a body, take the cause into their own hands, and carry it on in a manner to suit themselves. Suppose, finally, that, in view of this mutiny, shouts should be heard in all the enemy's camps, rending the very heavens with their exultation. In what light would the conduct of those disorganizers have appeared to the friends of American liberty throughout the world? As dictated by a superior regard, a more holy concern for the success of the Right? Impossible. Nay, they would have been viewed, despite all their flaming professions of attachment to the cause, as recreant to it.

This supposition will serve to illustrate a similar defection which has taken place in the anti-slavery ranks, during the past year, in this Commonwealth and some other parts of New England,—a defection, which, happily, has extended to a very few persons, and, instead of dividing, has only served to bind more closely together the hearts of the friends of emancipation,—to make them more vigilant, more self-sacrificing, more uncompromising, in prosecuting their great enterprise, than ever. About six months ago, in the winter and midnight of our cause, when it was evident that if all the thoughts and energies of its advocates were not concentrated upon the single point of preventing the annexation of Texas to this country, by sounding a tocsin of alarm that should rouse almost the dead from their slumbers, there was little hope of the triumph of the cause or the salvation of the republic—at such a crisis it was, certain individuals, holding stations of influence as ministers of the gospel, and claiming to be not only known in public and in private as friends of the anti-slavery cause, but as abolitionists in the strictest sense, (one of them, moreover, one of the managers of this Society,) came out, without any previous private remonstrance, in a public document, preferring serious and grave charges against the manner in which the cause had been conducted. Their accusations assumed different forms, some tangible, others indefinite—some being preferred against the *Liberator* and its editor, others against

‘leading abolitionists’—some new, and others such as had been preferred again and again by our opponents—some arraigning the orthodoxy of private individuals, and others affecting the whole aspect of our enterprise. They have finally settled down to a single point—that the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society is so heretical, and made up of such anti-christian materials, that it is the duty of all truly ‘evangelical’ men to come out from among them, be separate, and form an exclusive society, admitting none as members but those who subscribe to a particular confession of faith—at the same time, expressing their intention to make the new society auxiliary to the American, which is conducted in the same manner, and made up of the same discordant materials as the Massachusetts Society.

Of this movement, the Board said at the time—‘So far as they (the Appeal, &c.) are personal in their character, the Board have nothing to say of them. So far, however, as they may be regarded as implicating the Board and the Society generally, the Board feel called on to say, that they regard them as unjust in their allegations, and as inconsiderate, if not ungenerous and unchristian, in the manner of preferring them ; * * and as peculiarly unseasonable and unkind at a time, when the union of all hearts and all hands is needed for the promotion of our common cause, and when nothing, if it can possibly be prevented, should be allowed to come up to withdraw the attention, or divide the energies of the oppressed.’

The ‘course of the Board,’ on this occasion, was ‘fully and cordially approved’ by the Society, at its Quarterly Meeting, in Worcester, on the 29th of September following, which was very fully attended by delegates from various parts of the Commonwealth.

It might well be supposed, that this attempt to divide the anti-slavery ranks upon sectarian grounds, and especially to suppress *this* Society, (the parent of the fifteen hundred associations now in existence,) which has every where been regarded, both in this country and in England, as the sheet-anchor of the abolition ship, could not fail to create a lively ex-

citement among the friends and foes of the cause, in all parts of the land. At regular and special meetings of many anti-slavery societies in Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania, the conduct of the signers of the 'Clerical Appeal' was condemned as unkind, illiberal and unjustifiable; while not a single society was found to give them any countenance. The anti-slavery presses, throughout the land, were not less decided in deprecating any new organization upon party or sectarian grounds. Thus a verdict was pronounced against the authors of this plot, from which there could be no 'appeal,' except to the enemies of our sacred enterprise. But to make such an appeal would only be to confess, that they had betrayed the cause, and changed sides in the controversy. Never was a verdict pronounced with greater unanimity, or in more decisive terms. If, after such an expression of sentiment on the part of the devoted friends of immediate emancipation, the signers of the 'Clerical Appeal' had needed any stronger evidence that they were in the wrong, they should have been convinced of this fact by the shouts which were raised over their defection by the most implacable opponents of anti-slavery principles and measures.*

* The following Appeal is so excellent and so well-timed, that we insert it entire, although of considerable length. It manifests so good a spirit, so much in accordance with christian propriety, that we feel confident it will find a response from many hearts not now enlisted in the abolition enterprise.—*N. H. Observer.*

We have been exceedingly refreshed by the following document, which appeared in the last New England Spectator. Its noble, independent tone—its courtesy towards opponents, its regard for their rights, conceding all its demands—its recognition of correct principles of action and intercourse, in language plain and easy to be understood;—all this is so different from any thing which we have seen from 'that side of the house,' that we give the whole with the sincerest pleasure. We have marvelled, for a long time, how Anti-Slavery ministers, at least such as we know some of them to be, could keep silence, while a tyranny was creeping in, more to be dreaded than any other now in existence among us.—*Christian Mirror.*

A Gratifying Document.—Here is an approach to what we have so often argued to be the duty of Christian members of Anti-Slavery Societies. We admire the honest and christian spirit of this document. Mr. Fitch is pastor of the Free Church, which professes to be founded on 'Anti-Slavery principles,' and has frequently spok-

It is but just to add, that, with a few exceptions, the movement seems to have found as little favor among those of the same religious faith with the persons concerned, as among others. Indeed, in its present exclusive and sectarian aspect, it is believed there is but one feeling throughout the State, among abolitionists of every name and sect; and that all alike will not only regret, but repudiate, every attempt at organization on sectarian grounds, or on any other which shall be designed or fitted to divide their energies, and turn their efforts against each other, instead of the common enemy.

The success which has attended anti-slavery efforts, during the past year,—notwithstanding the treachery of professed friends, and the bitter opposition of avowed enemies,—has been truly wonderful. ‘Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power: thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy. Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?’ The all-animating voice of God is still saying,—‘Speak unto the friends of holy and impartial liberty, that they GO FORWARD!’ There is no discharge in this warfare, so long as one human being pines in bondage upon our soil. Let us arm ourselves with the same mind that was in Christ Jesus. Whilst we should watchfully see to it, that nothing of human passion, or personal hatred, or sectarian bitterness, or party policy, enters into our feelings in assailing the execrable system of American slavery, and in rebuking the transcendent wickedness of American slaveholders, we should be equally

on at Anti-Slavery meetings. Mr. Towne is pastor of the Salem-street Church, and was one of the ‘seventy agents,’ commissioned last year by the American Anti-Slavery Society. Mr. Sanford and the other signers have long been known as active members of the Anti-Slavery Society. We publish their appeal with great pleasure. — *Vermont Chronicle*.

Taking Right Ground.—Several Clerical abolitionists in Boston and vicinity, have been obliged to express their public disapprobation of some of the Garrisonism of that region. We give a few extracts from their public appeal as published in the New England Spectator. Let abolitionists generally come out, and put down the spirit and practice of denunciation and abuse, and show a better example by speaking the truth in love, and converts to their cause will be multiplied.—*Religious Intel.*

on our guard not to give heed to the suggestions of a false charity, or to dilute the pure word of liberty. Let our single purpose be,—regardless whom it may please or offend among men,—to speak the truth of God in its simplicity and power—not to conceal danger, or gild over crime, or screen the wrong-doer. It is not light that is needed on this subject, so much as a heart of flesh. While the chains of millions of our enslaved countrymen are clanking in our ears, and their cries are piercing the heavens, and we know that their bodies and spirits (which are God's) are daily sold under the hammer of the auctioneer as household goods or working cattle, we need no nice adjustment of abstractions, no metaphysical reasonings, to convince us that such scenes are dreadful, and such practices impious. All the nobility of our manhood, all that is nature within us, all the instincts and faculties of our souls, settle the question instantly. With the indignation that fired the bosom of a Brougham, each of us exclaims—‘Tell me not of rights! talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves! I deny the right, I acknowledge not the property! The principles, the feelings of our nature rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it.’ Let abolitionists remember this important truth, that it is because the skin of their poor, despised, fettered, bleeding clients is black, that they themselves are incendiaries and disturbers of the public peace—that their temper is bad, their spirit uncharitable, their language abusive, their principles unsound, their measures dangerous, their logic worthless. Oh, the odious inconsistency of the American people! When the iron heel of Turkish despotism was planted upon the necks of the Greeks; when the Autocrat of Russia was sending his barbarian hordes to conquer the unconquerable Poles; when the incensed populace of Paris contended for the space of three days with the National Guards, and drove Charles the Tenth from his throne; when the news of the passage of the Stamp Act, and the tax on tea, by the mother country, was received by our fathers, and insurrections for liberty broke out in all parts of the colonies; when at a subsequent period, the tidings came that

American citizens had been captured by the Algerines, and were pining in bondage ; when, at a still later period, the rights of American seamen ceased to be respected by Great Britain, and some six or seven thousand were said to have been impressed ; on each and on all of those memorable occasions, no denunciation against the oppressors was regarded as too strong, no impeachment of motives too sweeping, no agitation too great, no zeal too burning, no sacrifice too dear, no peril too imminent to be encountered. O, no ! Then weakness became strength ; prudence, noble daring ; moderation, impetuosity ; caution, a generous disdain of consequences ; charity, righteous indignation ! Then the cold blood of philosophy, congealed by icy frigidness, was changed into the warm fluid of patriotic life ; then the abstractions of metaphysics became practical realities, affecting life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; then halting expediency was transformed into high, immutable, eternal principle. Then the man, who, at such a crisis, had dared to mock the agony of men's minds, and to insult their understandings, by giving them grave and severe homilies upon the duty of being *very* cautious, and prudent, and charitable, and upon the propriety of exercising moderation and being dumb—such a man would have been deemed and treated as recreant to God and liberty. Then the land trembled as Freedom went forth to battle :—

‘ And there was rushing in hot haste—the steed,
The mustering squadron, and the clattering car,
Went pouring forward with impetuous speed,
And swiftly forming in the ranks of war ;
And the deep thunder, peal on peal afar ;
And near, the beat of the alarming drum,
Roused up the soldier ere the morning star ;
While thronged the citizens with terror dumb,
Or whispering with white lips—“ The foe ! they come ! they come ! ” ’

Then words, however huge,—expostulations, however earnest,—petitions, however importunate,—assertions of rights, however bold and uncompromising in language,—were deemed wholly inadequate to such a crisis. Paving-stones in the streets were taken up and hurled at the heads of the myrmidons of tyranny

—human blood was poured out like water—and the dead bodies of the friends and foes of liberty were piled up in hecatombs round about. Then the press spoke out in thunder-tones—the public halls and churches rang with the shouts of victory, or resounded with heart-stirring appeals to arms; and even ‘ministers of the gospel’ felt that in a strife for the rights of man, carnal weapons were not less efficacious than spiritual weapons, and hence it is recorded that some of them carried loaded muskets into the pulpit on the Sabbath day. Now, we do not say that all this conduct was justifiable—God forbid! We have not so learned duty. But, in the names of justice and mercy, we protest against being condemned for our zeal or language, our principles or measures, by the men who eulogize such deeds and such excitements as we have just recited. The only lesson they can teach us is, that our zeal is tame, our sensibility obtuse, our language weak, our self-sacrifice nothing, compared to the wrongs to be redressed, the evils to be overcome.

On the 7th of November, 1837, the abolition cause, which had passed through many an ordeal of violence, received a **BAPTISM OF BLOOD**. All who had hitherto countenanced it,—whether as beneficent in itself, or on the ground of free discussion, as worthy of a candid investigation,—had been called to suffer in reputation, in business, in expectancy, or in loss of friendship. Some had been seized and punished as felons by felons. Others had been obliged, for the preservation of their lives, to escape in all haste, and with extreme secrecy, from the slaveholding States. For the apprehension of others, large rewards had been offered in the South by various self-constituted lynch committees, and in one instance by a sovereign State. Others were thrust into prison by the civil authorities, not as criminals, but to preserve order (!) and save them from being torn in pieces by an infuriated mob. Presses and types had been destroyed—the public mail robbed by the consent of a city—dwelling-houses and churches sacked—furniture burnt in the streets—anti-slavery advocates pelted with rotten eggs and brickbats—anti-slavery assemblies again and again assailed and dispersed by the joint co-operation of ‘gentlemen of property

and standing,' and a profane and drunken rabble. Perils had thickened on every side—deliverances had been signal. As yet, however, the cause had not found a martyr—it had not been baptized with innocent blood—not a life, of the multitudes threatened and endangered, had been lost! But those whose vision was clearest; whose spirit had become prophetic; who, knowing what slavery had done, and was doing, not in a solitary assault upon a man or a class of men, but unceasingly upon inalienable human rights, eternal principles, and the infinite prerogatives of Jehovah, knew that its daily food was human flesh, its daily drink human blood, and its daily worship appalling blasphemy; such felt sure from the beginning, and prophesied accordingly, that, by no suavity of demeanor, or melody of utterance, or adaptation of means to accomplish the end, could the foul and tiger-spirited system be overthrown, and no excitement, no suffering, no sacrifice of life, be the consequence. The pioneers in this perilous yet glorious campaign anticipated mountainous difficulties to be scaled, Gibraltar-fortresses to be stormed, heroic achievements to be effected, blood-cemented testimonies to be given, as well as certain victory to be won. It was their solemn conviction, that the cause would require martyr-spirits to carry it through, and martyr-victims to perish in its defence; and they gave themselves up as doomed men, because they supposed that they would be naturally regarded by 'chivalrous' assassins as most deserving of immolation. Their chance, in truth, of surviving to the present time,—seeing that some one, at least, must fall a victim,—was a narrow one. It did not enter their minds, nor was it to be supposed, that the first one to perish by the murderous hand of violence would be among the last who should espouse the cause before its final triumph over brutal opposition. Yet so it has turned out! In the providence of God, the last has become first. Conversion and martyrdom followed each other quickly—the former, marked by rare peculiarities—the latter, accomplishing in an hour what years of individual exertion could not have effected for liberty.

We allude, of course, to that direful event which has startled the nation from its profoundest slumber of guilt, to wit, the assassination of the Rev. ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY, at Alton, Illinois, by a mob made up of the best and worst materials—the best, designating the victim—the worst, executing their wish, shooting him through the heart ; both parties thereby presuming that they had put an end to all excitement, and secured themselves against further molestation on the part of any of God's messengers. To demonstrate their innocence, they committed murder, and then held up their bloody hands as stainless witnesses of the fact ! Not relishing the noble thoughts on freedom, to which the mind of LOVEJOY gave birth, they began by destroying his press and types, once in St. Louis, and thrice in Alton—as if the annihilation of a cast-iron machine, and of little pieces of lead and antimony combined, were the extinction of intangible truth and never-dying justice ! Those types were motionless, without a soul to give them vitality ; and that press could do nothing, unless put into action by an immortal impulse. What fatuity, therefore, to wreak vengeance upon senseless objects, in order to punish free thoughts ! For if a thousand printing-presses were destroyed, what would follow but the multiplication of a thousand more ? It is an easy matter to tar and feather a human body, to ride it upon a rail, to suspend it upon a gibbet, to burn it at the stake ; but it is impossible to hit truth with a rotten egg, or confute error with a cudgel : the immaterial is always beyond the power of the material—the spiritual is triumphant over the corporeal. But men, resolved upon deeds of wickedness, cannot reason : they can clamor, they can threaten, they can mob, they can kill—but they know nothing of the philosophy of mind, and can do nothing but wrangle and fight. A troop of arguments in opposition to their sinful practices is treated by them like a troop of wolves, and forthwith they set up a shout to scare them away, or call for their rifles to shoot them !

After the pains which have been taken to spread the facts of the Alton massacre before the people, and familiar as these facts have now become to all who throng the city, or who

dwell upon the mountain or in the valley, from one extremity of the country to the other, it is not deemed necessary, at this late period, to go into the particulars of this tale of blood. As soon as the dreadful deed was known, a sensation pervaded the land, such as no other occurrence had ever excited. The current of public sympathy at once was turned into new channels, and began to fructify the soil of freedom. The tone of the public press also became immediately changed. Pulpits, which had never found a voice to denounce the enslavement of millions of colored men, were now wrought up to speak out boldly against this bloody atrocity. A few editors and clergymen, indeed, were found hardy enough to throw all the blame upon the intrepid LOVEJOY—rare monsters of the age, not to be forgotten in history, by posterity, or at the judgment-seat! Some of the newspapers in the slaveholding States uttered manly sentiments on the occasion. ‘The Anti-Abolitionist,’ said the Louisville (Ky.) Journal, ‘no less than the lover of his country, and the detester of insubordination and crime, has cause deeply to regret *this most atrocious tragedy*. Let those who oppose the abolitionists take warning from this event, and let them ever remember, that the only weapons with which these zealots can be successfully encountered are truth, reason, moderation, and tolerance.’ The Herald, of the same city, inquired—‘Are the *murderers*, for such we pronounce them, to go unpunished? We trust not. If there is law in the land, we hope they will be made answerable to it: if not, why then commend us to the despotism of the Grand Turk or the Czar, for they protect their people.’ And then it ventures upon the prophetic:—‘Spilling the blood of the unfortunate Lovejoy is worse than sowing Dragon’s teeth, in the olden fable! Every drop will, as it were, spring up into a new Abolition Society, that will, Hydra-like, lift its head in the land, and we fear no Hercules will be found who can vanquish it.’ Verily, this editorial forecast, not as to the character of anti-slavery associations, but as to the natural product of blood-letting by a band of assassins, approximates closely to the truth. ‘The blood of martyrs is the seed of the church,’ is a time-honored, time-demonstrated adage of out-

lawed, heretical, triumphant Christianity. And the poet, though looking upon the baffled efforts of the friends of liberty—baffled pro tempore, only to be successful anon—gives the confident and exulting assurance that

‘ There is a victory in dying well
For freedom, and none ever died in vain.’

So it should be, so it is destined to be, until the Redeemer of men, and Conqueror of kingdoms, shall obtain dominion over the whole earth, and there shall be none to molest or make afraid ‘ from the rising of the sun even to its going down.’

Upon receiving the melancholy tidings from Alton, a meeting of the Board of Managers of this Society was convened in Boston, at which a series of resolutions was unanimously adopted, among which were the following :

That the guilt of this bloody tragedy is not local, nor confined exclusively to the immediate actors therein, but that it covers the land, inasmuch as the tragedy itself is one of the natural and inevitable consequences of tolerating the execrable system of slavery in our midst; and that in the ‘ deep damnation ’ of the murder of this Christian martyr, the American church, the American press, American statesmen and divines, the great mass of the American people,—all who, for the last five years, have instigated riots or connived at the prostration of lawful government, or justified the enslavement of our colored countrymen,—do participate to a greater or less extent.

That to ascribe Lovejoy’s rare integrity, persevering determination, and intrepid devotion, in aiming to re-establish the ‘ Alton Observer,’ to a rash, stubborn and suicidal spirit, or to a desire needlessly to excite a popular commotion, is equally absurd, malicious and barbarous; seeing that he was contending, confessedly and truly, in a constitutional and lawful manner, for all that is precious in freedom and vital in Christianity, and that he had no other interest in such a fearful conflict than that of a free moral agent; nor could he have consented to be fettered and gagged, under such circumstances, without sacrificing that which is of paramount importance to the mere preservation of life—namely, his allegiance to God and duty.

That in resorting to arms, in the last extremity, to put down the implacable, seditious and desperate enemies of public order, liberty and humanity, and to defend his property and life rather than succumb to their ‘ reign of terror,’—being cruelly deserted, as he was, by the civil and military authorities of the place,—he was amply justified by the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, by the example of our revolutionary fathers, and by the applause which mankind have always bestowed upon those who have perished under similar circumstances; consequently, that for those who subscribe to that Declaration, and eulogize those patriotic sacrifices, to affect to be shocked at the brave and spirited defence made by Mr. Lovejoy, and on that account to consider his death as not deserving of peculiar sympathy or respect, is nothing better than base hypocrisy, cold-blooded insensibility, or atrocious malignity.

That while it is not the province of this Board to determine for the friends of universal emancipation, how far or under what circumstances it is right to use arms in

self-defence; and while it is certain that no body of men have ever had a better right to do so than did Mr. Lovejoy and his associates, in view of the dreadful provocations and perils with which they were assailed; yet, as abolitionists, we are constrained to believe, that if the doctrine of non-resistance had been practically carried out by our brethren in Alton, as it has been by the friends of the colored race in Boston, New-York, and many other places, a similar deliverance and victory would, in the providence of God, have been the result; or, if not, that the spilling of the blood of defenceless men would have produced a more thrilling and abiding effect.

That upon the citizens of Alton, in a special sense, is resting an awful amount of guilt, with regard to the untimely sacrifice of an amiable, philanthropic and pious man; that, by their wicked conduct prior to the horrid catastrophe, particularly at the public meeting held by them on the 2d instant, they are answerable for the blood of murdered innocences.

That the diabolical attempt to fire the warehouse of Messrs. Godfrey, Gilman and Co. with the design of consuming those heroic men who were assembled in it, or of shooting them down as they should rush from the flames, is the climax of savage atrocity—affording new evidence that the MOLECH OF SLAVERY demands the immolation of life, liberty and property upon its blood-stained altars, and the entire subjugation of the free States to its impious control.

That if it had been a partisan of the U. S. Bank, or of the administration, or of 'Whig reform,' who had thus fallen at his post a victim to his principles, his death would have created a strong excitement throughout the land, and been celebrated with unusual 'pomp and circumstance'—public meetings would have been called in every town and village, eulogies pronounced, pledges of eternal fidelity made, the pulpit and the press invoked, and every effort put forth to arrest the perpetrators of the murderous deed;—therefore, it is not too much to demand equal sympathy and regard for him who has lost his life, not to secure the triumph of this or that political party, or the establishment or overthrow of the Banking system, but in pleading the cause of one-sixth part of his own countrymen, now held in chains and slavery, and in supporting the 'self evident truths' of the Declaration of Independence.

That the gratitude and applause of all true Americans are due to Edward Beecher, President of Illinois College, and those other faithful friends who were neither ashamed nor afraid openly to stand up before the infuriated citizens of Alton, side by side with the object of special vengeance, and espouse an unpopular cause, at the peril of their lives.

That it is our earnest prayer, that the God of the oppressed may inspire some other Christian champion to throw himself into 'the imminent deadly breach' at Alton, at this momentous crisis, and resolve to establish a free press, or perish in the attempt; and that if such a person shall appear, we pledge the free spirit of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to stand by him, even to the destruction of a thousand printing-presses by the enemies of free discussion.

That the tragedy at Alton should not be allowed to pass, without producing a solemn and permanent impression upon the mind of the nation; and therefore this Board would respectfully suggest to the Executive Committee of the Parent Society, the expediency of appointing a particular day not too far distant, on which meetings shall be held simultaneously throughout the free States by Abolitionists and the people generally, in every town and village, as far as practicable, to commemorate the tragical death of Elijah P. Lovejoy, and thus give a mighty impulse to the cause of liberty throughout the land and the world.

The recommendation in the last resolution was promptly responded to by the Executive Committee of the Parent Society at New York. The day which they appointed for these simultaneous meetings was singularly appropriate, being in itself full of thrilling associations, but how much more heart-stirring in connection with so strange an event! It was the *twenty-second of December*—the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers upon the rock at Plymouth. The day was extensively observed by abolitionists, and greatly to the furtherance of their holy cause. In Boston, a special meeting of the State Society was held in the Marlboro' Chapel, at that time in an unfinished condition, no other hall or meeting-house being obtainable for that occasion! Appropriate addresses were made by Messrs. A. A. Phelps, Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Ellis Gray Loring, O. A. Brownson, and W. L. Garrison, of Boston, and J. O. Choules of New-Bedford. It was eloquently said of Lovejoy by Mr. Phillips: 'He took refuge under the banner of Liberty—amid its folds; and when he fell, its glorious stars and stripes, the emblems of free institutions, around which cluster so many heart-stirring memories, were blotted out in the martyr's blood.' Again, he mournfully remarked: 'It is said, the rioters at Alton were heard encouraging each other by reference to old Boston! Alas, my native city! art thou indeed so fallen? To be praised by praiseworthy men was once pronounced the highest honor. To what depth of degradation must she have fallen, whose time-honored name has become the motto and war-cry of a mob!' Mr. Quincy's speech was in all respects worthy of a descendant of one of the Pilgrims. 'The Parent Society,' he said, 'in appointing this holy anniversary for the unanimous celebration of the obsequies of our martyred brother, have done wisely and well. It is a sublime idea, that, throughout the vast extent of the free portion of this continent, the sons and daughters of New England are gathered together on this, the birth-day of their common mother, to pay due honors to the memory of a brother, who has willingly laid down his life in defence of those principles of liberty, to which she owed her birth.'

Prior to the observance of the 22d, it was deemed important by the friends of free discussion and the liberty of the press, that, if practicable, a spontaneous public meeting of the citizens of Boston should be held, without distinction of sect or party, and without any reference to the merits of the anti-slavery controversy, to express their alarm and horror in view of the prostration of civil liberty, and the murder of a christian minister for daring to maintain his inalienable and constitutional rights. Such an example, it was thought, would produce a salutary effect upon public sentiment abroad, and, if set in a right spirit, would serve, in some degree, to atone for the disgraceful proslavery riot that occurred in Boston, October 21st, 1835. Faneuil Hall, 'the old Cradle of Liberty,' was deemed the most suitable building in which to hold the meeting. Application was made for it, accordingly, to the proper authorities, by upwards of one hundred respectable citizens and legal voters, the Rev. Dr. CHANNING's name being placed at the head of the petition. This application was rejected, as follows :

CITY OF BOSTON. In Board of Aldermen, November 29, 1837 :

On the Petition of WILLIAM E. CHANNING and others, for the use of Faneuil Hall on the evening of Monday, the 4th of December.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Board, it is inexpedient to grant the prayer of said petition, for the following reasons :—

Resolutions and votes passed by a public meeting in Faneuil Hall, are often considered in other places as the expression of public opinion in this city; but it is believed by the Board, that the resolutions which would be likely to be sanctioned by the signers of this petition on this occasion, ought not to be regarded as the public voice of this city.

If such resolutions were to be discussed and rejected by the meeting, it could only be a scene of confusion, which would be disreputable to the city, and injurious to the glory of that consecrated Hall.

The Board think it generally inexpedient to grant the use of the Hall to any party who have taken a side upon a highly exciting and warmly contested question. The warmth of controversy engendered by public discussions, is little adapted to lead to the calm wisdom which ought to characterize the acts of public assemblies. When only one party is invited to attend, and it is perfectly understood that the doings of the meetings are to be regarded merely as the acts of the party, this objection does not apply; but for such a purpose, the use of Faneuil Hall is not necessary, and the Board deem the objection to be peculiarly strong in relation to the present petition.

A Remonstrance has also been received against granting the prayer of the petition signed by many persons, in whose judgment, public spirit, and good feelings, the members of this Board cannot but place much confidence.

By order of the Mayor and Aldermen.

S. F. McCLEARY, City Clerk.

It would be difficult to conceive of 'reasons' more insulting to the intelligence of freemen, more absurd in their premises and conclusions, or more false and flagrant in respect to matters of fact. The petitioners requested the use of Faneuil Hall for a specific object—to defend the liberty of the press, and to rebuke the spirit of anarchy which was stalking through the land. The city authorities were assured,—and had no reason to distrust the assurance,—that no other object was contemplated, and that the meeting intended to occupy ground on which all the citizens could amicably unite. It must be confessed, that it was stooping very low,—it was a most humiliating act of self-abasement,—to make a pledge to them, restricting liberty of speech on the most legitimate of all subjects of discussion, **THE ENSLAVEMENT OF MEN**. They had no right to require such a pledge; for if the character of slavery may not be examined freely in Faneuil Hall, and denounced in tones of thunder, that building, once the 'Cradle of Liberty,' has indeed become the Bastille of Oppression. But the design of the petitioners was equally honorable and politic, and they purposely avoided a topic that might excite angry collision, or a division of sentiment. Still, their request could not be granted! 'Resolutions and votes passed by a public meeting in Faneuil Hall are often considered, in other places, as the expression of public opinion in Boston'—therefore, the right of citizens to occupy that Hall is properly subordinate to the views which the Board of Aldermen choose to believe prevail upon any given subject 'in other places!' This 'most lame and impotent conclusion' shuts the doors of the Hall against all applicants, in whose object there is not known to be perfect unanimity of sentiment among the inhabitants of the city: especially is it manifest that 'a decent regard for the opinions' of *other places* requires the exclusion of all minorities, lest their resolutions and votes should be understood by those other places as 'the expression of public opinion in Boston'! The logic is as bad as the despotism, and the despotism as unlimited, in principle, as that which is exercised by the Autocrat of Russia. Further: the Board most insolently assume, that 'the resolutions which would be

likely to be sanctioned by the signers of the petition on this occasion,'—resolutions in favor of the freedom of the press, and to uphold the supremacy of the laws,—'ought not to be regarded as the public voice of this city'! Thus, in the same breath in which they affect to be most deeply concerned for the character of Boston, they slander and dishonor it. But the infamy of their conduct, in supposing that the meeting could only be a scene of confusion, assumes a midnight hue. 'A government which announces its expectation of a mob, does virtually summon a mob,' and yields to the enforcement of mob-law. Let us sum up the whole matter in a few words. More than a hundred legal voters, of unimpeachable character, request the use of Faneuil Hall for a lawful meeting, to express their abhorrence of a deed of blood, pregnant with direful consequences to the land. Their request is denied by the city authorities, on the ground that 'a scene of confusion' would be likely to follow, which would be 'injurious to the glory of that consecrated Hall.' To keep that 'glory' untarnished, therefore, the Board of Aldermen join with the mob in suppressing free discussion, and in trampling upon the rights of the friends of public order! Instead of giving protection to the obedient, they basely succumb to the lawless, and attempt to intimidate those who would breast the tide of anarchy.

'The Board think it generally inexpedient to grant the use of the Hall to any party who have taken a side upon a highly exciting and warmly contested question.' Most pertinent are the interrogations of the *Morning Post*, respecting this declaration—a paper by no means friendly to abolitionists:—'Is this true? Does not the whole course of these very officers contradict this reason? Did they not, recently, grant the use of the Hall to both the opposing political parties? Did not some of these officers, in fact, a year or two since, grant this very Hall to the use of the opposite party—to the friends of slavery and the opponents of free discussion? Did not these very officers grant the use of this Hall on the very 'exciting' question, whether the citizens should pay their postage or commit treason? Was there then any fear that people in 'other places'

might mistake public sentiment, or that 'the glory of that consecrated Hall' would be thereby injuriously affected?'

For what was Faneuil Hall erected, and bequeathed to Boston, if not for the discussion of 'highly exciting and warmly contested questions'? What 'party' has ever occupied it which had not 'taken a side' upon some one of these questions? And yet the Board have no objection to the use of the building by a 'party;' but when the occupancy of it is desired in the name of **THE PEOPLE**, for an object in support of which all are at least professedly agreed, then, forsooth, it must not be granted, for fear of excitement! The fact constitutes the renown of Faneuil Hall, that it was built for the grand object of **AGITATION**—to keep up a perpetual **EXCITEMENT**—the excitement of free speech against gags and padlocks—the excitement of liberty in conflict with slavery—the excitement of equal rights against aristocratic usurpations. Its name, its history, is **EXCITEMENT**. How it rocked during the 'warmly contested questions' of the Revolution, when such 'excited' disputants as **SAMUEL ADAMS**, and **JAMES OTIS**, and **JOHN HANCOCK**, and **JOSEPH WARREN**, told what they thought about yokes for the necks, and chains for the limbs of the sons of the Pilgrims!

We are gravely told by the Board, that 'the warmth of controversy engendered by public discussions,* is little adapted to

* The reasoning of the Board—as to the evils of free discussion—partakes deeply of the spirit, and in some degree of the logic, which was exemplified and used at a public meeting in Alton, a few days prior to the fatal riot in that city—at which the following, among other resolutions, were adopted:

Resolved, That while there appears to be *no disposition to prevent the liberty of free discussion, (! !)* through the medium of the press or otherwise, *as a general thing*, it is deemed a matter *indispensable to the peace and harmony of this community* that the labors and influence of the late Editor of the *Observer* be no longer identified with any newspaper establishment in this city.

Resolved, That the discussion of the doctrines of immediate abolitionism, as they have been discussed in the columns of the *Alton Observer*, would be destructive of the peace and harmony of the citizens of Alton, and that, therefore, we cannot recommend the re-establishment of that paper, or any other of a similar character, and conducted with a like spirit (! !)

Resolved, That whilst we decidedly disapprove of the doctrines, as put forth by the said Lovejoy, as *subversive of the great principles of our union, and of the prosperity of our young and growing city*, we at the same time as decidedly disapprove of all unlawful violence.

lead to the calm wisdom which ought to characterize the acts of public assemblies.' Of what use, then, is liberty of speech? Are public discussions to be prohibited? When a citizen has been murdered for daring to utter sentiments in accordance with the Declaration of American Independence, when the arm of civil law lies broken by violence, and when the foundations of society are shaken by the throes of anarchy, are these alarming occurrences to be spoken of in whispering tones, and in solitary places? Shall a dread of 'the warmth of controversy' make freemen dumb, and thus give license to the enemies of a free government to aim at its overthrow?

The 'Remonstrance,' to which the Board refer with so much deference, was written, signed and circulated by some of the most prominent actors in the Washington-street riot of 1835, 'in whose judgment, public spirit, and good feelings, the members of the Board cannot but place much confidence'!!

This extraordinary conduct of the city authorities, and especially the 'reasons' they gave for it, instantly blew up a flame of indignation that spread through the city, and was felt in all parts of the Commonwealth—all parties uniting in expressions of surprise and condemnation. With a promptness worthy of the crisis, and a fearlessness becoming a lover of freedom, the Rev. Dr. CHANNING addressed an eloquent and soul-thrilling Letter to the Citizens of Boston, appealing to them to reverse the arbitrary decision of the Board, and expressing his belief that they would be 'true to the principles of liberty.' After saying that 'the freedom of the press, the sacredness of this right,—the duty of maintaining it against all assaults,—this was the great idea to which the meeting was intended to give utterance,'—and referring to the resolutions which he had been requested to prepare for the adoption of the meeting,—he adds:

'To intimate that such resolutions would not express the public opinion of Boston, and would even create a mob, is to pronounce the severest libel on this city. It is to assert, that peaceful citizens cannot meet here in safety to strengthen and pledge themselves against violence, and in defence of the dearest and most sacred rights. And has it come to this? Has Boston fallen so low? May not its citizens be trusted to come together to express the great principles of liberty, for which their fathers died? Are our fellow citizens to be murdered in the act of defending their property and of asserting the right of free discussion; and is it unsafe in this metropolis, once

the refuge of liberty, to express abhorrence of the deed ? If such be our degradation, we ought to know the awful truth ; and those among us who retain a portion of the spirit of our ancestors, should set themselves to work to recover their degenerate posterity. But I do not believe in this degeneracy. The people of Boston may be trusted. There is a moral soundness in this community on the great points involved in the petition which has been rejected. There is among us a deep abhorrence of the spirit of violence which is spreading through our land ; and from this city ought to go forth a voice to awaken the whole country to its danger, to the growing peril of the substitution of lawless force for the authority of the laws. This, in truth, was the great object of those who proposed the meeting, to bring out a loud, general expression of opinion and feeling, which would awe the spirit of mobs, and would especially secure the press from violence. Instead of this, what is Boston now doing ? Into what scale is this city now thrown ? Boston now says to Alton, go on ; destroy the press ; put down the liberty of speech ; and still more, murder the citizen who asserts it ; and no united voice shall here be lifted up against you, lest a like violence should break forth among ourselves.

* * * * *

‘ A government, which announces its expectation of a mob, does virtually, though unintentionally, summon a mob, and would then cast all the blame of it on the ‘ rash men ’ who might become its victims. * * * * *

‘ But is there no part of our country, where a voice of power shall be lifted up in defence of rights incomparably more precious than the temporary interests which have often crowded Faneuil Hall to suffocation ? Is the whole country to sleep ? An event has occurred, which ought to thrill the hearts of this people as the heart of one man. A martyr has fallen among us to the freedom of the press. A citizen has been murdered in defence of the right of free discussion. I do not ask whether he was Christian or unbeliever, whether he was abolitionist or colonizationist. He has been murdered in exercising, what I hold to be the dearest right of the citizen. Nor is this a solitary act of violence. It is the consummation of a long series of assaults on public order, on freedom, on the majesty of the laws.’

This Letter produced its legitimate effect. It obtained a wide circulation in the newspapers, and was read with enthusiasm. ‘ The meeting will be held,’ was the language of the *Lowell Journal*—‘ it ought to be held—and, if a hall cannot be obtained for the purpose, let it be held in the open air. There freemen may breathe and speak without asking liberty of any one, but the God that made them ! ’ A public meeting of the citizens of Boston was called at the Old Supreme Court Room, ‘ to take into consideration the reasons assigned by the Mayor and Aldermen for withholding the use of Faneuil Hall, and to act in the premises as might be deemed expedient.’ Abolitionists were not concerned in getting up this meeting : it was the act of others. In pursuance of the call, a large concourse of citizens assembled. George Bond was chosen chairman, and Benjamin F. Hallett secretary. After the reading of Dr. Chan-

ning's Letter, Mr. Hallett offered a series of resolutions, drawn up with consummate ability, and strikingly adapted to the occasion, of which the following are a sample :

Whereas, in times when any constitutional right, affecting life, liberty and property, is denied or called in question by our rulers, it is peculiarly befitting a free people to assemble together to consult on the common good. And whereas, FANEUIL HALL, belonging to us all, and 'consecrated' to liberty and free discussion, has been denied to a portion of the citizens who petitioned for leave to meet there for the purpose of 'noticing in a suitable manner the recent murder in the city of Alton of a native of New England, a citizen of the free State of Illinois, *who fell in defence of the freedom of the press.*

Resolved, That the citizens here assembled, appealing to the searcher of hearts for the rectitude of their intentions and their devotion to free institutions, will discard all party considerations, all topics about which there can be a division among the friends of liberty, and confine themselves to the single question now at issue between the people and their rulers in this city, viz: the right to hold a public meeting to give utterance to their deep abhorrence of the spirit of mobs, and their solemn reprobation of the violence which has been offered to the freedom of speech and the press, by the murder of a citizen while engaged in maintaining that sacred right.

Resolved, That when a citizen of these United States has fallen by lawless violence in defence of the liberty of the press; the question should never be asked by Freemen what doctrine did he support, or to what party or sect did he belong; but was he standing under the broad shield of the Constitution of the Union and of the States, in all of which the liberty of the press is sacredly guarded.

Resolved, That it must be indeed a dark day in the history of our civil institutions, if freemen are to be restrained from discussing all subjects that their rulers may conjecture are of 'an exciting character;' under the pretence or apprehension that the exercise of a constitutional right may 'endanger the peace of the city,' or country—and that to concede this supervision over public opinion, whether of the minority or majority, to our rulers in City, State or Nation, would be to establish a despotism against which the citizens could never raise the voice of complaint or remonstrance.

Resolved, That 'the glory of that consecrated Hall' in which our fathers assembled to express their opinions on all occasions of 'an exciting character,' is departed, and become desecrated to the idols and worshippers of despotism, if the fatal precedent is to be established by our rulers that Faneuil Hall shall be closed against citizens, be they many or be they few, who desire to assemble there in order to pledge themselves to the exertion of their whole influence for the suppression of mobs, for the discouragement of violence, for the vindication of the supremacy of the laws, and especially for the assertion and defence of the freedom of the press.

These resolutions elicited a spirited discussion, and were unanimously adopted. A committee of two from each Ward was appointed to renew the application (precisely in the words of the former one !) for the use of Faneuil Hall, and to obtain signatures to the same. On its presentation to the Board of Aldermen, its request was granted quite obsequiously ! A mar-

vellous change was suddenly wrought in the minds of the Board. The city election was at hand, and they did not dare to run the 'hazard of the die' a second time. In their disinterested and sacred regard for office, they cared not a rush how 'other places' might regard the resolutions to be adopted at the meeting—they forgot their terror of 'the warmth of controversy engendered by public discussions'—they stood erect at the bidding of 'a party who had taken a side upon a highly exciting and warmly contested question'—and they ceased to rely upon the 'judgment, public spirit, and good feelings' of the signers of a certain Remonstrance! So much for principle—for consistency.

Accordingly, on Friday, Dec. 8th, the doors of Faneuil Hall were thrown open, and an immense concourse filled the Hall to overflowing. Jonathan Phillips was called to the chair, who made some excellent introductory remarks. Rev. Dr. Channing then came forward, and made a short, eloquent and impressive address. Benjamin F. Hallett then read the resolutions which Dr. Channing had drawn up. These were seconded by George W. Hillard in an able speech. Up to this moment, the assembly had listened with attention and decorum. But as soon as James T. Austin, the Attorney General, arose, it was the signal for confusion and uproar on the part of the enemies of constitutional order. His speech was in the highest degree inflammatory, ferocious and mobocratic; but elicited much applause. He declared that 'Lovejoy died as a fool dieth'—justified the riotous conduct of the Altonians, and compared them to the patriotic Tea Party of the Revolution. He alluded to the slaves of the South in the following manner:

'We have a menagerie here, with lions, tigers, hyenas, an elephant, a jackass or two, and monkeys in plenty. Suppose now, some new cosmopolite, some man of philanthropic feelings, not only towards man but animals, who believe that all are entitled to freedom as an inalienable right, should engage in the humane task of giving freedom to these wild beasts of the forest, some of whom are nobler than their keepers; or having discovered some new mode to reach their understanding, should try to induce them to *break their cages and be free*? The people of Missouri had as much reason to be afraid of their slaves, as we should have of the wild beasts of the menagerie. They had the same dread of Lovejoy that we should have of this supposed instigator, if we really believed the bars would be broken, and the caravan let loose to prowl about our streets.'

'Take another portion of his sanguinary speech :

'Why, then, asked Mr. A. are we called here to sympathize with the victim, or to say any thing about the mob at Alton, or why should the events there be the cause of special resolutions by the citizens of Boston? Have we no events of the like kind nearer home, to condemn? Yes, Sir, wherever the Abolition fever rages, there are mobs and murder.

'Without attending to other cases in our own vicinity, which better deserve our attention, what will be said to us by the citizens of Illinois and Missouri, whom it is our self-assumed prerogative to rebuke?

'Will they not tell you that you yourselves have been instigated by the same passions, and have yielded to the like infirmity of human nature?—'Have you written your annals true'—they will say—'and do you not know that occasions have arisen in which your ancestors found it inevitable that they should take the law into their own hands,—extreme cases, in which indeed there was no law reaching to their condition but the original and immutable law of self-preservation, and necessary self defence?'

'Will they not tell you that when your fathers were colonists, and as such under obligations to pay a tax levied upon them by the British Government, fatal to their liberties, their rights, their happiness—they implored, they besought its remission, and urged that their people should not be goaded to violence, and instigated to a madness which human reason could not control. And when these prayers, and entreaties, and supplications were vain, and there was no law that could protect them, and no middle path between ruin and resistance, did not they take their protection under the security of their own arm, and marching down from this Hall—an *orderly mob*—pour the disgusting instrument of their degradation into the sea? So will the people of Missouri claim to do, when their lives are threatened by the operations of these abolition conspirators. Do you suppose they will wait for the slow progress of the laws? They will tell you they will call on the God of Heaven, as your fathers did, and with his favor will defend themselves.'

This lawless man was followed by Wendell Phillips, the youthful, accomplished and eloquent friend of emancipation. The partisans of Austin attempted to clamor him down—but in vain. The words which he uttered fell like a shower of fire upon them. He said—

'I hope I shall be permitted to express my surprise at the sentiments of the last speaker;—surprise not only at such sentiments from such a man, but at the applause they have elicited in these walls. A comparison has been drawn between the events of the Revolution and the tragedy at Alton. We have heard it asserted in this Hall, that Great Britain had a right to tax the Colonies, and we have heard the mob at Alton, got up to murder Lovejoy, compared to that band of our patriot fathers, who threw the tea overboard! (Great applause.) Fellow citizens, is this true? (No, no.) The mob at Alton were met to wrest from a citizen his just rights; to resist the laws. We have been told that our fathers did the same; and the glorious mantle of Revolutionary precedent has been thrown over the mobs of our days. For to make out their title to such defence, it has been asserted that the British Parliament had a *right* to tax these Colonies. It is manifest that without such an assertion, the gen-

gentleman's parallel would have fallen to the ground;—for Lovejoy had stationed himself within constitutional bulwarks. The men who assailed him went against and over the laws. The mob, as the gentleman terms it, which assembled in the Old South, to destroy the tea, were met to resist not the laws, but illegal exactions; not the King's prerogative, but the King's usurpation. To find any other account, you must read our Revolutionary history upside down. Our State archives are loaded with arguments of John Adams, to prove the taxes laid by the British Parliament unconstitutional—beyond their power. It was not till this was made out, that the people of New England rushed to arms. The arguments of the Council Chamber and the House of Representatives preceded and sanctioned the contest. To draw the conduct of our ancestors into a precedent for mobs; for a right to resist laws we ourselves have enacted, is an insult to their memory. The difference between the excitements of those days and our own, which the gentleman, in kindness to the latter, has overlooked, is simply this. The men of that day went for the right. They were the people rising to sustain the laws and constitution of the Province. The rioters of our day go for their own wills, right or wrong. Sir, when I heard the gentleman lay down principles which place the rioters, incendiaries and murderers of Mt. Benedict and Alton, side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips (pointing to the portraits in the Hall) would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American—the slanderer of the dead. (Great applause and counter applause.) The gentleman said that he should sink into insignificance, if he dared to gainsay the principles of these resolutions. Sir, for the sentiments he has uttered, on soil consecrated by the prayers of Puritans and the blood of Patriots, the earth should have yawned and swallowed him up! (Here the agitation continued for some time, before the speaker could be heard.)

It was obviously the design of the Attorney General, either to effect a sudden dissolution of the meeting by an indefinite postponement of the resolutions under consideration, or else to break it up in a violent manner. Finding, however, that too large a portion of the assembly were the friends of order, he withdrew at the close of his remarks—anticipating, probably, a rebuke such as was given to him by Mr. Phillips. Mr. P. was followed by George Bond, Esq. who said that he came to the meeting, determined to be silent, but the extraordinary speech of the Attorney General had changed his determination. 'I leave to him,' he said, 'the enjoyment of all the happiness, all the consolation he can derive, on further reflection, from the parallel he drew between the supposed case of the wild beasts of a menagerie and the blacks. I also leave to him the full benefit of his comparison between the murderous mob at Alton, and that first act of our glorious Revolution, the destruction of the tea.' At the conclusion of his remarks, the resolutions were put and adopted by an overwhelming majority. The ef-

fact of the meeting upon public sentiment, at home and abroad, was highly salutary. It remains to be seen, whether the Attorney General will escape impeachment for his seditious harangue.

A sermon, delivered by the Rev. Hubbard Winslow, of Boston, on Thanksgiving Day, contains sentiments as disorganizing and atrocious as those uttered by Mr. Austin. The principles and measures of the abolitionists, he declares, 'only tend to place the abolition of slavery at a more hopeless distance, or to fill the land with violence and blood;' and he 'considers the mournful *disaster* at Alton as the legitimate result of the operation of those unchristian principles and measures'!!—'In all republican governments,' he maintains, 'a mob is the *natural consequence*' of freedom of speech; and to exercise that freedom, boldly and independently, in opposition to public sentiment, is 'to prostrate all laws, render every thing unsafe, and introduce the most tyrannical slavery'!!—So that, in order to be protected, enjoy liberty, and sustain government, we must 'follow the multitude,' even if they run 'to do evil,' and swim with the popular current—because 'it is in vain to call upon civil magistrates to protect us, if we press too severely upon public sentiment'!!—In the opinion of Mr. Winslow, Lovejoy and his associates were as guilty as their murderous assailants; and he warns his people, 'Go not with disorganizers—with rioters, on the one hand, nor with those who rashly excite them, on the other:' 'they are the two great enemies to our **FREE** institutions'!!—'Republican liberty,' he says, 'is not the liberty to say and do just what one pleases—but liberty to say and do what the *prevailing voice and will of the brotherhood will allow and protect*'!!—Such sentiments are treason against the moral government of God, a libel upon republican institutions, and at war with the common sense of mankind; and the minister who could not only utter them from his pulpit, but publish them in a pamphlet, deserves neither the respect nor confidence of the people, but is manifestly 'a wolf in sheep's clothing,' or at least a servile hireling, whose god is 'public opinion.'

In the last Annual Report, the Managers felt called upon to express the most gloomy apprehensions as to the probability of the annexation of Texas to the Union. The manner in which that vast territory had been invaded and revolutionized by American adventurers—the enthusiasm with which that event had been hailed in this country—the connivance of our government at the outrage, and its utter faithlessness toward Mexico—the stealthy and extraordinary recognition of the independence of Texas at the close of the last session of Congress—and, above all, the avowed determination of the South to form the alliance at all hazards—these things served to fill the minds of reflecting men with despondency, almost with despair. But the abolitionists, true to their principles and professions, resolved to bend all their energies to the grand object of defeating the machinations of Texas and the South. They sounded a tocsin of alarm that roused the land to a sense of its danger; they sent their appeals, warnings and remonstrances into every part of the republic; they held public meetings, by day and by night, with reference solely to this momentous question; they covered the entire surface of the nation with tracts, circulars and papers, revealing the designs of the southern planters; in short, they put into motion all that has been done for the perpetual exclusion of Texas from the American confederacy. At the extra session of Congress in September last, through their instrumentality, in the course of a few weeks, many thousand petitions, signed by hundreds of thousands of men and women, were received by that body, remonstrating against the annexation in strong and emphatic language. Never before had the people made such a demonstration of their will, in the form of petition. Happily, that session ended without affecting the so much dreaded alliance. What the present session of Congress shall determine, is problematical; but there is reason to believe, that, so unanimous are the feelings of the people of the free States, in opposition to the measure, and so powerfully have these feelings been expressed, that their Senators and Representatives will oppose it in an almost unbroken phalanx. Multitudes of petitions, protesting against the incorporation, are flowing into

Congress, daily and hourly. The General Assembly of Rhode Island, at their October Session, passed some very strong resolutions on the subject, in which the conviction was expressed, 'that the free people of these States will look upon any attempt to introduce the foreign territory of Texas, or any other foreign territory or nation, into this Union, as a constituent member or members thereof, as manifesting a willingness to prostrate the Constitution and dissolve the Union.' The Legislature of Vermont have also solemnly protested, in the name of the people of that State, 'against any such annexation in any form.' Other legislatures have the subject under consideration, and, it is to be presumed, will utter the same sentiments. From the Legislature of this Commonwealth, now in session, (to whom a great number of petitions have been sent,) we have a right to expect an expression of views, worthy of the free spirit of Massachusetts. *

To the Rev. Dr. Channing belongs the credit of having done much towards giving a healthy tone to public sentiment, and thus preventing the admission of Texas into the Union, by a Letter which he addressed to Henry Clay, and which has received the acclamations of millions.

Though we may now cherish the hope that the danger is over, yet the people must keep a vigilant eye upon their representatives in Congress, and be ready to meet any emergency growing out of this matter. Probably an attempt will be made, at the close of the present session, in the absence of northern members, and when there can be no time for discussion, to effect the annexation. Should such a game be played, the South may rely upon it that the North will never submit. That the

* Since the annual meeting, the Committee of the Legislature, to whom the petitions in relation to Texas were referred, have made a luminous Report, accompanied by a preamble and resolutions, which have been unanimously adopted by both Houses. The following is one of the resolutions :

'Resolved, That we, the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, do, in the name of the people of Massachusetts, earnestly and solemnly protest against the incorporation of Texas into this Union, and declare that no act done, or compact made, for this purpose, by the government of the United States, WILL BE BINDING ON THE STATES, OR THE PEOPLE.'

South is determined to carry its point, if possible, is evident from the recent declaration of Mr. Preston, in the U. S. Senate, that early in February he shall bring in a measure for the annexation of Texas into the Union. In the report of a select committee of the Legislature of Mississippi, this annexation is spoken of as 'of most imperious necessity to the future safety and happiness of the southern States of this confederacy.' Alluding to slavery, the committee aver that 'this system is cherished by our constituents as *the very palladium of their prosperity and happiness*'—that 'the South does not possess within her limits A BLESSING with which the affections of her people are so closely entwined, and so completely enfibred, and whose value is more highly appreciated, than slavery'—that 'to this system, we owe more than we can well estimate of *domestic comfort and social happiness*'—that 'to it are we chiefly indebted for the *lofty spirit of liberty*, which so eminently distinguishes the proud and high-minded inhabitants of this happy region'—and that 'we declare it to be our own *inherent, cherished, and venerated domestic system*, which every southern man, worthy the name, is resolved before high Heaven to protect and sustain, if need be, even at the hazard of his life.' Though 'scorning to dwell in argument,' the committee (excellent pupils of Prof. Stuart, President Fisk, and Dr. Bangs) condescend to state, for the information of the ignorant, that 'slavery is a system expressly recommended in the Old Testament, and not inhibited in the New, and should, therefore, set at rest the most fastidious scruples.' There is, consequently, no more to be said on the subject. These barbarous and blasphemous sentiments were unanimously responded to by the Legislature of Mississippi, and no one in all the South has ventured publicly to express his dissent from them.

At the opening of the present session of Congress, a flood of petitions for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, &c. &c. went pouring into both houses, in an unprecedented manner. Mr. Slade, of Vermont, in presenting a memorial from certain inhabitants of that State, moved its reference to a select committee, *with instructions to report*

a bill for the abolition of slavery in the District. He then proceeded, in a candid and able manner, to discuss the abstract question of slavery, and to prove that it is a violation of the laws of God, and the principles of the Constitution. The house was thrown into a tremendous excitement. Mr. Slade was vociferously called to order by various southern members—but, resolutely persisting in his noble purpose, Mr. Wise, of Virginia, rose and *called upon the southern delegation to leave the hall!* ‘Agreed!’ ‘Agreed!’ ‘Agreed!’ was responded by a dozen voices, and in company with twenty or twenty-five members from the southern states, Mr. Wise left the hall. Mr. Rhett, of S. C. gave notice, that the southern delegation would meet in the District of Columbia committee room at 7 o’clock. In the midst of the confusion, Mr. Slade calmly begged permission to proceed! Being again called to order, the Speaker told him to take his seat; and the house, on motion, then adjourned.

The factious meeting of the southern members was held in the evening, and continued till near midnight. It is said that all the senators from the slaveholding States, except Clay and Benton, and most of the representatives, were present. Harangues were made by Messrs. Calhoun, Preston, Rives, and Crittenden, of the Senate, and Messrs. Wise, Menifee, Calhoun of Ky. and others, of the House. The mighty result of the deliberations of this band of conspirators was the appointment of Mr. Patton, of Va. to offer a resolution in the House the next morning, which he did accordingly, in the following words:

‘Resolved, That all petitions, memorials, and papers, touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or transferring of slaves in any state, district, or territory of the United States, be laid upon the table, without being debated, printed, read, or referred, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.’

Mr. Patton moved the previous question, after prefacing his resolution with some remarks. In vain did Mr. Adams attempt to obtain a hearing, a Bedlam outcry being raised against him. When the main question was put, Will the House agree to the resolution, Mr. Adams rose and said, amid shouts of ‘order!’ ‘order!’ as he proceeded, ‘I consider the resolution a violation

of the Constitution of the United States—of the rights of my constituents, and the people of the United States, to petition—and to my right of freedom of speech as a member of this House.’ He therefore declined answering ‘Ay’ or ‘No.’ The vote stood, yeas 122, nays 74. Thus the sacred right of petition has again been immolated upon the altar of slavery. The above resolution is not only destructive of that right, but it deprives the people of representation, inasmuch as their representatives are gagged upon the floor of Congress. Yet it was passed by northern votes! O servile degradation!

In the Senate, the petitions have received a similar treatment, all of them having been laid upon the table without reading or reference. In the vain hope of arresting anti-slavery proceedings, Mr. Calhoun has succeeded in getting the Senate to adopt (by a vote of 3 to 1) a string of resolutions, as absurd and fallacious in their reasoning, as they will assuredly prove abortive in their design. [See Appendix.] Passed, too, by northern votes!

To Messrs. ADAMS and SLADE of the House, and MORRIS of the Senate, the thanks and applause of the lovers of liberty are due, for their unfaltering course and noble defence of our cause. Their names will be cherished by posterity.

Among the most important events of the last year may be reckoned the Convention of American Women in the city of New-York, in May last, to deliberate upon measures and to establish a system of operations to hasten the downfall of slavery. The conception of such a Convention was sublime: its influence has been glorious. Its proceedings have been published to the world, and exhibit high intelligence and great moral power. It is not flattery, but simple truth to affirm, that the abolition cause is mainly indebted, under God, to the maids and matrons of America for its means, its vitality, and its wonderful success. Without their co-operation, it would languish and expire. No praise can exceed their fidelity, courage, activity, self-denial and devotedness. The palm and the crown are theirs.

In this State, during the past year, the cause has been greatly advanced by the labors of Messrs. Phelps, Stanton, Birney, Codding, May, Scott, St. Clair, Phillips, &c.; but in a special manner by our gifted South Carolina sisters, S. M. & A. E. Grimke.

**Dr. { Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in account Current } Cr.
with Henry G. Chapman, Treasurer.**

	1887.	1887.	
To payments from Jan. 25, 1887, to Jan. 22, 1888	\$ 2110 91	By balance old account	\$ 89 00
To paid Agents' Salaries and travelling expenses	3418 50	By receipts for Publications	986 24
" for Printing and for Publications	97 60	By donations from 25th January, 1887,	5276 11
" for use of Halls	133 00	to 22d January, 1888	287 44
" for Reporting	29 25	By donations for the family of Lovejoy	
" Advertising			
" Thomas Gould the amt. paid into this	20 00		
" Treasury, it being intended for the	3 00		
" Am. A. S. Soc. at N. York.	99 00		
" discount on uncurrent bills	17 82		
" 23d Nov. for draft on Branch Bank, Ill.	200 00		
" for \$100, and remitted to Mrs. Lovejoy	178 91		
" Administrator estate of H. E. Benson,			
" balance due			
" on acc't. loans			
Jan. 22. To balance to credit new account	\$ 6637 89		\$ 6637 89

Boston, January 22, 1888.

E. E. HENRY G. CHAPMAN, Treasurer.

Boston, Jan. 22, 1888.—I have examined the above account, and find the same properly cast and duly vouched, and that there remains a balance in the hands of the Treasurer, of one hundred and seventy-eight dollars 81.100 due to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Auditor.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
AT ITS
SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING,
HELD IN BOSTON, JANUARY 24, 1838.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JAN. 24, 1838.

Pursuant to the call thereof, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society held its Sixth Annual Meeting in the Chapel connected with the Marlborough Hotel, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Esq. President of the Society, took the chair, and called the meeting to order. Prayer was offered by Rev. J. Horton, of Boston.

Wm. M. Chace, of Providence, R. I. was chosen Secretary.

On motion, a committee to bring forward business was appointed by the chair, consisting of the following gentlemen :

A. A. Phelps, O. Scott, S. J. May, W. L. Garrison, J. Horton, Dexter Fairbanks, J. T. Ward, Wm. Bassett, O. Johnson, C. P. Grosvenor, J. C. White.

On motion, it was voted to appoint a committee of one from each county, to nominate officers of the Society, for the ensuing year. The following gentlemen were appointed :

Amos A. Phelps, Suffolk ; James Buffum, Essex ; Geo. Russell, Plymouth ; J. M. Earle, Worcester ; L. Boutell, Middlesex ; Charles Anthony, Bristol ; Isaac Austin, Nantucket ; Elias Richards, Norfolk.

A

The Annual Report of the Board of Managers was now called for. Mr. Garrison rose and said, he should be able to read only a part of the Report to-day. There were several important topics on which he had as yet been able to write nothing, owing to severe physical indisposition.

After the reading of the Report—

Mr. May moved, that the report, so far as submitted, be published under the supervision of the executive committee, as extensively as the funds of the society will permit. I ask that it may be published under the supervision of the executive committee, because it should go out as the act of the society; and because, for myself, there are one or two expressions to which I object. But, I by no means wish to detract from the spirit of the report. I thank our brother for setting us an example, how we shall go forth in this cause the ensuing year.

Mr. President, it may seem to mere lookers on, in this matter, that this report has little to do with slavery. It is about the rights of the free. Little has been said, I know, about the slave. But why is this? Because we are not, ourselves, as we supposed, *free*. How can we stretch out our hands for the relief of the slave, if that hand is chained? How shall we plead his cause, if our lips are padlocked? Events have shown that it is even so with us. It is then but a preliminary measure, in the cause of the enslaved, that we secure our own rights. The course of events has shown it to be a great principle of God's moral government, in the agitation of this subject, *that no man can live to himself with impunity*—no man can be *free to himself*, with impunity—no man can be a *slave to himself*,—for in submitting to slavery, or in consenting to have it enforced upon any, he implicates the rights of others or of himself. We did not know it. But it is a principle in God's moral government. Thanks to his name, that he has so bound together parts of the human family. We have so long acquiesced in the enslavement of our brethren, that the yoke is even now almost fastened upon our own shoulders. But it cannot be fastened here!—Only let the people know their situation, and it will be like the green withs that bound Sampson. Our brother Garrison has done us a favor in thus exhibiting to us our situation. And I rejoice to find that this knowledge is spreading. I this morning took up a paper in Boston, by no means noted for its friendliness to this cause, [the *Atlas*,] in which I find the acknowledgement that things are just as Mr. Garrison has stated in his report.

We have been endeavoring for years to make our fellow citizens understand this; (one of the earliest and ablest anti-slavery publications, Mrs. Child's Appeal, contains a chapter in which this is fully exposed,) and now they are coming to see that what we have told them on this subject is true.

There is in the same paper an article on the right of petition, (in regard to which the rights of the people have been so outrageously assaulted by their representatives,) in which that right was exhibited in its true light. I hope it will be copied and published, in connexion with the proceedings of this meeting, as a concession of the principles for which we have been contending.

But let me, in this connexion, read part of a letter from that man, of whom scarcely too much can be said in his praise—I mean the Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. [The extract not obtained.]

How in point is this letter! I read with emphasis one sentence. I repeat it. 'Nothing can be effected till the people shall be aroused to see and feel that the contest is for their own freedom, not less than for the liberty of the enslaved.' It is exactly in connexion with this, that I wish the exposition that brother Garrison has given of the present state of things, to go forth and spread through the land. It is not that he has forgotten the slave. That can never be while he lives. But that the people must be made to feel that their own rights are implicated. We cannot enjoy liberty, while multitudes in our country are trodden under foot. We cannot acquiesce in such a system of unrighteousness with impunity to ourselves. I thank God that we cannot. I hope the report just presented will be circulated as extensively as the funds of the society will admit, for it will do much to make the people see that we cannot enjoy freedom under a government that enforces slavery. We cannot think that the people of these United States cannot be rallied to maintain the right of petition, the freedom of speech and of the press. I believe it is only necessary for them to see just how these rights have been violated, to lead them to rally round our liberties. It is necessary that such a document as we have heard, should be sent all round the country. We are hearing from others smooth things—flattering words. In view of many in high places, there is nothing alarming in the state of our country. Even our Governor has told us, in his late thanksgiving proclamation, that the 'substantial elements of our prosperity are all unimpaired.' Did you notice this sentence in his Proclamation, Mr. President? If you did, I know you were shocked at it. But, Sir, the same sentiment has been uttered from a still higher place. You will find the same, (almost in the same words,) in our President's late annual message. We must not rely upon what the great men of the nation tell us. They prophesy falsely! *The substantial elements of our prosperity are greatly impaired.* It is only necessary for the people to see this, and they will fly to the rescue, and do what they may to repair them. Therefore I move that this Report be published, and be distributed far and wide.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

H. G. Chapman, Esq., Treasurer, submitted his Report, which, being duly audited, was accepted.

Mr. Stanton announced that he happened to be in the Representatives' hall, this day, when the petition was presented for the use of the hall, for a meeting of this society on Friday evening. He said a motion was made to refer the motion to the committee on public buildings, which was lost, ayes 118, nays 156. Some, he supposed, voted for this resolution, expecting thereby to give the petition the go-by, and others, supposing it to be the proper course. On motion of Mr. Brown of Lynn, the use of the hall was voted by a large majority.

On motion, voted to adjourn to 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

3 o'clock, P. M. The President in the chair.

Prayer by Rev. S. Lincoln; of Gardner. A. A. Phelps from the Committee to nominate officers for the year ensuing, made a report, which was accepted, and the gentlemen elected.

On motion, the following gentlemen were appointed a committee on finance—viz. S. J. May, J. E. Fuller, H. G. Chapman, W. Bassett, and A. St. Clair.

Mr. Phelps submitted a series of resolutions on the subject of the Congressional gag-resolution of Dec. 21st, as follows:

CONGRESSIONAL GAG-LAW.

Resolved, That the resolution adopted in the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 21st of December last, whereby all memorials, petitions and papers, touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or transfer of slaves in any State, territory or district of the United States, are laid on the table, without reading, reference, or printing, is a virtual denial of the sacred right of petition, a gross insult to the people, and a daring violation of the American Constitution.

Resolved, That the adoption of such a resolution furnishes fresh evidence of the awful degeneracy of this nation, and a startling exhibition of the nature and spirit of slavery—a system which denies to its wretched victims the right to pray for relief, and then tramples on the solemn provisions of the Constitution, in order to enforce silence upon freemen.

Resolved, That those representatives from the free States, who voted for that resolution, have proved themselves recreant to their high trust, and deserve the reprobation, not only of their constituents, whose rights they have so grossly betrayed, but of the friends of freedom and free institutions throughout the world.

Resolved, That JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, in declaring in his place that the resolution in question was unconstitutional, and a viola-

tion of the right of speech and debate, has furnished an example of moral courage and heroic firmness in defence of the people's rights, which entitles him to the warmest thanks of every friend of liberty; and that those representatives who voted against the resolution are entitled to our cordial approbation for resisting a measure fraught with such direful consequences to the country.

Resolved, That the question which this resolution presents to the people of the free states is a question of liberty or slavery for themselves and their posterity—that on such a question there can be no neutrality, no middle ground—and that it is the solemn and imperious duty of the people, without distinction of sect, party or sex, to send in their united remonstrances against it, and to call upon their representatives, in a firm and decided tone, and in the name of all that is sacred in human liberty, **IMMEDIATELY TO RESCIND IT.**

Resolved, That the threat recently uttered on the floor of the United States Senate, by Mr. Preston of South Carolina, that the citizens of that State, in spite of the interference of all the governments on earth, will 'HANG' every northern freeman who believes in the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, and whom they can 'catch' within their borders, was a gross insult to the people of the Free States, and affords a striking exhibition of that spirit of ruffianism and murder which is inseparable from slavery.

Resolved, That Northern Senators, in suffering that threat to pass unrebuked, have manifested a spirit of pusillanimity derogatory to their character as men, and to their station as the representatives of freemen; and that they are themselves deserving of the stern rebuke of their insulted constituents.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions, signed by the President and Secretary of this Society, be sent to every member of the Senate of the United States.

The foregoing resolutions were discussed at length by Messrs. Phelps, Stanton, Harris, &c. In the course of Mr. Harris's remarks, some of which were extremely ridiculous, there was much laughter and confusion; and as it was thought that there was a disposition, on the part of some individuals, to laugh or hiss him down, on motion of Mr. May, the following resolution was passed:

'That, as abolitionists, we repudiate any attempt on the part of any one, to hiss or put down any man, because he utters sentiments in our meetings which do not accord with our own.'

The resolutions were laid on the table till the evening, and the Society then adjourned to 6 1-2 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

Society met agreeably to adjournment, the President in the chair.
Prayer by Rev. C. T. Torrey, of Salem.

'Congressional gag-law' being the order of the evening, the resolutions on that subject were debated by Messrs. A. A. Phelps, N. Colver, J. W. Browne, W. Phillips, Mr. Mack, O. Johnson and C. P. Grosvenor, and then unanimously adopted.

The committee then submitted a resolution, in reference to the definition of republican liberty, in a recent sermon of Rev. H. Winslow, of this city, which, after some debate, was laid upon the table to be taken up at the next session; and the Society adjourned to meet at the same place, Thursday, at 3 o'clock, P. M.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

Meeting called to order by the President.

Prayer by Rev. George Goodyear, of Ashburnham.

The resolutions in reference to Hubbard Winslow's 'republican liberty' was called up; and was discussed by Messrs. Scott, Allen, Phelps, May, Horton, Colver, Toothaker, and Torrey; and then adopted with but two dissenting votes, as follows:

Resolved, That the doctrine recently promulgated by the Rev. Hubbard Winslow, a popular preacher in the city of Boston, and echoed from the presses with commendation, that 'Republican liberty is only the liberty to say and do what the prevailing voice and will of the brotherhood will allow and protect,' is a sentiment that deserves the *execration* of *all* who mean to preserve their civil or religious freedom. It is a sentiment, which, should it be disseminated, until it becomes the public opinion of our country, would leave us little more liberty of speech than the slaves themselves enjoy; who are doubtless free to speak as their masters please.

Resolved, That it is the inestimable right of the minority, however small, ay, of a single individual, however humble, to utter any thought he may deem important—to speak as pleases himself—being amenable, as a man, in the first instance, to the higher laws of conscience and God, which should restrain him from all abuse of so high a right; and in the second place, as a citizen, to constitutional laws—and that the doctrine referred to goes to dethrone God from his moral government, inasmuch as it substitutes the will of the human brotherhood for the eternal principles of truth and righteousness.

Adjourned to 1-2 past 6 o'clock.

THURSDAY EVENING.

President in the chair. Prayer by Rev. O. Scott. Rev. S. J. May, chairman of committee on Finance, submitted a report. The subject of funds was then ably discussed by several speakers, and on motion of Mr. May, it was

Resolved, That the auxiliaries of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society pay into the Treasury of the Society, during the ensuing year, at least ten thousand dollars, to be expended under the direction of the Board of Managers; and that all not expended in the operations of this Society shall be paid to the Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The taking of pledges was deferred by vote until to-morrow; and Mr. Torrey accordingly moved that those gentlemen now present, and who will not be then, come forward and give in their pledges now. Several pledges were received.

The committee on business then submitted a resolution in reference to the recent speech of Attorney General J. T. Austin, in Faneuil Hall, which was discussed by Messrs. May, Stanton, Remond and others, and unanimously adopted as follows:

Resolved, That the speech of James T. Austin, at the late meeting in Faneuil Hall, excites our indignation and pity for him, as a christian, a lawyer, and a citizen. As a *christian*, that he could so far forget the brotherhood of those whom Christ came to save, as to compare a large class of his fellow beings to wild beasts, and describe another class as the appointed keepers of the human menagerie;—as a *lawyer*, that he should have taken the absurd and untenable position, that laws restricting freedom of speech in the slave States are binding upon a free citizen standing on the soil of a Free State. As a *citizen*, and especially as the highest prosecuting officer of the commonwealth, that he should so far disregard the supremacy of the laws, and the preservation of order, as to question whether the death of Lovejoy were not ‘a justifiable homicide’—and in effect to sanction mobs, by asserting that when the claims of slavery and free discussion clashed, the citizens were justified in taking the law into their own hands.

At a subsequent period in the meeting, the following additional resolutions were submitted by the committee, and unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That said J. T. Austin, in stating to his fellow-citizens assembled in Faneuil Hall to commemorate the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy, that a murder had been recently committed in the town of Stoneham, by reason of the proceedings of abolition-

ists in that place—was guilty of a gross misrepresentation and slander of a large and peaceful portion of his fellow-citizens, and lent his influence to do them prejudice in the opinions of their brethren and of the world, and to expose them to hatred, persecution, and illegal and riotous outrage.

Resolved, That said statement, and the sentiments and public declarations aforesaid, were dishonorable to him as a man, disgraceful to the character of Massachusetts, of evil example in any one, but eminently so as coming from a public officer, whose duty it is to appear and prosecute before the criminal courts of this commonwealth various classes of felons, the essence of whose crimes is deceit.

For these reasons, and to avert those mischiefs to the rights, safety, property and reputation of the good people of this commonwealth, which such conduct, in so important an agent and servant, has a direct and powerful tendency to produce,

Resolved, That a representation ought to be made to His Excellency, the Governor and the Honorable Council, and that they be requested, in case they shall be satisfied of the truth of the foregoing facts, forthwith to remove said Austin from office.

The Committee on business then submitted the following resolutions, which, after discussion by Messrs. St. Clair, Stickney, Torrey, Codding, Durfee and others, were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That in the intellectual and moral debasement of the slave population, on account of which they have been described by the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, as the 'heathen of this Christian country,' we see the legitimate fruit of slavery.

Resolved, That this systematic annihilation of one sixth of the native mind in the country, is a plunder of the common stock of mind, as much worse than a similar plunder of one sixth of all the property in the land, as mind is worth more than matter, or men worth more than things.

Resolved, That every principle of justice and humanity, and every consideration of expediency and public welfare, demand alike the immediate and total abolition of this hateful and soul-destroying system.

Mr. Garrison read an interesting letter from D. L. Child, Esq. and also an extract from the speech of Daniel O'Connell at a recent anti-slavery meeting in London, after which the society adjourned to Friday, 10 o'clock, A. M. in the same place.

FRIDAY MORNING.

President in the chair. Prayer by S. L. Gould. Mr. Hanson from Africa, made a statement of the manner in which he had been

decoyed from Africa to this country. Remarks were made by C. P. Grosvenor and O. Johnson.

Mr. Hogan, a slaveholder, was present, and opportunity being given, said that he regarded the principles and measures of the abolitionists as in violation of the constitution of the U. States and of the Bible, and solicited discussion. For the purpose of giving an opportunity for the discussion, Mr. Johnson moved the following resolution :

Resolved, That the doctrines and measures of the abolitionists are in perfect accordance with the constitution of the United States and the Bible.

The discussion was conducted by Messrs. Hogan, Cole, C. P. Grosvenor, Prof. Cowles, Phelps, and others. At its close, Mr. Garrison submitted a further portion of the annual report ; which, on motion, was laid upon the table to be taken up at 9 o'clock, Saturday morning.

FRIDAY EVENING.

The Society met in the Representatives' Hall.

Prayer by Rev. Giles Pease.

Edmund Quincy, Esq. offered the following resolution :—

Resolved, That, while we would gratefully acknowledge the signal manner in which the Anti-Slavery cause has been prospered by Divine Providence during the past year, we see nothing in the circumstances by which we are surrounded, which would justify distrust in the continued blessing of Heaven upon our labors ; and that whatever political events may impend, or actually take place, during the coming year, our confidence in the ultimate and speedy triumph of our cause will remain unshaken.

The resolution was sustained by Mr. Quincy in an able and interesting manner, and unanimously adopted by the Society.

Rev. N. Colver then offered the following :—

Resolved, That the title of man to man as property, as sanctioned by slave law, should be regarded as legalized desecration of God's image ; and hence heinous sin is in all cases inseparable from the relation itself, and therefore that immediate emancipation is duty, and is the only righteous, safe and practicable remedy for slaveholding.

The resolution was ably and eloquently sustained by Messrs. Colver and Stanton, and unanimously adopted by the Society ;

after which the Society adjourned to meet at the Marlboro' Chapel, Saturday morning, at 9 o'clock.

SATURDAY MORNING.

Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, one of the Vice Presidents, in the chair.
Prayer by Prof. Cowles of Oberlin.

Rev. A. A. Phelps read a letter from Alvan Stewart, and Mr. Garrison read one from Arnold Buffum; and on motion,

Voted, That these letters, together with that of Mr. Child, be referred to the Board of Managers to be published in the Liberator.

That portion of the Annual Report which has reference to the 'Clerical Appeal,' was then taken up for discussion. As it was not prepared until after the meeting of the Society on Wednesday, it had never been submitted to the Board of Managers, and came before the Society, therefore, not properly as their report, but as the report of the Secretary merely, (as he stated) and on which the Board, as such, had had no opportunity of action either way—in that of approval or disapproval.

A lengthy discussion ensued on the motion for its adoption as submitted, when,

On motion of David Lee Child, it was at length, unanimously,

Resolved, That the second part of the annual report now before this Society, be accepted, and that the whole of said report be published under the direction of the Board of Managers, subject to such modification as said Board shall deem proper—it being understood, and said Board are hereby instructed, to express the decided and unanimous condemnation which this Society feel, and would on all proper occasions express, of the movement commonly known as the 'Clerical Appeal;' but without unnecessary or any personal severity.

On motion of A. St. Clair,

Resolved, That abolitionists have in view a single object—the abolition of slavery: that to accomplish this great end, we all meet on equal and common ground;—that we will require of no man a religious or political test, but hail every friend of immediate emancipation as a brother, and extend to him the right hand of anti-slavery fellowship;—that we not only regret, but will repudiate every attempt at organization on sectarian ground, and frown on any attempt to divide our ranks, as virtual enmity to the great cause, as calculated to distract anti-slavery societies, and to turn their efforts against each other instead of slavery.

The following resolutions were then submitted by the committee, and adopted by the society in their order.

Resolved, That the guilt of American slaveholding surpasses the guilt of slaveholding in any other age or country.

Resolved, That to 'plead the cause of the poor and needy,' to 'preach deliverance to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound,' and to 'execute judgment in the morning, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor,' to the extent of each one's ability and opportunity, are solemn and religious duties, binding, in their several spheres of action, on all human beings; that these duties do not depend by any means, on the prospect of success, in the specific and actual abolition of slavery, but without such prospect would be binding, as a means of washing their hands in innocency in the case, on all alike; and therefore that a neglect of these duties, by whomsoever and wheresoever, and for whatsoever reason it be done, is the neglect of solemn and religious duty.

Resolved, That in the great number of Christians and Christian ministers who have enlisted, and who are daily enlisting in the anti-slavery cause, we have ground for fervent gratitude to God, and cheering evidence that the day is not distant, when all the real christianity of the country will be arrayed on the side of freedom, and will go forth in the spirit and power of its great author, 'to proclaim liberty unto all the people throughout all the land.'

Resolved, That to charge the Bible as being the supporter of slavery, directly or indirectly, is libelling the character of its Author, whose commands, like His character, are based on pure love and benevolence, and cannot be so construed as to sanction oppression in any form whatever; and is directly calculated to spread infidelity throughout the land.

Resolved, That the resolutions introduced in the Senate of the United States, by John C. Calhoun, a Senator of South Carolina, and with some amendment adopted by that body, are contrary to republican principles, and to every bill of rights that was ever framed, whether in monarchy or republic; that they are in virtual violation of the constitution of the United States, both in its letter and spirit, and do excite in us indignation, particularly as originating with an individual, twice elected to the second office in the nation, having been previously a candidate for the first, and at that period unbounded and loud in his admiration of these free States, and of institutions where the workingmen are not chattels and brutes, but independent electors.

Resolved, That the Senators of free States, who supported those resolutions, were false to their constituents and country, and doubly merit the indignation of a free and honest people.

Resolved, That the Senators who resisted those resolutions, and gave their voice for the inviolability of the rights of speech, of the

press, and of petition, merit and do recive our warm approbation and our hearty thanks.

Resolved, That county and town Societies in this State be requested to take early measures, to raise their proportion of the ten thousand dollars, which this Society has voted to raise the present year.

Resolved, That the sum of fifteen thousand dollars ought to be paid by the abolitionists in this State to the American Anti-Slavery Society, the present year.

Resolved, That in order to bring our colored friends within the brotherhood of this nation, we will encourage them in petitioning Congress, in their own names, for the redress of their grievances; and if not successful, then we will lend them our aid in bringing their cause before the court of the United States, to ascertain if a man can be held in bondage, agreeably to the principles contained in the Declaration of Independence, or the Constitution of our country.

The following were forwarded to the Society by Arnold Buffum, of Philadelphia, by letter, and submitted by the committee :

Resolved, That although slaveholders and their apologists may, through the prejudice of education, while their minds are wrapped in moral darkness, believe that it is no sin to hold men in slavery; yet no enlightened and intelligent mind, after such careful investigation of the subject as it is his duty to bestow, can regard such an act, under any circumstances, for a single hour, in any other light than as a robbery from men, having equal rights with themselves, of those idalienable rights bestowed by God to render life a blessing.

Resolved, Therefore, that the first great object of the advocates of human freedom from an unrighteous bondage, is and ought to be the diffusion of light, and truth, and love, with a knowledge of the nature and character of slavery, as it actually holds in its cruel grasp one-sixth part of the American people, relying upon the agency of God's holy spirit to sanctify to the enlightened understanding and consciences of men the important truths, which we, as humble instruments, may spread before them, and thus to accomplish the work of immediate and universal emancipation.

Resolved, That the principles which teach us our duty, in regard to the abolition of slavery, also teach us to pray for the abolition of war, intemperance, and every moral pollution, which mars the beauty of God's work, and obstructs the progress of human virtue and happiness in the world.

A vote of thanks to the proprietors, for the use of the chapel, was then passed, and the Society adjourned sine die.

SPEECH OF EDMUND QUINCY, ESQ.

At the meeting of the Society, held in the Representatives' Hall on the evening of Jan. 27th, EDMUND QUINCY, Esq. of Boston,* offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That, while we would gratefully acknowledge the signal manner in which the anti-slavery cause has been prospered by Divine Providence during the past year, we perceive nothing in the circumstances which surround us, to justify distrust in the continued blessing of God upon our labors; and that whatever political events may impend over us, or actually befall us during the coming year, our confidence in the ultimate and speedy downfall of slavery will remain unshaken.

In offering this resolution, Mr. President, permit me to congratulate the meeting upon the propitious circumstances under which we assemble. He must be of a desponding turn of mind indeed, —the temperament, I believe, of but few abolitionists,—who cannot perceive amidst the thick clouds which still overhang our land, many a bright ray of promise which assures us that the beams of the Sun of righteousness will not forever be obscured by the mists which rise from a sensual and mercenary world. The thunders of denunciation, indeed, still fall on our ears, but their peal is now heard from the right, and is ominous only of good. The love of universal liberty has entwined itself with the heart-strings of tens of thousands of freemen, and can never be severed from them till those hearts be drained. The Southern Senator who expects by magic formulas of words to annihilate us, must first realize the wish of the Roman tyrant, that a whole people had but one neck, that he may encircle it with the halter, which we are assured, on high authority, is reserved for us in a sister State.

The principles of the Immediate Abolitionists have been scattered broadcast over the land, and have but seldom fallen upon an arid soil. What though the city be still steeped in a death-like stupor—the country is everywhere awake and alert. What matters it that the benumbing spirit of Traffic still broods like an incubus over the Exchange—the light of truth has reached the eyes of the men on the work-bench and at the plough. Of what consequence is it that every church in this metropolis is closed against us, when the village church and the village school-house expand their portals to the free discussion of truth? What though the entire metropolitan press, with one or two honorable exceptions, is marked with a pusillanimity—a cowardly subserviency to prevailing prejudices—an abject servility to the will of the wealthier

* Son of Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard University.

classes, or of the party whose tools they are—and an overbearing insolence towards minorities, and those whom they esteem weak and unpopular,—which would put to shaine the veriest slave that ever registered the edicts of a despot ;—the organs of the country breathe daily more and more the true spirit of Liberty. From the city, we have almost nothing to expect—from the country, every thing.

The eager competitions of trade leave but little time for reflection on the eternal principles of Truth and Justice, on which the prosperity of States depend. The apprehensions of loss in business, entertained by men in active life, and the fear of change felt by those who are at ease in their possessions, but too often chill many a naturally good heart, and becloud many an originally sound understanding—and shuts up men meant for better things within the narrow circle of a selfish conservatism. It is strange to see how the prejudices of property are almost invariably arrayed on the side of the slaveholder ; and it is these prejudices which we are chiefly called upon to combat in this city. It is the idea that the abolitionists are attacking property, that arouses every thing that is sordid and selfish in human nature to oppose our efforts. And yet it surely would not be hard to show that it is the slaveholder, and not the abolitionist, that strikes at the very root of all property. If there is anything on earth that belongs to a man, besides his soul, it is surely his body—his bones, sinews, muscles and brains, his labor and his ingenuity. Now of these tools, and of their productions, the slaveholder robs the slave. The slaveholder and his apologists assume that human laws may rightfully deprive a man of his property without his consent ; an assumption utterly groundless. Property does not rest upon man's laws—it is an institution of God. Whatever I can obtain by my labor and ingenuity legitimately applied, is mine by the direct gift of my Creator ; and cannot be righteously taken from me without my consent. If human legislation may rightfully deprive me of these foundations on which all other property rests, of course it can take from me my house, my lands, my money, without my consent and without equivalent, and bestow them at its pleasure upon any other. Let the rich men who are exerting their powerful influence in the support of the atrocious system of robbery which is legalized in the southern States—take heed to themselves ! They are bowing themselves upon the very pillars which sustain the edifice of property—let them beware, lest the whole fabric come thundering down upon Mammon and all his worshippers.

That this mercenary spirit is the one which possesses our great cities, and creates the public opinion which bears a tyrant's sway over them and all within their reach, is a truth as undeniable as it is melancholy. Its unquestionable existence should make us realize the more vividly how noble and generous are those natures which defy its power ; and prove that the character of a merchant is com-

patible with the most disinterested love of mankind, and the most ardent aspirations after universal freedom. Such admirable examples we have amongst ourselves—such adorn the commercial metropolis of this country. Let us love and honor such instances of magnanimity and true greatness!

The omens are everywhere most propitious. The advocates of slavery, driven in from their entrenchments of sophistry, have been forced to fall back upon the divine merits of the system for its defence. The thin disguises of humanity and religion are now almost entirely thrown aside, and the supporters of the Patriarchal system now mainly rely on its intrinsic merits and sublime virtues. The battle between Truth and Error is now fought on equal ground. The fiend, stripped of his cherub shape, no longer affects the character of an angel of mercy bringing comfort and light to an unhappy race, nor even of a sorrowing spirit grieving over the task imposed upon it, but stands up in his native naked deformity,

‘ A monster of such horrid mien,
That to be hated, needs but to be seen.’

The southern defenders of slavery, and their friends at the North, seem to be infected with that madness with which, according to an ancient poet, the gods ever visit those whom they intend to destroy. A thousand presses, and an army of sound reasoners and eloquent orators, could never have brought about the revolution in public sentiment, of which we see the pregnant proofs around us in twenty years, which the course of the southern statesmen and of their humble followers at the North, have effected in three. In spite of the opprobrium which has been attached to the opinions we hold; notwithstanding the servile attitude which the legislatures of but too many of the free States have assumed with regard to the slave question; in spite of the array of wealth and talent which has been marshalled against us, and that, too, in quarters whence we might have expected better things; notwithstanding the popular violence which all these incentives have provoked; our principles have made such progress, that already they have found utterance on the floor of both houses of the national legislature. Already has a sovereign State uplifted her voice, and denounced the nation's guilt. In the presence of the whole world, she has shaken her skirts, and called upon all mankind to witness that she is guiltless of the blood of the innocent. May our own beloved Commonwealth soon take her place by the side of her generous sister; and prove that she loves her own freedom too well to dare to deny it to others! The sublime attitude which Vermont has recently assumed is an augury of the happiest promise. A people chiefly devoted to agriculture, of simple manners, uncontaminated by the influence of great cities—but of sterling moral and religious worth, have volunteered to occupy the post of honor, in the great warfare which is now waged against the most enormous of abuses. This

is a cheering sign, that if the truth can but be brought home to the yeomanry of the free States—and what combination of interested men can keep it long from them?—the work is done, the slave is freed, the country is safe.

The contumelious scorn, too, with which the voice of a free State has been treated on the floor of the Senate, by the very men who are the loudest in maintaining the sovereign rights of their own State, is another symptom of that madness which goes before destruction. If the Southern Senators, who made use of the infamous language, of which we read, towards the expression of the sentiments of a free State, expect that the spirit which dictated that expression will quail before their fulminations, I think that they have mistaken their men. If the majority of the Senate which passed the disgraceful resolutions—disgraceful only to themselves—which were introduced by a slaveholding Senator, really believe with him, that they will silence the Abolitionists, I apprehend that they never labored under a greater error. If that political conjuror really expects with his magic spells and words of power to allay the storm which he sees gathering, and threatening his beloved domestic institutions, let us endeavor to convince him, not with vain boastings but by resolute action, that the agitation which has hitherto stirred our atmosphere is but a zephyr compared with the moral tornado which shall now sweep over the land; a tornado, which, gathering strength in its gyrations as it sweeps over the free States, shall at length burst with irresistible force upon the land of the oppressor, and level forever with the ground the gloomy castle of Despair—the blood-cemented fabric of Slavery, whose turrets indeed insult the heavens, but whose foundations rest only on the sand.

I have said, Sir, that the auspices under which we meet are of the happiest promise. But then there are perils, and those imminent—perils, which in the opinion of many wise men threaten to lock forever the fetters of the slave, and even to throw the links of the chain around the limbs of the free. If Texas, say they,—the land of the pirate and the murderer, the common sewer into which is drained all the filth which is too abominable even for the Slave States to endure—if Texas be annexed to the United States, then Slavery will be forever entailed upon us, and the preponderance which will be given to the slaveholding interest in the councils of the nation, by that event, will render the freemen of the North but the serfs of a southern task-master. If Texas be not annexed, then the Union will be dissolved; a slaveholding confederacy will be formed, and slavery forever perpetuated.

Sir, if I believed that one or both of these events would certainly take place (which I do not,) I never would admit that such consequences would necessarily result from them. I have many blessings, Sir, for which to be grateful to the Giver of all good, but I hold none of the least of them to be a sanguine temperament.

Especially do I thank God for the trust in Him which He permits me to feel; for the confidence which He inspires, that no machinations of man can prevail against his counsels; for the certainty that He overrules all events for good. I thank God, that when I am assured that a cause is His, I can feel no fear!

I am sure that no man can deprecate more sincerely than I do, the annexation of Texas to this Union. I believe that I realize all the immediate and all the remote bearings which that event would have upon the great cause of Universal Freedom. There is no effort which I would not make—no sacrifice to which I would not gladly submit—to avert this most hateful alliance. But were it accomplished to-morrow, should I despair? Should I despondingly abandon the cause of God and liberty on that account, and believe that the trickery of a handfull of scurvy politicians at Washington could cancel the decree registered in the Chancery of heaven—that every slave shall be free? Should I even believe that the period of universal emancipation would be very much delayed by that event? No, sir. The only effect which such a blow would have upon me, and which I believe it would have upon every abolitionist, would be to make me feel that a great work was to be done in a short time :—that we must concentrate all our efforts, and multiply all our machinery for acting upon the public mind, before the young dragon by the banks of the Sabine be fully grown, and before she have engendered a brood like unto herself, to be arrayed by her side against the cause of God and Freedom. The urgency of the case would animate us to redoubled efforts and increased contributions. He that has hitherto given a week's personal exertion in the cause, must then give a month's. He that heretofore has contributed ten dollars to the treasury of the Lord, must then cast in fifty. If we will but resolve that slavery shall be abolished before Texas be strong enough to form an insuperable obstacle in our way, it will be done! All our hope is from the agitation of the question in the Free States; all we want is to get the ear—to arouse the attention of the people of those States—to make them feel the magnitude of the guilt and danger which they incur by their tacit acquiescence in the execrable system of slavery. When this is done, all is done. The manacles drop from the limbs of the slave. The clouds of prejudice and fear, with which the spells of slavery have darkened the minds of the free, vanish. The misrule and disorders with which the spirit of slavery has cursed every region of our land, will be known no more. If such a deed as the annexation of Texas to this Union cannot arouse them from their torpor, surely nothing but the last trumpet can burst their iron slumbers.

But then if Texas be not annexed, or if it be, and the agitation of the slavery question goes on, the Union will be dissolved. Well! and what then? Why, a Southern confederacy will be formed, a military cordon will be drawn around its borders to keep off the

infection of Truth ; a second Sparta will spring into life in our land—an armed nation served by Helots ! This would be a singular spectacle, to be sure, in the nineteenth century, and in a Christian land. But let us suppose that the long threatened dissolution of the Union will actually take place—though the bugbear has been so often tricked out to frighten us, that the very children in the nursery laugh at it—what benefit or advantage would the slaveholders gain by that event ? Much, sir—much every way ! Inestimable benefits ; incalculable advantages ! For whenever proclamation is made that the Union of these States is dissolved, on that day the death-knell of slavery is tolled. As soon as they are released from the fatal embrace of their northern friends, their patriarchal system falls to the ground. It is the sympathy and encouragement of the free States which sustain that system now. Let the ties of interest, which create that false sympathy, be severed, and it vanishes ; stifled humanity revives, and the oppressor must soon break his rod for very shame. It is a strange infatuation to suppose that any military force, or any custom-house regulations, could keep from the inhabitants of any country the influence of the wholesome public opinion of the neighboring nations, and the scorn of the civilized world. It would be as absurd to endeavor to keep out the light of truth from a people by surrounding them with a cordon of bayonets, as it would be to attempt to exclude from a land the beams of the blessed sun, by planting along the frontier, a cordon of parasols. It is in vain to imagine that the irresistible might of a healthful public opinion would not easily overleap the bristling barrier, and work that change which opinion has ever wrought in the affairs of mankind.

But should that day ever come, what would be the condition of the unhappy slaveholder, who should venture to pass the glittering line ? I fear, sir, that his situation would not be much more comfortable than would be that of an abolitionist in South Carolina at the present day. For at that time we shall hear no more of mobs to put down abolitionists ; no, sir, if mobs then exist at all, (which God forbid !) it will be the straggling slaveholder that will be the victim. For then 'the prevailing voice of the brotherhood' will be on the side of the oppressed. Then liberty will not be a forbidden theme even in Faneuil Hall. The municipal authorities of that day will not refuse the use of 'that consecrated Hall,' on the ground that an expression of sympathy with the oppressed, of indignation at the oppressors, and of hatred of oppression, could not be regarded as the public voice of the city of Boston. The eternal truths of Liberty and of Humanity will then (hazardous as the prediction may now seem) be proclaimed even from the pulpits of this city. In those days, no itinerant slaveholders will stroll through our land, teaching freemen how to vote. In those days, no reverend man-stealer will break unto us the bread of life, with hands full of his brother's blood. Then our sympathies will be rightly

bestowed. The brutal slave-driver—the callous overseer—the miserable tools that lock the handcuff and inflict the lash, will be regarded, as they should be, with almost unmitigated compassion. It will be the Governors, and the Judges, and the Senators, and the Doctors of Divinity, and the honorable women—it will be they who rob their brethren of their bodies and their souls, and then say, I have done no wickedness—who will excite our astonishment and horror; who would excite, were it not that they are immortal beings, our contempt and abhorrence.

When that time arrives, no flattering caresses will welcome to the free cities, the coming slaveholders. The banquet will not then be piled for them. The feast and the dance will not then be instituted in their honor. They will be to all a by-word and a hissing. Even he that sees them afar off in the street, will cross over to the other side, lest haply his garments should brush against them. They will be avoided as if they were infected with a physical, and not a moral pestilence. Whither, in that day, can the wretched slaveholder fly? Whither can he go where scorn will not pursue him? England already almost rejects him from her hospitable shores. The whole civilized world will soon be closed against him. The most abject slaves of the old tyrannies of Europe will turn with contempt and loathing from that most incongruous monster, a democratic despot. There will be but one way by which he can regain his place by the side of civilized and Christian men, and that way is justice. Let him repent of his oppressions, and make reparation to his victims, and the arms of Christendom will be expanded to welcome him back to its communion; and the joy which the repentance of a sinner awakes in Heaven, will be echoed and prolonged on earth.

I have trespassed too long, sir, on the patience of the meeting; but I could not repress the expression of my satisfaction at the auspicious circumstances under which we assemble. The extraordinary manner in which our cause has been prospered, is, I believe, without example in the history of Reforms. But seven little years ago, and a single arm upreared the standard of universal freedom—but a single champion stood for Heaven and Right. He, indeed, was a host; one of those rare spirits which Heaven, at distant periods, sends upon the earth on holiest missions. He then stood alone:

‘The only righteous in a world perverse,
And therefore hated, therefore so beset
With foes, for daring single to be just,
And utter odious truth.’

He then stood alone. Now the noble army which his war-cry has called into being, swarm in our valleys, and keep watch on every hill-top. Its bright legions hover upon the very frontiers of the enemy, and even encamp within his borders. It is composed of

resolute, determined, fearless men; whom no obstacle can daunt—no danger terrify. They will not doubt or falter, let what will be-tide. In the service upon which we are ordered, sir, let us fight the good fight with all alacrity and cheerfulness of spirit; being assured that as certainly as that Jehovah sits upon the throne of the universe, His truth must mightily prevail.

JANUARY 24.

The following resolution was submitted by the committee to the meeting, and was adopted with but two dissenting votes:

Resolved; That the doctrine recently promulgated by the Rev. Hubbard Winslow, a popular preacher in the city of Boston, and echoed from the presses with commendation, that 'Republican liberty is only the liberty to say and do what the prevailing voice and will of the brotherhood will allow and protect,' is a sentiment that deserves the *execration* of *all* who mean to preserve their civil or religious freedom. It is a sentiment, which, should it be disseminated until it becomes the public opinion of our country, would leave us little more liberty of speech than the slaves themselves enjoy; who are doubtless free to speak as their masters please.

REMARKS OF REV. MR. COLVER.

Mr. President—I have heard nothing introduced to this meeting, or to the whole country, more detrimental to the cause of good morals, than the sentiment alluded to in this resolution. I shall not be able to go into the full merits of the subject, and bring out and discuss the principles involved, in the time allowed me by this meeting. [The meeting had previously voted, that no speaker should occupy more than fifteen minutes, at one time. It was, however, voted subsequently, that Mr. Colver proceed, without restriction as to time.] It is the popularity which this sentiment is gaining, which affords ground of alarm. The opinion is getting rife through the land, that no man has a right to utter a sentiment opposed to the views of the majority, when, by so doing, he will be liable to provoke an out-breaking of popular fury—and that, when the utterance of such a sentiment becomes the occasion of a tumult among the people, he stands chargeable with the result. It is under that sentiment that brother Lovejoy stands charged with murder, because he persisted in the exercise of his inalienable rights in opposition to the prevailing popular voice, and riot and murder followed. But, if this be the bounds of our Christian lib-

erty, what advance will the public ever make, in political, social, moral, or religious improvement?

I beg, now, sir, with this sentiment, that no man has a right to utter what is opposed to the 'prevailing voice and will of the brotherhood,' to ask, how stands it with all the noble band of martyrs—yea, with Him who came to redeem our race from the bondage of sin? Let that sentiment have prevailed in the different ages of the world, and what reformation would ever have been achieved? How should we ever have advanced to the enjoyment of our present civil and religious privileges? Was this, indeed, the precious boon for which our pilgrim fathers braved the dangers of the ocean and the perils of the wilderness? Sir, such a sentiment is intended to cramp all the moral energies of mankind. Why, according to this, the minister of the gospel must not first ask what God says, but what evil consequences will follow, if I speak the truth—what is the 'prevailing voice and will of the brotherhood,' that he may get down below that standard.

Sir, I feel myself humbled for my brother. When the pulpit has bowed down before the popular will, and the ministers of Jesus ask counsel of the 'brotherhood' instead of their Master, I feel humbled.

But let us look and see where brother Winslow will find his company. On a certain occasion, Jehoshaphat, the good king of Judah, went down to visit Ahab, the wicked king of Israel; and while there, Ahab beset him to go up with him to war against Ramoth Gilead. Jehoshaphat was willing to go, but wanted first to inquire of the Lord. So Ahab gathered together his prophets, about four hundred men, who all prophesied just according to Mr. Winslow's sentiment—they all spoke just what the 'prevailing voice and will of the brotherhood would allow and protect.' But, among these prophets there was one, who made him horns of iron, and he went about hooking, and saying to the king, 'With these shalt thou push the Syrians, until thou have consumed them.' O what a prudent man that was! He preached the gospel exactly to suit the 'brotherhood.' But, there happened to be an *abolitionist* there. Whether Jehosaphat saw the evidences of deceit upon the countenances of Ahab's prophets, I know not; but he did not seem to be quite satisfied; and so he inquired, 'Is there not here a prophet of the Lord?'

'There is yet one man, said the king; Micaiah the son of Imleh, by whom we may inquire of the Lord; *but I hate him*, and the brotherhood have concluded not to protect him. He never prophesies good about me, but evil.' Well, now, then, I will leave it to the reverend gentleman, who has humbled the pulpit before the world, to find his company here. If he should not stand by the side of Micaiah, it will be because he has chosen his own position. Ah, I see that man, Micaiah; he stands up erect, like a man. He is never the man that will ask the brotherhood what

they will 'allow and protect,' before he speaks. Why, said the messenger that the king sent for him, 'Behold now the words of the prophets declare good unto the king, with one mouth: let thy word, I pray thee, be like one of them, and speak that which is good.' But, what said Micaiah? 'As the Lord liveth, *what* the Lord saith unto me, that will I speak.' When he came, what did the king say to him? Ay, that class of ministers who are always bowing to the people, are despised by the people. He who adopts Mr. Winslow's sentiment, will be despised by the people. Well, what did the king say to Micaiah? 'How many times shall I adjure thee that thou tell me nothing but the truth in the name of the Lord?' The king wanted the truth, yet he would not protect the man that had the courage to tell the truth. That is just like the wicked. They call the knave honorable; but their real friends, who tell them the truth, they persecute and despise.

I appeal to every man to decide this question as jurors. Where shall we put this man? With Micaiah, or with these fawning sycophants, the false prophets of Ahab? [I hope he may stand with him, in that day when he shall be called to give up his account to his Master.] But who shall be his associates? Where do his sentiments put him? With the 'prevailing voice and will of the brotherhood.' According to him, if we go beyond that, we do wrong, and if evil follow, we are responsible for that evil. He shall have a pattern, if he desires it. Look at our Lord and Redeemer. Did he not know what would be the result of his preaching in Jerusalem? Peter, when he took him and began to rebuke him, might have thought that the Lord had made a mistake. But what was his answer? Knowing and foreseeing the result, he said unto Peter, 'Get thee behind me, *Adversary!*' There is the company for Mr. Winslow. Would not the language of his sermon have accorded with the language of Peter? I am not appealing to bad feelings, but to sober reason. The language is analogous. Our Lord went up, knowing what would befall him. I was going to say, let us try him by Mr. Winslow's rule. But I shudder at the irreverence. No; let us try Mr. Winslow by our Lord's ways. Mr. Winslow's sentiment is a slander upon the Lord. If that sentiment is right, he was wrong.

Again, the Apostles in Jerusalem stood up and testified to the truth. Was that what the brotherhood would protect? No; they applied Lynch law to them. But they got out of prison. An angel came and opened the doors. Mr. Winslow would have told him that he was in advance of public sentiment, and if he pressed too hard upon it, there would be a mob, and he would be responsible for the consequences. But what did the angel say? 'Go, stand and speak in the temple to the people all the words of this life.' And the very next morning, they stood on the same floor, speaking the same truths. The brotherhood tried it over again. The mob assembled, and expressed their astonishment that these

men should so disregard the 'prevailing voice and will.' But what did these men of God say? 'We ought to obey God rather than man.' O, that brother Winslow knew what that meant. It is the language of an honest man.

When the angel opened the prison doors, he knew what the Apostles had been doing. Let us see if an angel can be a pattern for us, according to Mr. Winslow's doctrine. Did he tell the Apostles that it was wrong for a man to do what the brotherhood will not protect? If an angel had counselled them in the language of Mr. Winslow, would they have believed him? The angel did not say so. 'Go, stand in the temple'—the very place where they had been standing—'and speak all the words of this life.' Let the sentiment of Mr. W. be adopted by the ministry; and then farewell to all advance in the manners, morals, and religion of mankind. Let it be advocated by those whose business it is to cater for the public amusement; but not by the ministry, who stand as the representatives of the Lord Jesus.

REMARKS OF REV. MR. MAY.

It having been proposed to strike out the name of Mr. Winslow from the resolution, Mr. May said :

I too, Mr. President, am opposed to the erasure of the name of Mr. Winslow from the resolution. It is proper that the community should know by whose authority such a doctrine has been propounded. His name and influence have doubtless done much to give it currency. He is respected in this community. He is popular here. I was opposed to the amendment just now made in the resolution by striking out the word popular; and meant to have opposed it at the right time. I hope it will yet be restored, for I consider it an important word in the resolution. Mr. Winslow is a *popular* minister in Boston; and I therefore deprecate the sentiment quoted from him in the resolution, all the more earnestly. He is popular—and I fear, Sir, the sentiment or doctrine itself is also popular. Else why has it been copied into several of our newspapers with commendation? We all know enough of them to know that they cater to suit the taste of their patrons—and do not often venture to publish what is unpopular.

Again, Sir, I think it proper that his name should go along with the doctrine in question, because it is his doctrine. He is responsible to us and to the community for the utterance of it. It is his doctrine. He doubtless thinks it a good one. He has given his name and authority to it. He preached it, and afterwards published it from the press. It is not for us to separate his name from his doctrine. I for one shall insist upon their remaining conjoined, until he himself shall have become ashamed of the connection, and seek to dissolve it.

I am fully persuaded, Mr. President, that the resolutions now before the meeting are highly important ones. And as a considerable part of the audience have come in since the discussion upon them commenced, I will, with your leave, read them again. (Read them.) The excitement caused by the discussion of these resolutions satisfies me that they will produce an effect. I am anxious it should be the right effect; and am therefore not pleased with some things that have been said; and feel strongly impelled to take exceptions. I was particularly displeased with some remarks of our brother (Colver) last evening. They were unnecessarily personal and severe. I advocated the continuance of Mr. Winslow's name in the resolution; and I do still insist that it should be there. It is fair and proper that his name should be kept united to the odious doctrine, to which he has himself united it, until he sees fit to sue for a divorce. But because I advocated the use of his name in the resolution, I did not mean that he should be made the subject of our discussion, or the object of our condemnation. No, Sir. I agreed with brother Phelps, that we are concerned with his doctrine, more than with the man. And I fear, Sir, that the remarks of brother C. last evening, will tend rather to turn away the minds of those who heard them, from the doctrine, which cannot be too severely condemned, to the man, who they may think was hardly dealt with. The doctrine, Mr. President, deserves our execration. It is fundamentally and enormously wrong. Why, Sir, if it should prevail, it would put a stop to all reformation, all progress. The greatest improvements that have ever been effected in the condition of man, commenced with the expression of opinions and feelings by an individual, opposed to those which prevailed among 'the brotherhood.' The very design of our constitutional law was to protect the individual, in the utterance of an opinion *however unpopular*, so that if it should prove to be the good seed of truth, it might take root and bring forth its fruits. Oh, Sir, Mr. Winslow's doctrine cannot be too strongly condemned. And I regret that any thing should have been said to turn off the minds of any from the doctrine to the man, who has announced it. I trust he will yet be brought to see how bad a doctrine it is; and then I am sure it will be punishment enough for him to see his name where he has placed it, and where, until then, we ought to keep it—in connection with such a doctrine.

MR. COLVER.

Mr. President—It is very easy for a man to admit, on the part of a brother, that he has been too personal, and yet use the same personality himself. I like the mildness of my brother May. But I appeal to every one who heard me, to say if I wedded the doctrine any closer to the man than he has done. I brought out the case of the false prophets, and showed that they acted accord-

ing to Mr. Winslow's sentiment. I also brought out the case of Peter, and showed that Christ called him Satan for uttering Mr. Winslow's sentiment. If Mr. Winslow still persist in that sentiment, he will consider it his crown, and will not wish his name to be separated from it. But, if he considers the sentiment disgraceful to his name, they must go together till he separates them. I have heard some angry expressions abroad, in regard to the language used by me last evening; but I did not refer to any thing beyond the sentiment he has uttered. If that sentiment be an honor to him, then what I said will be an honor. If not, he has brought the reproach upon himself.

REV. MR. SCOTT, OF LOWELL.

Mr. President—The sentiment alluded to in this resolution, is a very strange sentiment to be promulgated by a Christian divine in the 19th century, much more in a land of republicanism.

Where did it come from? Why, Sir, I am not certain—I am not clear that it is even the doctrine of mobs. The doctrine of mobs is, that unpopular doctrine may be put down *by any means*. Where did it come from? It is a justification of mobs. The sermon asserts that one of the natural results of a republican government, is the prevalence of mobs. So our constitution, our laws, our republican institutions, for which our fathers fought, are brought forward by a divine, as a mantle to throw over those that are pleased to say what may or may not be said or done.

Well, did this doctrine come from slaveholders? I am not clear of that fact. If slaveholders admit that doctrine, a majority in the slave States would claim that 250,000 should not rule 2,000,000. This little minority governs thirteen States—they rule our Congress, and spread an awe and dread all over our country. They surely would not be very willing to admit this doctrine.

But where did it come from? It came from *expediency*. It is the very doctrine of expediency. It is that cringing, time-serving spirit, that would favor nothing that is unpopular. It is modern dastardly expediency, which, though it may not have come from slavery, yet it may owe its origin to slavery.

But no; I believe the gentleman got that sentiment from his own bewildered imagination. We are willing to leave him the sole father of that child. But the doctrine contained in that sermon, that abolitionists are responsible for all the tumults that follow the propagation of their doctrines—that Lovejoy was responsible for the mob that resulted in his own murder—will make every moral reformer, from the Saviour and the apostles down to the present time, responsible for all the opposition they encounter. They were responsible for all the lawless violence that followed their preaching. The Protestant reformers were responsible for all the blood shed by Queen Mary, and all the persecution awak-

ened by their preaching. Is this assembly prepared to swallow such a pill? According to that sermon, no moral reform is to be commenced, till the majority are reformed. A worse sentiment I recollect never to have met with; however pure may be the heart of that man, (and I do not question the purity of his heart.) It is so insidious. What if McDuffie tells us we have no right to speak? We all know better. What if mobs say we must not do this or that? We all know they are mobs. What if some corrupt political journals have proscribed us—we know the motives which govern them. But, when the pulpit refuses to give a ‘certain sound,’ it is striking at the foundation of all decision of character. When the pulpit comes out and utters a corrupt sentiment, there is cause for alarm. Let us put that sermon into the hopper and grind it out, and again put it into the hopper and grind it out, and scatter it to the four winds of heaven. It is such a sentiment as makes the liberty of speech and of the press, the liberty of mobs and lawless violence.

REV. MR. TORREY, OF SALEM.

Mr. President—I wish to protest, in the name of the Christian ministry of Massachusetts, against being identified with the sentiment referred to in these resolutions. They do not believe that they go into the pulpit with a commission from Jehovah in one hand, and a commission from the brotherhood in the other. If you find one man in this city, or out of it, who utters this sentiment, you will not find one in ninety-nine to favor it. They are, a majority of them, anti-slavery and republican in sentiment. I do not deny that there are individuals who have surrendered their commission from their master, and taken one from the brotherhood; but I do deny that this charge applies to them as a body.

One word as to personality. I was grieved last evening, and I have been to-day, with the personal remarks to which I have listened—not so much that truth has been spoken, as that the whole has not been said. But nothing has been said which has allowed to this man his deserts. I believe him to be an able and a faithful, an humble and pious minister of the gospel. Be it that this aberration is a great one—admit that he has uttered an odious and wicked sentiment—still, because he has sinned in one respect, I will not withhold from him my confidence as a Christian brother. I think there has been perceptible disposition to deny him this. But, if he must needs identify the Christian ministry with this sentiment, I say it is their solemn duty to repudiate it. When such sentiments come from ministers of the gospel, they must be met and exposed; and this I conceive to be the object of this resolution; and not, as has been intimated by Mr. Allen, to destroy Mr. Winslow's influence.

What! this society attack Mr. Winslow? Not *as a man*—any one minister, *as a man*, is beneath our notice. We might as soon

attack straws. We have an object in these resolutions: it is to meet false principles as soon as they are uttered, before they get a hold on the public mind. We do feel that it is a degradation of the pastoral office for any minister to utter such a sentiment. What entitles us to say any thing about a man's sentiments? Because he utters them in a public assembly, or publishes them to the world through the press. I do, as an individual, repudiate the idea that we concede any right as a man, when we enter into the social compact. In acting the part of a good citizen, I concede no right.

REV. MR. ST. CLAIR.

Mr. President—I am sorry to hear apologies offered here, for the man who has uttered this sentiment, by those who ought to be the last to apologize. I heard my brother Colver last evening, and I did think some things he said were rather severe. But why were they severe? Because the case demanded it. Sir, I suppose it is a somewhat metaphysical point to determine how much sin a man may commit, and be a Christian. But, if George McDuffie should utter such a sentiment as this, we should feel none of this squeamishness about speaking of it in connection with his name. But now, forsooth, a man in this city has uttered it, and we must say nothing about him. Why? This is the very people among whom it was uttered; and must we not tell who did the deed? I believe it was said, also, that he was a very able, learned, and pious minister. Now, I say this only makes it so much the worse. Now, suppose a man gets drunk—dead drunk—and we apologize for him, and say, he is a very good man, but he will get drunk. Or, suppose he had bought and sold God's image, and we say, 'O, he is a very good man, but he will steal.' Or, suppose a man commits a crime, and when he is brought up before the court, it should be pleaded in his behalf, that he is a very good man. Now, if this man had been mean, and low, and degraded, we should not need any apologies. We don't condemn the ministry in him. I confess, I was at a loss to solve the problem, how he could abandon his commission, and take one from the brotherhood, and yet be a good Christian minister. I will not apologize for him, because I will not be connected with the crime. I wish not only to condemn the man, but to connect the man with the deed. I don't believe he will thank you for attempting to divorce him from his sentiment. What will he say of those who are so anxious that he should not be connected with the sentiment he has uttered?

AMERICAN REPUBLICANISM IN EUROPE.

BOSTON, JAN. 23, 1838.

To Messrs. Garrison and Phelps, Committee of Arrangements, &c.

DEAR BROTHERS :

I regret that it will not be convenient for me to attend the anniversary meeting of our Society, for the purpose of taking a part in its proceedings. Do not suppose that this is owing to any abatement of interest or trust in our great cause ; on the contrary, the cause seems to me to have so shot ahead within the last fifteen months, that you are in no small danger of receiving aid and countenance from the prudent and politic. You are now, and perhaps have been for some time, more likely to be joined by false brethren, than to be deserted by the true.

It has been my lot, during the period above mentioned, to learn much of the change which has taken place in the estimation in which we are held, as a nation, by enlightened and good men in Europe. Having formerly passed two years there, I was prepared to appreciate this change. At that time, the face of a liberal European would brighten at the name of ' American,' and he would seize the first moment of conversation, to express his admiration and his hopes of our country. During my recent sojourn, I have heard very little interest expressed in us, except to have explanations and arguments suggested, by which it could be shown to Europe, that our conduct is not the consequence of our principles.

The leading causes of the change to which I refer, are,

1st, Our mobs.

2dly, The wider knowledge which, chiefly through their instrumentality, has been diffused in Europe, of the existence and horrors of American slavery.

3dly, Our treatment of the Aborigines.

In Great Britain, France, and Germany, we are regarded as the most cruel and rapacious people, since the times of Cortez and Pizarro.

Our treatment of the Aborigines appears the more odious, from the striking contrast which it exhibits with the present policy of other civilized and Christian nations.

The king of France has lately recalled the governor of French Guiana, and directed him to be brought to trial, for having issued orders to invade a settlement of runaway slaves, on the borders of that Province. The military commander is also ordered for trial by Court martial, for having executed those orders, and put to death some of those poor people.

A quarrel lately arose between the Caffres and the British colonists of the Cape of Good Hope. The governor of the Cape, at the head of the British forces, invaded the Caffre country, slaugh-

tered many of the inhabitants, and overrun the territory of a native chief, and annexed it to the Province. Dr. Phillip, the father of the Christian missions to that quarter, left the Cape in company with the deposed chief, and arrived last summer in England. At that time, a society had just been formed, called 'the Aborigines Protection Society,' of which the British anti-slavery leader in the House of Commons, Mr. Fowell Buxton, is President. This society examined the case, and having satisfied themselves that the colonists were the aggressors, and that the injuries for which the British arms had been carried into the Caffre country, were committed in retaliation for manifest and unprovoked wrongs, done to the natives by their Christian neighbors, they joined their representations to those of Dr. Phillip. These were so effectual with the government of the young and virtuous queen, that orders were immediately issued for restoring the conquered territory to its native sovereign and lawful proprietors, and a humane and upright man was sent out to supersede the Governor.

These bright examples, while they illustrate the justice and magnanimity of the people and rulers who have given them, react with a withering effect upon a people who have expended \$20,000,000, and are rapidly expending more, in slaughtering red men, and kidnapping them under the sacred form of a *flag of truce*, in order to rob them not of their lands only, but also of their children.

At the request of a French literary gentleman, and of a member of the Chamber of Deputies, I reduced to writing some considerations, previously stated in conversation, tending to show, that, whatever might be the apparent, there was no real foundation for the scoffs and exultation of European despots and sycophants over the wounds which freedom has received in the house of her friends in America. I submit the following extract :

'By what I have heard from you, and from others since I arrived in Europe, I see that the disorders, which have occurred in the United States, and remain without punishment, have disheartened the friends of civil and religious liberty, and encouraged its foes. You have not, you say, wherewith to reply to those who cite those disorders in answer to the theory of human rights. This complaint will wring the hearts of many Americans, and perhaps it may shame some.

I can only say, on this subject, as I did at the house of M. Garnier Pages, [the republican leader in the Chamber of Deputies,] that though I must confess the existence of great evils and crimes, and that they are of a nature to be peculiarly disgraceful to a republic, yet that it is only in a republic, with a perfectly free press, freedom of speech, and freedom of *association*, that such potent means could have been so rapidly and extensively organized, and employed by a few of the comparatively weak to expose the corruption and oppression of the strong, to rebuke them openly, and

to call upon them to forsake iniquity, and, what is more irritating, upon the people to forsake them.

The difference between republics and other forms of society where there is a free press, and monarchies where the press is trammelled, is principally this ; that in the former, though evils and abuses incident to human nature may exist, and gather strength for a time, yet there is a remedy in a free press and an enlightened public sentiment, which is sure to overtake them sooner or later, and to deal with them according to their nature and aggravation ; whereas in other governments, the evils are the same or worse, but without any remedy. It is true that the extreme publicity, which vice and misrule obtain in America through its free press, presents them in such bold relief, and under such odious aspects, that many good and liberal men are tempted to believe that American republicans are 'sinners above all other men.' Yet, if the freedom of the press, of speech, and of *association*, (for without the last, reformers will always lack the means of employing the first,) were as great under other governments, it would only be found in the upshot, that among our American evils, we have not that master one, of losing the right to 'resist evil.'

Was it ever seen before in the whole history of the human race, that comparatively few persons, most of them young men and weak women, were carrying on in the midst of a powerful and high-spirited nation, a reform going to the foundation of their social organization, and opposed to the vehement wishes and supposed interests of ninety-nine hundredths of that nation, including government, legislature, judges, priests, lawyers, doctors, brokers, merchants, manufacturers, office-seekers, office-holders, editors, demagogues, and the lowest rabble ; and yet the ægis of good laws was so far sacred that, as a general thing, it preserved their lives and protected their labors ?

Let those who take occasion from our American mobs to calumniate our American principles, show another nation in which this spectacle could have been witnessed. What would have been the fate of the missionaries and friends of man in the British West India Islands, if those colonies had been independent ? In any other country but our American republic, we abolitionists should have been massacred or burned alive like John Huss and Jerome of Prague, Savonarola, the Albigenses, and the eight thousand victims of St. Bartholomew's. Luther had a powerful prince, as a constant protector. What if that prince had been as much against him, as the American people under a strong delusion have been against us ?

I would further observe that those men, who trade in the flesh of their fellow-men, who buy and keep it, are tyrants and enemies of the human race ; that republicanism is not in them, but that they are in fact its greatest foes ; so that American slavery is in reality to be charged to the account of *despotism*, instead of *republican-*

ism. Republicanism must not be held to fend off against the *friendship*, as well as enmity of these men. Slaveholding and slave-trading Americans are a pretty fair copy of the ancient feudal masters of the people of Europe, not generally so ignorant as their prototypes, but all the worse for that, as their superior intelligence is employed in framing with ingenious cruelty worse laws than ever disgraced Goths and Vandals.

We have had frightful and fatal mobs, and what is still more mortifying, mobs excited to extinguish light and uphold slavery ; but remember that fanaticism has had its periods in all nations, and that it is as strange and extravagant in the forms which it takes as in the deeds that it does. In France, a monarch, ' father of the people,' could burn at one time fifteen hundred of his children in a church ; his brutal barons burned three hundred more in a castle at another ; and these merely because they persisted in worshipping God according to what they believed to be his will. In the United States, a slaveholder of my acquaintance declared that sooner than emancipate, he would lock his hundred and fifty slaves in his house, and set fire to it ! Who does not see that despotism is every where the same, whether exercised by such monsters as Louis, le Gros, and Simon de Moutfort, or by an American republican slaveholder ?

With best wishes,

Your friend and fellow serv't.

D. LEE CHILD.

**OFFICERS OF THE MASS. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
FOR 1838.**

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**Account of Money received into the Treasury of the Massachusetts
A. S. Society during the year 1837.**

S. Lathrop, Watertown	\$ 5 00	Amount brought up	\$1896 52
A friend, Dorchester	1 00	Ladies of Hanover, to constitute	
Mansfield Anti-Slavery Society	16 00	Rev. A. G. Duncan and lady life members	30 00
Amesbury Ladies' A. S. S. to constitute Rev. Mr. Towne a life member,	15 00	Ladies of Franklin, to constitute	
Josiah Gifford of Sandwich	5 00	Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, D. D. life member	15 00
South Scituate A. S. S. by S. J. May	13 00	Amesbury and Salisbury A. S. S. by A. L. Bailey, on acc't. of pledge	16 50
Francis Jackson	30 00	Collections in Medford by D. H. Forbes in consequence of labors of J. T. Woodbury	20 00
Emerson Prescott	25 00	Thos. Gould of Boston on account of pledge of \$100, by T. Gould and Son	20 00
Lynn A. S. S. on account of pledge	25 00	Mr. Nurse of Medway, collected at monthly concert of Mr. Ide's Society there	24 00
Monthly Concert	2 44	Collection at Salem St. Church 4th of July	84 52
John Sullivan	25 00	C. C. Burleigh by I. Knapp	22 08
West Bradford A. S. S. to constitute Geo. Cogswell, M. D. life member	15 00	Ellis Gray Loring	100 00
G. A. Brewer's ann. subscription	2 00	Donation by a friend	5 00
John C. Gore's do do	2 00	Samuel Philbrick of Brookline	50 00
Hugh B. Lough do do	2 00	Abington A. S. S. by Mr. Gould	26 50
John E. Fuller	5 00	Henry Chapman	100 00
A friend by N. Southard	5 00	Henry G. Chapman	50 00
Wendell Phillips, life membership	15 00	Collection at S. Scituate at the celebration, 1st Aug. by S. J. May	16 00
Individuals in Medford, by D. N. Forbes	30 00	Donation from a friend, by S. J. May	2 50
Marshfield Juv. Soc. by Miss Little	10 00	Jno. S. White of West Wrentham, L. M. by his parishioners	15 00
Donations from Concord, by J. N. Wilder	21 33	Collection at monthly concert in Wrentham	2 50
Mrs. B. of Roxbury	1 75	Ann T. Dickson of Harvard	50
Rev. Robert F. Walcott	5 00	Roswell Goss, pledge at Convention 1836	100 00
Horace Smith from Amherst A. S. S.	9 00	do do Stable 25th Jan. 1837	50 00
Sam. B. Russell of Marblehead, life member	15 00	Sarah Clay of Lowell L. M.	5 00
N. Heaton of Franklin, life member	15 00	Female A. S. S. Lowell	10 00
Mrs. Nathan Heaton, life member	15 00	Boston Female A. S. Society	64 00
Isaac Winslow	200 00	Joseph Southwick of Boston	50 00
West Bradford A. S. S. to constitute Rev. Abijah Cross, life mem.	15 00	Old Colony A. S. S. by G. Russell	25 00
David Gregg, Acton	20 00	Y. M. A. S. Soc. New Bedford by Rodney French	100 00
Francis Jackson	100 00	Haverhill A. S. S. by E. Hall, Jr.	30 00
Sylvanus Brown	3 00	B. Wood on pledge, \$20, made at Convention, by A. S. Society of Leicester Academy	11 10
Edmund Jackson	100 00	Ruth Pratt, by E. Peabody	5 00
Boston Juvenile A. S. Society	10 00	Mindwell Gleason, by D. Campbell	5 00
J. French	5 00	Four little girls	23
Mrs. Bigelow, Dover,	1 00	Jno. Dickenson of Boston	10 00
Rev. Luther Wright, Woburn, life member	15 00	Danvers A. S. S. by I. Winslow	100 00
Weymouth and Braintree A. S. S.	25 00	Collec. at monthly concert, 25 Sept.	3 60
Ann T. Greene	300 00	Rev. Charles Fitch, ann. sub.	2 00
Collection at Convention	38 00		
Boston Female A. S. Society	100 00		
Salem Female A. S. S. to constitute S. M. and A. E. Grimke life mem.	30 00		
Lynn A. S. Society	16 00		
Lynn Female A. S. Society	34 50		
E. G. McElroy	8 50		
Abner Sanger, pledge at ann. meet.	50 00		

\$1896 52

\$2517 63

Amount brought up	\$2517 63	Amount brought up	\$8283 88
John Gulliver ann. subscription	2 00	— Fairbanks	1 00
Rhode Island A. S. Soc. by Wm. Chace	25 00	Joseph Ricketson	20 "
William Rich	4 50	Wm. L. Garrison	1 "
A. M. Coburn, Salem	3 00	George W. Benson	1 "
Newburyport A. S. S. on pledge	100 29 00	— Hayward	1 "
Dr. H. I. Bowditch, donation	5 00	— Brown	1 "
Wilmington, Vt. A. S. S. by Wm. Stearns	9 00	— Hale	1 "
Wm. Gregg of Bedford, Mass.	5 00	Edwin Thompson	1 "
Female A. S. S. West Bradford, to constitute John Burchen, L. M.	15 00	Samuel Philbrick	1 "
Francis Jackson of Boston, pledge at Worcester,	50 00	— Richards	1 "
Boston Female A. S. S. on pledge one thousand dollars	44 00	— Williams	1 "
Female Benevolent Society in Reading, by Lydia P. T. Brancroft.	6 00	James B. Congdon	1 "
Andover A. S. S. by Jno. Smith, pledge at Worcester	25 00	Isaac L. Taber	1 "
A friend in Lowell, R. P.	5 00	Amesbury and Salisbury A. S. S.	13 50
Wm. Lloyd Garrison, pledge at Worcester	12 00	E. L. Capron	1 "
Lynn F. A. S. S. for Liberator	50 00	J. King	1 "
Pawtucket A. S. S. for do	25 00	I. Washburn	1 "
Lynn A. S. S. by A. St. Clair	23 00	Stillman Lothrop	1 "
Groton A. S. S. balance of pledge twenty-five dollars	11 00	Uriah Ritchie	1 "
A friend	1 00	S. H. Evans	1 "
Amasa Walker on pledge 100	25 00	W. S. White	1 "
Dorchester Female A. S. S. to constitute David Sanford life mem.	15 00	B. Snow, Jr.	1 "
Bristol County A. S. S. by Jno. Bunage, Jr. from collections by G. H. Durfee, on pledge	200 00	A. Kimball	1 "
T. E. P. Weeks, membership	1 00	A friend	1 "
Geo. W. Bancroft	1 25	Francis Jackson	1 "
Henry A. Bancroft	1 00	P. Bliss	1 "
Sylvanus Brown	1 00	D. B. Sibley	} 12 "
G. W. F. Miller	1 00	Almira Sibley	
A. Walker	1 00	Abijah Wood	2 50
C. Chipman	1 00	Jno. Reed, Jr.	1 "
P. Holbrook	1 25	H. Waters	1 "
Edward Earle	1 00	Seth Lee	1 "
B. P. Rice	1 00	E. Clark	1 "
J. Boardman	1 00	J. H. Wetherbee	1 "
V. Wood	1 00	J. Waters	1 "
A. Farnsworth	1 00	J. Hodges	1 "
Charles Fitch	1 25	Wendell Phillips	1 "
William Bassett	2 00	S. Goodhue	1 "
Jerome Harris	1 00	N. Pratt Jr.	1 "
Samuel Lee	1 00	D. I. Powell	50 "
Isaac Goddard	1 00	— Osgood	1 "
Nathan Parkhurst	1 00	Jacob Osgood	1 "
Joseph Robbins	1 00	J. S. Carter	1 "
Reuben Bemis	1 00	W. P. Ripley	1 "
A Friend	1 00	A. Rice	1 "
Joshua Leavitt	1 00	J. M. Earle	2 "
Henry G. Chapman	100 00	A. St. Clair	1 "
A. Everett	1 00	Jno. Smith	1 "
J. T. Everett	1 00	Ellis Gray Loring	1 "
		Thomas Jennings	1 "
		Nath. Southard	1 "
		J. E. Fuller	1 "
		Simon G. Shipley	6 "
		Benj. E. Smith	50 "
		Lucretia C. Haakins	50 "
		Pamela Allen	1 "
		George Trask	2 "
		Abner Sanger	1 "
		Eminons Prescott	1 "
		T. H. Rice	1 "
\$8283 88		\$3341 88	

Amount brought up	\$3341 88	Amount brought up	\$4360 90
J. Tillson	1 00	Newburyport Soc. on pledge of	
S. Stevens	1 "	100, by A. Stanwood	26 "
Hosea Green	1 "	Ladies' Society, Lynn	25 "
H. M. Bancroft	1 "	Wm. James Foley, membership	1 "
Roswell Goss	5 "	S. Philbrick, pledge at Worcester	100 "
Abijah Allen	2 "	R. Mossman	1 "
Unknown Friends	3 "	James Morrill, for the Liberator,	
J. Puffen	1 "	paid February last	10 "
D. Carmichael	1 "	John James Appleton do	10 "
E. G. Pratt	1 "	Edmund Quincy, life membership	15 "
Unknown	3 "	Israel Perkins, by Lynn Female	
S. Lincoln	1 "	Society, life member	15 "
Charles Hadwin	1 "	Stillman Lathrop of Watertown,	
Elias Savage	1 "	pledged at Worcester	10 "
J. C. Taber	5 "	Francis Clark, paid April 18, 1837,	50 "
J. D. Crosby	1 "	Walter Dickson, paid May, 1837,	
Purbeck and Harvey	2 "	on account of pledge of 25 dol-	
Henry G. Chapman	1 "	lars, of Groton Society	14 "
P. R—	1 "	C. F. Bayley, membership	1 "
W. S. Jinnings	10 "	John Bancroft, do	1 "
Plymouth Soc. by Wm. P. Ripley	10 "	A friend by Caroline Weston	2 "
Waltham Soc. by Wm. Brown,		Rev. E. Smalley, of Franklin, life	
Treasurer, for the Am. Soc.	25 "	mem. by the ladies of his society	15 "
Union Soc.—Weymouth and Brain-		Levi Hawes, Franklin	1 "
tree, by E. Richards	25 "	South Reading Soc. on pledge 25	
Boston F. Soc. by Treas. June 14	200 "	dollars, by Albert G. Sweetser	10 "
Worcester Soc. by A. A. Phelps	11 "	Natick Soc. by Edward Walcutt,	25 "
A friend in Worcester do	25 "	Abington Soc. Joseph Cleverly—	
Millbury Society do	20 "	balance of pledge of fifty dollars	23 50
New Ipswich Soc. do	8 "	2nd Juvenile Soc. of Salem, to con-	
Collection at Waltham do	10 27	stitute Eliza J. Kenney and Clar-	
Gardner Soc. on pledge 50 do	12 50	issa C. Lawrence, life members	30 "
Lady in Leicester, by S. L. Gould	1 "	1st Juvenile Soc. of Salem, to con-	
Boston F. Soc. to bal. pledge 1000	592 "	stitute Susan G. Roundey, life	
Lynn Soc. by Wm. Bassett, bal-		member	20 "
ance of pledge	11 "	Robert Bartlett, of Theological	
New Worcester Soc. pledge made		school, Cambridge, life member	
at Worcester, by D. H. Bundy	15 "	by the Plymouth Juvenile Soc.	15 "
Haverhill Soc. pledge made at an-		Lynn F. Soc. by A. A. Phelps	100 "
nuual meeting	10 "	Acknowledged in last annual report	
Danvers Soc. by Isaac Winslow	25 "	taken up at the stable	403 46
	<hr/>		
	\$34360 90	Total	\$5234 86

LIFE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

John Kenrick, Newton, (dec.)	Rev. J. V. Himes, Boston,
Prince Farmer, Salem.	Joseph Southwick, "
John Remond, Salem.	Amasa Walker, "
Charles Stuart, England.	John C. Smith, "
George Thompson, "	Edmund Jackson, "
Edward S. Abdy, "	William Carleton, "
Samuel F. Sewall, Boston.	George B. Emerson, "
Daniel Gregg, "	I. S. Withington, "
Charles C. Barry, "	Henry Chapman, "
Ellis Gray Loring, "	Samuel Philbrick, Brookline.
James C. Odiorne, "	Isaac Winslow, Danvers.
Isaac Knapp, "	W. Farnsworth, Roxbury.
William H. Hayward, "	Rev. A. Jackson, Kingston.
Increase Gilbert, "	E. L. Capron, Uxbridge.
Rev. E. M. P. Wells, "	Moses Brown, Providence, R. I. (dec.)
Wm. Lloyd Garrison, "	Rev. G. B. Perry, Bradford.
Benjamin C. Bacon, "	Rev. E. Seagrave, Attleborough.
Rev. Henry Jones, Cabot, Vt.	Rev. Jotham Horton, Boston.
Rev. D. T. Kimball, Ipswich.	Rev. Philemon R. Russell, Lynn.
Dr. I. Kittredge, Beverly.	Richard Clapp, Dorchester.
Dr. C. T. Hildredth, Boston.	Rev. J. W. Cross, Boxborough.
Silas Osborn.	A. F. Boston.
Wm. Oakes, Ipswich.	S. H. Winslow, Portland, Me.
Ebenezer Dole, Hallowell, Me.	Angelina E. Grimke, Philadelphia.
John Taylor, Bath, Me.	Eliza Watson, Boston.
Edward Southwick, Danvers.	Daniel Henshaw, Lynn.
Joseph Tillson, Boston.	Thomas H. Atwill, Lynn.
Phineas Wheeler.	John Rogers, Boston.
Mrs. George Thompson, England.	Abraham Bowen, Fall River.
Mrs. Calvin Philleo.	Harvey Chase, "
Mrs. Amos A. Phelps, Boston.	Jacob Noyes, Boston.
Mrs. Increase Gilbert, "	Lydia B. Capron, Uxbridge.
Mrs. S. H. Winslow, Portland, Me.	Gilbert E. Capron, "
Mrs. C. Winslow, "	Anne Bassett, "
Mrs. J. C. Smith, Boston.	Sarah Easton.
Miss Susan Paul, "	S. H. Peckham, Plaistow.
William Rotch, Jr. New Bedford.	Rev. N. Hervey, Marblehead.
Andrew Robeson, "	I. M. Wilder, Hanover.
Dr. Charles Follen, New York.	Rev. Edward N. Harris, Methuen.
Rev. George B. Cheever, Salem.	Rev. Isaac Sawyer, South Reading.
Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, Rutland.	Drury Fairbanks, Boston.
Joseph Sewall, Esq. Boston.	Christopher Robinson, Lynn.
Francis Jackson, Esq. "	Calvin Temple, Reading.
Rev. Henry C. Wright, "	Mrs. Elijah Demond.
John Sullivan, "	Hiram A. Morse, Holliston.
Perez Gill, "	Josiah Hayward.
D. Chute, "	E. T. Pritchett, Amherst.
John S. Kimball, "	Rev. James Cushing, East Haverhill.
Marcus Whiting, "	Rev. Jonas Perkins, Weymouth.
Timothy Gilbert.	Mrs. Venus Manning.
Rev. Baron Stow, "	Abner Sanger, Danvers.
George Cogswell, M. D. West Bradford.	Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, D. D. Franklin.
Rev. Joseph H. Towne, Boston.	Jno. S. White, West Wrentham.
Samuel B. Russell, Marblehead.	Sarah Clay, Lowell.
Nathan Heaton, Franklin.	John Burchen, West Bradford.
Mrs. Nathan Heaton, Franklin.	Rev. David Sanford, Dorchester.
Wendell Phillips, Boston.	Edmund Quincy, Boston.
Rev. Abijah Cross, West Bradford.	Rev. E. Smalley, Franklin.
Rev. Luther Wright, Woburn.	Eliza J. Kenney, Salem.
Sarah M. Grimke, Philadelphia.	Clarissa C. Lawrence, do.
Rev. Abel G. Duncan, Hanover.	Susan G. Roundey, do.
Mrs. Abel G. Duncan, do.	Robert Bartlett, Cambridge.
David Gregg, Acton.	Joseph Ricketson, New Bedford.
Roswell Goss, Boston.	Israel Perkins, Lynn.

LIST OF ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The following list, with all its imperfections, is submitted, as better than none. The errors which may be pointed out during the year, will be carefully corrected in the next Report.

The figures in the last column, enclosed in parentheses, represent the number of members at the date of the society's organization; the succeeding figures, the number at the present time. Where the original number of members is not thus given, the number which stands against any society was given when its organization was first reported.

SUFFOLK COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Massachusetts, (State,)	Francis Jackson, Pres.	Jan. 1832,	
Boston, (Young Men's,)	Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Sec. Jotham Horton, Pres.	Sept. 1833,	(20)
Boston, (Ladies,)	Mary S. Parker, Pres.	Oct. 1833,	(12)
Boston, (Juvenile,)	Maria W. Chapman, Sec.	April 1837,	
Cowper, Boston,		May 1835,	
Essex Street, do.		June 1834,	
Pine Street, do.			
Salem Street, do.			

Total number of Societies, 8.

BARNSTABLE COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
(No County Society.)			
Barnstable,		Feb. 1835.	
Barnstable, (Female,)	Mary F. Hallet, Pres. Rosilla Ford, Sec.	Sept. 1837.	60
Brewster,		June 1837.	
Falmouth,	Rev. Z. Stewart, Pres. Zephaniah Bennet, Sec.	Sept. 1837.	(30) 60
Harwich, (West,)			
Sandwich,	Ezra Toby, Esq. Pres. Josiah Gifford, Sec.	June, 1834.	82
Truro,	A. S. Collins, Pres. Jedediah Shedd, Sec.	Feb. 1838.	30

Total number of Societies, 7.

BERKSHIRE COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Stockbridge,	Rev. Noah Sheldon, Pres. William Rossiter, Sec.	May, 1836.	155
Peru,		Mar. 1837.	
Williams College,			

Total number of Societies, 3.

BRISTOL COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Bristol County, Attleboro', North,	Samuel Shove, 2d, Pres. Charles Anthony, Sec.	Oct. 1837,	42
Attleboro', West,	Joseph A. Wilder, Pres. S. M. Stanley, Sec.	Jan. 1838,	50
Fairhaven,	John Bunker, Pres. Clother Gifford, Sec.		
Fairhaven, (Female,)	Mrs. Susan Allen, Pres. Miss Delia Weeden, Sec.	Dec. 1837.	
Fall River,		July 1835,	(112)
Fall River, (Female,)		July 1835,	(106)
Freetown,		July 1833,	
Mansfield,	Dr. H. Skinner, Pres. I. Sterns, (E. Foxboro) Sec.	Dec. 1836,	305
New Bedford,		July 1834,	(30)
New Bedford, (Y. Men's,)	Joseph Congdon, Pres. Joseph D. Nichols, Sec.	Feb. 1836,	(50) 120
New Bedford, (Female,)	Susan Taber, Pres. Elizabeth G. Taber, Sec.	Nov. 1836,	(8) 26
Norton,	Rev. C. W. Allen, Pres.	Oct. 1836,	90
Pawtucket,		Jan. 1834,	(30)
Taunton,		May 1835,	
Taunton, (Juvenile,)			
Hebronville,	Dea. Seba Kent, Pres. Rev. C. Simmons, Sec.	Jan. 1836,	(30) 60

Total number of Societies, 17.

DUKES COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Dukes County, Edgartown, Edgartown, N. District,	Benjamin Davis, Jr. Pres. Samuel Butler, Sec.	Dec. 1836.	33
Tisbury, West, Nantucket,	Isaac Austin, Pres. Rev. Cyrus Pierce, Sec.	July 1837.	200
Nantucket, [Female,]	Harriet Pierce, Pres. Anna Gardner, Sec.	Feb. 1838.	(8) 33
Nantucket, [Juvenile,]	Barzillai Williams, Pres. Eunice F. Ross, Sec.	Nov. 1837.	24

Total number of Societies, 7.

ESSEX COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Essex County, Amesbury and Salisbury,	Daniel C. Bagley, Pres. James Watson, Sec.	June, 1834. Dec. 1833.	70
Amesbury, [Female,] Amesbury & Salisbury, [F.]	Louisa L. Wilcox, Pres. Eliz. H. Whittier, Sec.		144
Andover, Upper Beverly,	Rev. John Foote, Pres. E. H. Moulton, Sec.	Jan. 1835, Mar. 1838.	58

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Andover, West Parish,	Dea. E. Lovejoy, Pres. Moses Parker, Sec.	Nov. 1837.	36
Andover, [Female,] Andover, [Female Juv.]	C. W. Abbot, Pres. Louisa L. Foster, Sec.	Ap. 1837.	37
Bradford,	Rev. G. B. Perry, Pres. Nathaniel Ladd, Sec.	July 1835.	71
Bradford, West,	Dr. G. Cogswell, Pres. Wm. F. Johnson, Sec.	Aug. 1837.	28
Bradford, West, [Female,] Bradford, East, [Female,]	Mrs. M. C. Morse, Pres. Ellen B. Ladd, Sec.	Aug. 1836, Oct. 1836,	78
Danvers,	Isaac Winslow, Pres. Samuel W. King, Sec.	Feb. 1837,	96
Danvers, South, [Female,]	Emily Wilder, Pres. Emily Winslow, Sec.	June 1837.	20
Danvers, [Female,]	Mrs. Isaac Winslow, Pres. Harriet N. Webster, Sec.	Ap. 1837,	60
Essex,	Wm. Foster, Pres. Samuel Burnham, 2d, Sec.	May 1837,	
Haverhill,	Rev. H. Plummer, Pres. George O. Harmon, Sec.	Ap. 1834,	(24) 86
Haverhill, [Female,]	Mrs. M. Longley, Pres. Harriet Minot, Sec.	July 1834,	87
Haverhill, East, [Female,]	Mrs. H. L. Cushing, Pres. Miss Abby Sawyer, Sec.	Nov. 1836,	50
Lynn,	Wm. Bassett, Pres. T. H. Atwill, Sec.	Ap. 1832,	(5) 236
Lynn, [Young Men's,]	J. W. Brown, Esq. Pres. Edwin Thompson, Sec.	June 1836,	160
Lynn, [Female,]	Deborah Henshaw, Pres. Abby Kelley, Sec.	May 1835,	190
Lynn, [Juvenile,] Lynn, [Juvenile, Female,]	Mercy T. Buffum, Pres. Emeline Breed, Sec.	Mar. 1837,	84
Newbury, Newbury, West, [Female,]	Mrs. Oliver Brown, Pres. Harriet K. Emery, Sec.	Aug. 1837,	30
Newbury, West, [Juv. F.] Newburyport and vicinity,	B. O. H. Marshall, Pres. Nathan Crosby, Pres. J. H. Young, Sec.	Aug. 1837, Ap. 1834,	35 100
Newburyport, [Female,] New Rowley,	Rev. Isaac Braman, Pres. Daniel Palmer, Sec.	May 1834, May 1834,	(80) (96) 107
New Rowley, [Y. Men's,]	L. A. Merrill, Pres. T. A. Merrill, Sec.	Dec. 1837,	20
Salem and vicinity, Salem, [Female,] Salem, 1st Juv. Female,	L. L. Dodge, Pres. Susan G. Roundey, Pres. Mary Brooks, Sec.	Jan. 1834, June 1834,	(70) 90
Salem, 2d Juv. Female,	Eliza J. Kenney, Pres. Anna B. Frye, Sec.	June 1837,	35
Saugus, (River,)	B. F. Newhall, Pres. Abel Newhall, Sec.	Ap. 1837,	56
West Amesbury,	Rev. L. W. Clark, Pres. Edmund C. Jenkins, Sec.	Jan. 1838,	65
West Amesbury, Y. Men's,	Geo. P. Patton, Pres. Noah Jackman, Sec.		

Total number of Societies, 39.

FRANKLIN COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Franklin County,	Col. Roger Leavitt, Pres. Rev. T. Packard, Sec.	Dec. 1836,	39
Ashfield,	D. Ellis, Esq. Pres. Jesper Bement, Sec.	Dec. 1837,	25(not aux)
Buckland, Charlemont,	Rev. Amherst Lamb, Pres. Dr. Moses Barret, Sec. Dea. Z. Graves, Pres.	Dec. 1836,	179
Deerfield, Colraine, Conway,	Dea. Wm. Billings, Pres. Gen. Asa Howland, Sec.	May 1836, Nov. 1836, Dec. 1836,	(108)
Greenfield, Hawley, Hawley, West,	John Vincent, Esq. Pres. Ebenezer Crosby, Sec. P. O. Address, Charlemont.		
Heath,	Rev. P. B. Fisk, Pres. E. P. Farnsworth, Sec.	July 1836,	60
Leverett,	Dea. Isaac Woodbury, Pres. Dr. Butler Wilmarth, Sec.	Jan. 1837,	119
Leverett, North, New Salem,	Hon. Wm. Whittaker, Pres. Eev. Erastus Curtis, Sec.		
Northfield,	Rev. H. J. Lombard, Pres. Charles Matoon, Sec.		40
Northfield, South East,	Jacob Callier, Pres. Calvin T. Swan, Sec.	Jan. 1837,	49
Shelburne,	Rev. T. Packard, Jr. Pres. Dea. Eben. Fisk, Sec.	Dec. 1837,	147
Shelburne Falls,	Dea. Phineas Field, Pres. Ralph B. Bardwell, Sec.	Oct. 1836,	94
Sunderland, North,	Rev. E. Andrews, Pres. F. Robinson, Sec.	Jan. 1836,	40

Total number of Societies, 19.

HAMPDEN COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Hampden County, Brimfield,	Cyrel R. Brown, Pres. Philip G. Hubbard, Sec.	Mar. 1837.	150
Monson, Springfield, Wilbraham, South,	John B. Morris, Pres. S. B. Spelman, Sec.	Dec. 1837.	

Total number of Societies, 5.

HAMPSHIRE COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Hampshire County, Amherst, North, Amherst, (College,)	E. W. Allen, Pres. George Tuthill, Sec.	Jan. 1838,	60
Cummington,			

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Hatfield, Middlefield, Northampton, Norwich, South Hadley Canal, Ware, Ware Village, Westhampton,	Joseph B. Boyden, Pres. Francis Loud, Sec.	Dec. 1836.	46
Westhampton, Female,	Mrs. Eunice Clapp, Pres. Louisa Clark, Sec.	Jan. 1837.	55

Total number of Societies, 13.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Middlesex County,	Rev. U. C. Burnap, Pres.	Oct. 1834.	
Acton,	Jasper Stone, Pres.	Jan. 1835,	50
Boxboro,	Samuel Hayward, Sec.		
Boxboro, Female,	Mrs. F. A. J. Cross, Pres. L. Wetherby, Sec.	Jan. 1835,	48
Cambridge,	Dexter Fairbanks, Pres.	July 1835,	70
Cambridgeport,	John Dalling, Sec.		
Cambridge, East,	Mrs. John Wilder, Pres.	Sept. 1837,	61
Charlestown,	Caroline D. Brooks, Sec.		
Concord, Female,	Dea. Benj. Dudley, Pres. C. B. Thompson, Sec.	Mar. 1837,	118
Chelmsford,	Rev. E. Goodman, Pres. C. G. Parsons, Sec.	Dec. 1837,	45
Dracut,	Dea. Eben. Stone, Pres. C. F. W. Parkhurst, Sec.	Dec. 1837,	(not aux.)
Framingham,	Rev. A. Sanderson, Pres. Luther Boutelle, Sec.	Oct. 1834,	60
Groton,	S. C. Rugg, Pres. Eliz. Farnsworth, Sec.	Mar. 1837,	(12) 83
Groton, Female,			
Groton, Juv. Female,		July 1834,	(40)
Holliston,	Hannah Hunstable, Pres.	Oct. 1837,	17
Holliston, Female,	Joanna W. Kinsbury, Sec.		
Littleton,	Rev. Theo. Edson, Pres.	Mar. 1837,	
Lowell,	Wm. S. Merrill, Sec. J. B. Dinsmore, Pres. S. B. Simonds, Sec.	Feb. 1834, 1836,	(75) 168 110
Lowell, Y. Men's,		Dec. 1834,	
Lowell, Female,	Edward Walcott, Pres.	Dec. 1836,	163
Medford,	Nathan Rice, Sec.		
Natick,			
Reading,	Mrs. H. Hartshorn, Pres.	Mar. 1833,	
Reading, Female,	Louisa Wakefield, Sec.	Mar. 1833,	
Reading, South,	Dea. Jacob Eaton, Pres. A. G. Sweetser, Sec.	Ap. 1834,	70

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Reading, South, Female,	Priscilla Smiley, Pres. Sarah G. Waitt, Sec.	Dec. 1835.	(12) 50
Sherburne, Shirley, Stoneham,	Abijah Bryant, Pres. Levi D. Smith, Sec.	Jan. 1838.	60
Sudbury, Female, Townsend, Waltham, Westford,	Rev. Caleb Blake, Pres. George Brown, Sec.	Mar. 1837.	115
Weston, Woburn,		Nov. 1834.	

Total number of Societies, 36.

NORFOLK COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Norfolk County, Braintree, Dorchester,	Gen. Appleton Howe, Pres. Dr. Sam. Mulliken, Pres. O. P. Bacon, Sec.	Jan. 1838, Ap. 1835, Dec. 1835,	(19) 250 (106)
Dorchester, Female, Foxboro', Franklin, Randolph, East,	F. D. Holbrook, Pres. Wm. W. Linfield, Sec.	Mar. 1836,	61
Roxbury, Female, Walpole,	Lewis Allen, Pres. Eliphalet Rhodes, Sec.	Ap. 1837, Dec. 1836,	70
Weymouth and Braintree, Weymouth,	Elias Richards, Pres. Appleton Howe, Pres. Atherton N. Hunt, Sec.	Mar. 1836,	143
Weymouth & Braintree, F.	Rhoda H. Perkins, Pres. Hannah C. Fifield, Sec.	Sept. 1835.	(30) 60
Weymouth, South, Weymouth, South, Female,	Hannah Pratt, Pres. Eliza T. Loud, Sec.	Nov. 1835,	(13) 125
Weymouth, South, F. Juv.	E. T. Loud, Pres. Betsey J. Pratt, Sec.	Oct. 1837,	65
Wrentham, Wrentham, Female, Wrentham, Juv. Cent,	Martha Cowell, Pres. Susan Mann, Sec.	Ap. 1837,	90

Total number of Societies, 18.

PLYMOUTH COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Plymouth County, Abington, Abington, Female,	Mrs. Mehitable Hunt, Pres. Mrs. H. Ward, Sec.	Mar. 1836, Aug. 1837,	(40) 120
Abington, East, Bridgewater, North, Carver, North,	Jesse Perkins, Pres.		

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Duxbury,	Hon. Seth Sprague, Pres. Wm. H. Sampson, Sec.	Nov. 1837,	not aux 150
Eel River, Hanover, Hingham,	Increase S. Smith, Pres. Jairus Lincoln, Sec. Dea. Seth Drew, Pres. Justus Harlow, Sec.	Jan. 1838,	102
Kingston,			
Marshfield, Juvenile, Middleboro', Old Colony,	Horatio G. Wood, Pres. George Russell, Sec. Solomon Richmond, Pres. Edwin Morton, Sec.	July 1834,	301
Plymouth,	Mrs. L. B. Clark, Pres. Mrs. Phebe Cotton, Sec.	Feb. 1837,	30
Plymouth, Female,	Miss L. Harlow, Pres. Miss M. A. Paty, Sec.	July 1837,	90
Plymouth, Juvenile,	Rev. S. J. May, Pres. E. L. Sewall, Sec. N. Div. W. P. Tilden, Sec. S. Div.	1835,	25
Scituate, South,			180

Total number of Societies, 18.

WORCESTER COUNTY.

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Worcester County, N. Div.	J. T. Everett, Pres. Edward Kendall, Sec.		
Worcester County, S. Div.			
Ashburnham, Boylston,	Rev. W. H. Sanford, Pres. James Davenport, Sec.		140
Boylston, Female, Boylston, West, Brookfield, East, Brookfield, South, Brookfield, West,	Dea. Josiah Henshaw, Pres. Amos Gilbert, Sec. Alpheus Kimball, Pres. B. Snow, Jr. Sec. Mrs. D. L. Gill, Pres. Harriet A. Kimball, Sec.	July 1837, Jan. 1837, Feb. 1837,	34 66 (27) 96
Fitchburg,			
Fitchburg, Female,			
Gardner, Grafton, Hardwick, Harvard,	Rev. Jno. Farr, Pres. Dr. E. A. Holman, Sec. Rev. Elnathan Davis, Pres. Ethan Davis, Sec. Lucy Earl, Pres. Eliza Earl, Sec. Obadiah Wood, Pres. J. G. Metcalf, Sec.	Ap. 1834, Ap. 1837,	314 20
Holden,			
Leicester, North, Female,			
Mendon, North,			
Millville, Female, Millbury,	Elias Forbes, Pres. Elias Lovell, Sec.	July 1836, Jan. 1835,	(50) 130

NAMES.	PRES'TS AND SEC'S.	DATES.	MEMBERS.
Milbury, West,	Joseph Griggs, Pres. Andrew A. Marcy, Sec.	Oct. 1837.	34
Northboro', Paxton,	John P. Grosvenor, Pres. David G. Davis, Sec.		70
Princeton, Rutland,	Rev. E. Demond, Pres. Dea. Wm. Mead, Pres. Cyrus Rogers, Sec.		
Shrewsbury, Upton, Female,	Hannah Wood, Pres. C B. Starkweather, Sec.	Jan. 1838,	20
Uxbridge,	Richard Battey, Pres.	Mar. 1834,	310
Uxbridge, Female, Westminster,	Sylvia Willard, Pres. Aaron Wood, Pres. Edward Kendall, Jr. Sec.	Mar. 1836,	57
Worcester, Willimansit,			
Total number of Societies, 33.			

MR. CALHOUN'S RESOLUTIONS.

The following is a copy of these resolutions, as they passed the Senate of the United States :

1. Resolved, That in the adoption of the federal constitution, the States adopting the same acted, severally, as free, independent and sovereign States; and that each, for itself, by its own voluntary assent, entered the Union with the view to its increased security against all dangers, *domestic* as well as foreign, and the more perfect and secure enjoyment of its advantages, natural, political and social.

2. Resolved, That in delegating a portion of their powers to be exercised by the federal government, the States retained, severally, the exclusive and sole right over their own domestic institutions and police, to the full extent to which those powers were not thus delegated, and are alone responsible for them; and that any intermeddling of any one or more States, or a combination of their citizens, with the domestic institutions and police of the others, on any ground, political, moral or religious, or under any pretext whatever, with the view to their alteration or subversion, is not warranted by the constitution, tending to endanger the domestic peace and tranquillity of the States interfered with; subversive of the objects for which the constitution was formed; and, by necessary consequence, tending to weaken and destroy the Union itself.

3. Resolved, That this government was instituted and adopted by the several States of this Union as a common agent, in order to carry into effect the powers which they had delegated by the constitution for their mutual security and prosperity; and that, in fulfilment of this high and sacred trust, this government is bound so to exercise its powers, as not to interfere with the stability and security of the domestic institutions of the States that compose this Union; and that it is the solemn duty of the government to resist, to the extent of its constitutional power, all attempts by one portion of the Union, to use it as an instrument to attack the domestic institutions of another, or to weaken or destroy such institutions.

4. Resolved, That domestic slavery, as it exists in the Southern and Western States of this Union, composes an important part of the domestic institutions inherited from their ancestors, and existing at the adoption of the Constitution, by which it is recognized as constituting an important element in the apportionment of powers among the States; and that no change of opinion, or feeling, on the part of the other States of the Union, in relation to it, can justify them or their citizens in open and systematic attacks thereon, with the view to its overthrow; and that all such attacks are in manifest violation of the mutual and solemn pledge to protect and defend each other, given by the States respectively, on

entering into the constitutional compact which formed the Union ; and as such, are a manifest breach of faith, and a violation of the most solemn obligations.

5. Resolved, That the interference by the citizens of any of the States with the view to the abolition of slavery in this District, is endangering the rights and security of the people of this District ; and that any act or measure of Congress designed to abolish slavery in this District, would be a violation of the faith implied in the cessions by the States of Virginia and Maryland, a just cause of alarm to the people of the slaveholding States, and have a direct and inevitable tendency to disturb and endanger the Union.

And, resolved, That any attempt of Congress to abolish slavery in any territory of the United States in which it exists, would create serious alarm, and just apprehension, in the States sustaining that domestic institution ; would be a violation of good faith towards the inhabitants of any such territory, who have been permitted to settle with, and hold slaves therein, because the people of any such territory have not asked for the abolition of slavery therein, and because when any such territory shall be admitted into the Union as a State, the people thereof will be entitled to decide that question exclusively for themselves.

MR. CLAY'S RESOLUTIONS.

The following is the series of resolutions presented by Mr. Clay, in the U. S. Senate, as a substitute for Mr. Calhoun's resolutions, but which were rejected :

Resolved, That the institution of domestic slavery, as now existing in many of the States of this confederacy, is subject to the exclusive power and control of those States respectively ; and that no other State, nor the people of no other State, nor Congress, possess, or can rightfully exercise, any power or authority, whatever, to interfere, in any manner whatever, therewith.

Resolved, That if any citizens of the United States, regardless of the spirit of peace, harmony, and union, which should ever animate the various members of the confederacy and their respective citizens, shall present to the Senate any petitions, touching the abolition of slavery, in any of the States in which it exists, all such petitions shall be instantly rejected, without debate, and without further or other proceedings thereon, as relating to an object palpably beyond the scope of the constitutional power of Congress.

Resolved, That when the District of Columbia was ceded by the States of Virginia and Maryland to the United States, domestic slavery existed in both of these States, including the ceded ter-

ritory ; and that, as it still continues in both of them, it could not be abolished within the District, without a violation of that good faith, which was implied in the cession and in the acceptance of the territory ; nor, unless compensation were made to the proprietors of slaves, without a manifest infringement of an amendment to the constitution of the United States ; nor without exciting a degree of just alarm and apprehension in the States recognizing slavery, far transcending, in mischievous tendency, any possible benefit which could be accomplished by the abolition.

Resolved, Therefore, that it is the deliberate judgment of the Senate, that the institution of domestic slavery ought not to be abolished within the District of Columbia ; and it earnestly hopes that all sincere friends of the Union, and of harmony and general tranquillity, will cease to agitate this disturbing question. But the Senate feels itself, at the same time, constrained, from a high sense of duty, in respect to the constitutional right of petition, to declare that it holds itself bound to receive and respectfully to treat any petition, couched in decorous language, which may be presented by citizens of the United States, touching slavery within the District of Columbia.

Resolved, That it would be highly inexpedient to abolish slavery in Florida, the only territory of the United States in which it now exists, because of the serious alarm and just apprehensions which would be thereby excited, in the States sustaining that domestic institution ; because the people of that territory have not asked it to be done, and, when admitted into the Union, will be exclusively entitled to decide that question for themselves ; and, also, because it would be in violation of a solemn compromise, made, at a memorable and critical period in the history of this country ; by which, while slavery was prohibited north, it was admitted south, of the line of 36 degrees and 30 minutes, north latitude.

Resolved, That no power is delegated by the constitution to Congress, to prohibit, in or between the States tolerating slavery, the sale and removal of such persons as are held in slavery by the laws of their States.

Resolved, That, whilst the Senate, with painful regret, has seen the perseverance of certain citizens of the United States in the agitation of the abolition of domestic slavery, thereby creating distrust, and discontent, and dissatisfaction among the people of the United States, who should ever cherish towards each other fraternal sentiments—it beholds, with the deepest satisfaction, every where prevailing, an unconquerable attachment to the Union, as the sure bulwark of the safety, liberty, and happiness of the people of the United States.

SEVENTH
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE
BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE
MASS. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PRESENTED JANUARY 24, 1839.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

BOSTON:
ISAAC KNAPP, 25 CORNHILL.
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PRINTED BY DOW AND JACKSON.

REPORT.

THE Lord reigns ! If it were not so, the friends of humanity might despair. The Lord is omnipotent ! But for this, tyrants might exercise perpetual dominion. The Lord is sworn to execute judgment for all who are oppressed ! Therefore, all shackles shall be broken, and every captive set free, in this, in all lands.

Feeling the inspiration of these truths, the Board of Managers present their Seventh Annual Report to the Society, with no misgiving as to the final triumph of the abolition cause, or the soundness of the principles and the wisdom of the measures adopted by its advocates. How soon, in what manner, or by what instrumentalities, the blood-reeking system of American slavery shall be overthrown—whether by a peaceful or a bloody process, by the repentance or destruction of the guilty—it is not for the finite, but the Infinite, to know. After years of warning, expostulation, rebuke, entreaty, on the part of the messengers of TRUTH,—after centuries of long-suffering and mercy on the part of ALMIGHTY GOD,—it yet remains problematical, whether this nation is to be saved as a brand plucked from the burning, or to be consumed by the fire of his wrath. The uncertainty of what is to come cannot lessen our responsibility, nor justify despondency, nor change the ground of moral obligation. In-

stead of discouraging effort, or obstructing enterprise, it enforces the necessity of sleepless vigilance and never-slackening exertion. There is a certainty connected with this uncertainty. Without national reformation, there must be national destruction. If there be no truth disseminated, there can be no reformation. Unless there be preachers of truth, there will be no conviction of guilt; and without conviction, there can be no repentance, but "a fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation." It is certain, then, that by silence, inaction, or despondency, the republic must be destroyed, without remedy. It is uncertain whether, by exposing its blood-red guilt and horrible turpitude—by bearing a faithful testimony for God and his down-trodden poor—by watchfulness unto prayer, by laborious toil, by moral power, by energy and union of action—the republic will be saved. Here is the upspringing of our hope, and the ground of our action. If, however, it could be proved that our prayers, our warnings, our entreaties, would all be frustrated by the incorrigible wickedness of the people, still, our duty to warn and exhort would remain in full force. The instruction given by God to his ancient witness is in point :—"Son of man, go, get thee unto the house of Israel, and speak with my words unto them . . . But the house of Israel *will not hearken unto thee* ; for they will not hearken unto me : for they are impudent and hard-hearted . . . But thou shalt speak my words unto them, *whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear.*" Thanks be to God, no prophet of emancipation has yet been commissioned to declare, with infallible certainty, that we shall plead and labor with our countrymen in vain. At times, indeed, the last ray of hope has been almost extinguished, and there has scarcely seemed to be any possibility of averting impending judgments ; but, from time to time, a rainbow of mercy has been seen in the heavens, and omens of good, and flaming signs, to encourage us. It was a settled point, that Ezekiel could not make any impression upon the seared and rock-hardened conscience of Israel : nay, he could not be heard even : his speech had no sound, and produced no effect. Not so with us. Our

message is heard by the people, from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. Our slightest whisper is echoed from the tops of the Rocky Mountains, with distinctness and power. We have not spoken in vain. It is true, the ears of many have been stopped with cotton; some have made use of their fingers; very ingenious contrivances have been suggested to destroy the power of sound; propositions have been made to cut out our tongues, and cast them upon a dung-hill; in many cases, gags have been resorted to, in order to silence us; but all in vain. Without a paradox, the more our mouths have been closed, the wider we have opened them; and the less the nation has been disposed to hear, the more it has heard. From the least to the greatest, from the youngest to the eldest, all have been made acquainted with our testimony. Thus we have succeeded in reaching the national conscience. The flinty rock has been smitten, and a stream of contrition is beginning to flow. Terrible, but hopeful, is the conflict going on in the bosom of the nation, between light and darkness, truth and error, the agony of conviction and the desperation of passion. Alternately are heard imprecations, expostulations, threats, entreaties, blasphemies. If, in one aspect, a spectacle like this be afflicting, in another it is pregnant with salvation.

The history of the anti-slavery cause, during the past year, is not to be embodied in a single Report, however voluminous. The times are more stirring, conflicts are more frequent, events are of greater magnitude, than in the days of our revolutionary fathers. The moral warfare of **LIBERTY** against **SLAVERY** is incomparably more animating and sublime, and fraught with higher scenes of interest, and attended with far more glorious consequences, than any physical strife.

Since the last annual meeting, an important change has been made in the relation that subsisted between the State and Parent Societies, in regard to the management of the cause in this Commonwealth. This has been done in accordance with the following resolution, which was adopted by the American Society in May last:

Resolved, That it be recommended to such State or other auxiliaries as are disposed to take the charge of the abolition cause within their respective fields, to make arrangements with the Executive Committee of this Society, guaranteeing to our Treasury such stated payments as may be judged reasonable; and then assume within their own limits the entire direction of lecturers and agents in forming local societies, collecting funds, circulating memorials, and establishing libraries; and that this society will not send its agents to labor for these objects in such states as carry out this plan, except in concurrence with the State Executive Committee.'

At a subsequent meeting of your Board of Managers, to consider the expediency of assuming this responsibility, it was, after careful deliberation,

Resolved, That the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will undertake the management of the anti-slavery cause, within the State, the ensuing year; and that this Board is now ready to enter into an arrangement with the Executive Committee of the Parent Society, for this purpose.'

At an adjourned meeting, the Board voted to pledge the Parent Society \$10,000 for the ensuing year; \$2,000 to be paid on the 1st of August; \$3,000 on the 1st of November; \$2,500 on the 1st of February; and \$2,500 on the 1st of May; in addition to raising an amount sufficient to defray the expenses of the State Society.

The Board were induced to take this step, believing it would be for the best interests of the cause, and therefore that it would obtain (as it seems to have done) the cordial approbation of Massachusetts abolitionists. It is obvious, that the responsibilities of so great an enterprise, for the several States, cannot be sustained by a Central Board at New-York: hence, the more they are divided and subdivided, till every individual abolitionist feels his share of the general pressure, the more easily and completely will the work be done—the more vitality will be diffused through the whole mass. There is another consideration, of no trifling importance, which commends such a division of responsibility to every discerning mind. The less power there is lodged in the hands of any select body of men,—to a certain extent, at least,—whether in Church or State, in any philanthropic or moral reform, the less danger there will be of

corruption, usurpation, perversion. The interests of the anti-slavery cause are too momentous to be entrusted solely to the management of any twelve, any fifty, any hundred individuals, constituted as a national committee, however wise in counsel, or disinterested in purpose, or benevolent in action. The wisdom, the disinterestedness, the benevolence of the whole body, are to be relied on more than those of a fraction. It is a political axiom, that "power is always stealing from the many to the few;" but it is seldom that the few are found willing, voluntarily, to impart to the many. The principles and professions of abolitionists partake of a radical character: hence they discard all leaders but TRUTH and RIGHT—they rely upon principles, not men—they protest against monopoly, they demand equality. Hitherto, in the infancy of our struggle, there has been no chance for an abuse of power, and therefore little cause for anxiety. But now we are receiving, daily and hourly, such large accessions to our ranks,—now that the management of our magnificent scheme is a prize worth seizing, in the eyes of the rulers in Church and State,—we need to be very careful with whom we entrust power, and to look well to our safeguards. Let this admonition be imprinted on every honest mind: The integrity of our cause is endangered, in exact proportion to the growth of its popularity. When the ship of REFORM lies upon the stocks, with her naked ribs exposed to view,—her form and comeliness yet to be developed,—she is an object neither of admiration nor envy. It is only when every plank is laid, every pin driven home, a successful launch effected,—when her canvass is all spread out to catch the favoring gale, her princely freight on board, and she starts upon her voyage to reach the haven of VICTORY,—it is then that ecclesiastical letters of marque and political buccaniers deem her worthy of conquest and possession. From every sectarian inlet and party cove, they push out upon the deep for her capture. Wo to that gallant ship, if, at such a perilous crisis, there be any disaffection among her officers or crew! If union and fidelity do not prevail on board, she will fall a prey to her merciless enemies;

her flag shall no more "brave the battle and the breeze;" with the expiring light of her conflagration, shall perish the hopes of expectant millions.

State anti-slavery societies, having special jurisdiction over their own appropriate territorial limits, may be regarded as important, if not indispensable, checks and balances to the action of each, and to the integrity of the cause. In such a case, a defection in one part of the country will be likely to be seen and exposed in another, before the mischief shall have become remediless.

The independent action of the Massachusetts Society has, it is believed, contributed to its efficiency and the furtherance of our enterprise. It is hardly time, however, to determine the utility of the experiment, as only two-thirds of a year have elapsed since it was begun. In some minds, there have been misgivings as to its probable result—particularly on the score of raising adequate funds to carry on the various operations of the State Society, and yet fulfilling our pecuniary obligations to the Parent Society. Nevertheless, if there shall no root of bitterness spring up to divide our ranks, the prospect is fair that we shall be able to accomplish the utmost that has been contemplated under the new arrangement.

In a pecuniary point of view, the abolitionism of Massachusetts compares well as to liberality with that of any other State. The amount contributed by this State to the treasury of the Parent Society, during the year ending May 1, 1838, was \$10,643,18, exclusive of the expense attending its collection. This sum was larger than that contributed even by the Empire State; more than five times as much as was given by Ohio, though there are more anti-slavery societies in that State than in this Commonwealth; more than was contributed by Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, though the number of their societies, jointly, is nearly twice as large as exists in our own State.

This comparison is not made with invidious or vaunting intent. Undoubtedly, there are local causes to account, in some meas-

ure, for the wide disparity. But it furnishes decisive evidence, that the abolitionism of Massachusetts is not a mere abstraction, but both generous and practical. The Board would fain hope, that a more substantial proof of this fact will be given to our countrymen during the present year. As our numbers increase, so ought our contributions to augment.

The number of societies in this State, reported in May last, was 246—which, at this time, is not less, probably, than 300. \$10,648 18, divided by 246, will show the average amount contributed by each society to be a fraction over \$43. There were ascertained to be organized in the United States, on the 1st of May, 1838, about 1350 societies.* Had the other 1100 contributed an equal amount, the whole sum received into the national treasury would have been about \$60,000, instead of \$44,000. But it is justly expected of Massachusetts, that she will set an example of well-doing to every other State in the Union.

How much is given to sustain the anti-slavery enterprise, it is difficult to form an accurate estimate. The sums actually realized by the Parent and State Societies do not afford sufficient data upon which to determine the measure of abolition benevolence. Thousands of dollars, which are not brought into the general aggregate, are annually contributed for incidental expenses. Besides their direct contributions to the National and State treasuries, abolitionists are called upon to defray the expense attending the continual series of meetings which are held, from the national anniversary down to a village gathering, for the purpose of arousing the public conscience, and softening the public heart. Popular as is the cause of Temperance, it has not more than six weekly periodicals exclusively enlisted in its support; unpopular as is the anti-slavery cause, it has not less than twelve weekly newspapers, nearly all of them of imperial size,

* As follows:—In Maine, 48; New Hampshire, 79; Vermont, 104; Massachusetts, 246; Rhode Island, 26; Connecticut, 46; New York, 869; New Jersey, 14; Pennsylvania, 126; Ohio, 251; Indiana, 7; Illinois, 18; Michigan, 19; Delaware, 14.

devoted to its advocacy, besides its monthly and other publications. This fact speaks volumes for the zeal, the enterprise, the determination, the liberality of those, who, for manifesting such extraordinary if not unexampled devotion to the rights of man, are ignominiously branded as fanatics and incendiaries.

It is fair to presume, that the enemies of emancipation make the amount of money contributed to the cause, the criterion by which to judge of the sincerity of anti-slavery profession. Certain it is, the whole land became excessively agitated when, at the annual meeting of the Parent Society in New York, in 1835, the bold proposition was made by our stout-hearted brother Lewis Tappan, and unanimously adopted, to raise during the ensuing year, for the use of the Society, the sum of **THIRTY THOUSAND DOLLARS**. The fact that such a proposition had been agreed to in good faith, at a national gathering of abolitionists, was bruited throughout the country by our vigilant opponents; and then it was that the demons of slavery writhed and howled in agony. Then a desperate and frantic spirit was conjured up to execute Lynch law upon all who should dare to speak for the suffering and the dumb; and from that time to the present, the republic has rocked to its centre. "Now we know that these men are in earnest," it was said by the South—"that their sympathy for the enslaved is not in word merely, but in deed—that they mean just what they say—that, upon the altar of their cause, they are resolved to sacrifice the toils of industry, the gains of successful adventure, reputation, life, every thing, rather than yield up the contest. And if, now that they are few in numbers, and poor in resources, they have resolved to raise in twelve months the formidable sum of \$30,000, to be expended in scattering their incendiary publications and sending their fanatical lecturers through the land, what will they not propose to do, nay, what will they not accomplish, in the course of a few years, when their numbers and means shall have increased a hundred fold? Ho, to the rescue! There is no time to be lost! This combination must be crushed at a blow—or our "domestic institution," heaven-originated and di-

vinely sanctioned, the "corner-stone of our republican edifice," will perish in foulest infamy ! Help, brethren of the North !—priests who "teach for hire, and divine for money"—politicians who make a trade of patriotism—lawyers who bind heavy burdens upon men's shoulders—merchants who worship with slavish devotion at the shrine of mammon—manufacturers who are more interested in bales of cotton than in all things else—editors who pander to public corruption, and basely do the bidding of popular opinion—the pharisaical, the licentious, the refined, the brutal,—come one, come all, to our rescue !"

Never was cry of distress more promptly heeded ! For priests, and politicians, and lawyers, and merchants, and manufacturers, and editors, with all the rank and file of bigotry and brutality, over the whole North, joined hands fraternally, and gave sacred pledge that, by all dastardly expedients and lawless instrumentalities, they would put down the "agitators," and stand by their brethren of the South ! These are historical facts, all duly recorded and authenticated in the black letter-book of Time.

So potent, then, is the money-giving principle, in the cause of Humanity ! Such is the adaptation of means to ends ! An abolitionism which does not open purse, pocket-book and drawer, is like faith without works, dead—an abstraction, a non-entity. It is not by words that men are known—it is by their fruits. And how multitudinous, how soul-quickenings are the inducements held out to abolitionists, that they should make liberal sacrifices of their perishable substance in such a crisis as this ! Though signal has been their liberality,—compared with other bodies of men,—yet they have not by any means attained to the highest point of duty in this matter. As a mass, they have failed duly to appreciate the importance of keeping the treasures of their various associations well supplied. Many, though abundantly able to do much, have done little or nothing ; leaving the burden to be sustained by the generous few. No humane enterprise has been signalized by nobler instances of indi-

vidual munificence, from the widow's two mites to costly gifts ; but much more is demanded from the aggregate.

Upon the subject of funds, the Board of Managers would dwell a moment longer, with special urgency. In guaranteeing to the Parent Society the sum of \$10,000 from this State, during the year ending May 1, 1839, they felt confident that it would be raised with due punctuality—making proper allowance for the time it would require to complete the necessary financial arrangements under the new relation. By reference to the Report of the Treasurer, it will be seen that a considerable amount is due on the last quarterly instalment, ending November 1st ; and that on the 1st of February, which is near at hand, another instalment of \$3000 becomes due ; making in the aggregate the sum of \$3,600. In consequence of this deficiency, a formal proposition has been made to the Board, from the Executive Committee at New York, that the State Society immediately recede from its independent position, and nullify the contract between the parties.

To this proposition, the Board have not felt willing to accede, for various reasons.

In the first place, sufficient time has not been allowed to test the feasibility of the experiment. Owing to peculiar circumstances, it was not until some time in June that any steps were taken to prepare, and carry into execution, a plan of financial operations for the State. It is not an easy matter to arrange all the parts of a complicated machine. When once it is fairly completed, great reliance may be placed upon the uniformity of its results. While it is not unreasonable, therefore, for the Executive Committee of the Parent Society, especially in its present embarrassed state, to urge with some degree of importunity the prompt fulfilment of our pledge, it seems to be an impeachment of the honor and faith of the Society, for them to ask an instantaneous change in our relationship. That every fraction of the sum guaranteed to the Parent Society will be honorably liquidated, the Board entertain not a doubt ; though not so punctually as was contemplated at the time of making

the agreement. At least, they are of opinion, that a better judgment can be formed upon this subject at the time of the national anniversary in May next, than at present. In the interim, it should be the special object of the new board to devise ways and means for cancelling the entire pledge at the expiration of the last quarter. It is proper to add, that among the causes which have operated to prevent the completion of our pecuniary engagement, the Middlesex election has been prominent—an election which yet remains undecided, which is exciting extraordinary interest throughout the country, and which has for some time past almost wholly engrossed the attention and labors of our principal lecturers, who else would have been busy in procuring funds. The importance of exerting as much influence as possible upon the Fourth District, to secure the election to Congress of a consistent, thorough-going abolitionist, has been felt and acknowledged by none more heartily than by the members of the New-York Executive Committee.

The Board have felt unwilling, in the second place, to comply with the proposition of the Committee, because they are confident that the State Society is competent to manage the anti-slavery affairs of this Commonwealth, upon the plan suggested at the annual meeting in New York, and mutually agreed upon by all the delegates. If that plan should now be abandoned, all the original difficulties and embarrassments which loudly demanded its adoption would at once recur, creating much confusion and uncertainty in the modes of action to be pursued. No definite rules could be laid down for the guidance of the financial agents of either society, who would be liable frequently to cross each other's track, and to find their labor in vain, both to the annoyance of abolition contributors, and the injury of the cause. Under the present arrangement, every thing is well defined; there is no chance for misapplied exertion; the duties and obligations of all are clearly understood.

There is another reason (which has already been commented upon) why the Board think it unadvisable for the Society to relinquish its independency. It is, that, as far as practicable,

the responsibilities of the cause should be divided among the several State Societies ; that there should be an equal distribution of controlling power ; and that no body of men ought to be entrusted with the exclusive management of so great an enterprise. No reflection is intended to be cast upon any person or persons by these remarks. Up to this hour, there has been perfect harmony of feeling between the Parent Society and its auxiliaries. The Executive Committee are entitled to great commendation for the manner in which they have discharged the responsible duties of their station. What changes shall be made in that Committee, it is impossible to foresee : it is believed that none are contemplated. But, in the course of events, another class of men, less faithful and single-hearted, may peradventure hold the reins of government, who, at a favorable moment, will not hesitate to abuse their power. If such a body should have the monopoly of anti-slavery funds, and the appointment and control of the agents engaged in the cause, it is easy to see how easily they might usurp authority, and change the aspect of our unpopular movement. In laboring together to emancipate the victims of oppression, there ought to be no envy, no jealousy, one of another. But "all are not Israel, who are of Israel" ; and we shall have good cause to be very jealous, very watchful, very anxious, to the end of this great controversy. Both Church and State are in league to crush us. What they cannot do by fair means, they will try to accomplish by foul. They will endorse our principles as sound in the abstract, and so avow themselves to be abolitionists, that they may gradually change our measures. We must remember that Satan is seldom able to do much mischief, except when he assumes the form of an angel of light. Of the roaring lion, all may take warning, and flee. The abolition enterprise is not the building of a railroad, or the digging of a canal : it is not matter, but spirit : and therefore it is not to be carried on by proxy, or exclusively managed by a party, sect, or committee. Like the gospel, it calls for individual reformation, individual responsibility, individual freedom and activity. Its temple must be

built up of lively stones, or it will crumble beneath its own weight. It belongs to the "common people," not to the aristocracy. Its power should remain with the many, not be lodged with the few.

During the past year, the Board have endeavored to appoint as many local agents, to lecture upon the subject of slavery in specific regions in this State, as could be found willing and qualified to assume the task, at no other charge than the payment of travelling expenses. Their endeavors have been seconded by several county societies, with some degree of success. The consequence has been, that more meetings have been held, more lectures delivered, and, it is believed, more converts made, than during any preceding year. With only one or two exceptions, no attempts have been made to interrupt the meetings in a lawless manner; though obstructions have been frequently thrown in the way, by the closing of meeting-houses, to prevent the advocates of emancipation being heard by the people.

On the 1st of March last, the Rev. Alanson St. Clair was appointed one of the travelling agents of the Society; since which time, he has been actively engaged in lecturing, excepting for a brief period when he was disabled by being upset in a stage-coach, in returning from some important meetings in the western part of the State.

The Rev. Philemon R. Russell, of Lynn, and the Rev. Daniel Wise, of Quincy, have also devoted much of their time to the furtherance of the cause, and have lectured to great acceptance. Several other clergymen have also done much, in this manner, to rectify and enlighten public sentiment. Among the laymen who have spoken with eloquence and power in behalf of insulted humanity, the names of Wendell Phillips and Edmund Quincy, of Boston, and John W Browne, of Lynn, deserve honorable mention.

The Rev. Amos A. Phelps, as the General Agent of the Society, has labored abundantly, and with untiring zeal. The plan of operations, drawn up by him, and sanctioned by the Board, for the guidance of the State, county, and town socie-

ties, throws a due amount of responsibility upon each, and is well adapted to promote a lively action through the whole body. As far as it has been carried into effect, the result has been highly advantageous.

Mr. Phelps having been called to the pastoral charge of the Free Church, worshipping in the Marlboro' Chapel, in Boston, resigned his agency on the first of January. The vacancy was subsequently filled by the choice of Henry B. Stanton, on the part of the Board. Strong hopes were entertained that he would be induced to accept the office ; but he has declined, on the ground of the unwillingness of the Executive Committee at New-York to discharge him from his present station. As the election of a new Board is to be made immediately, it has been thought proper to leave the appointment of a General Agent to that body.

Though officially connected with the Parent Society, Mr. S. has given a large portion of his time to the interests of the cause in this Commonwealth. Of his zeal, his talents, his many excellent qualifications, it is superfluous to speak. Especially worthy of all commendation have been his labors in the Fourth District, to prevent the choice of a representative to Congress, for whom Liberty might have cause to blush, and Humanity cause to mourn. As the strongest evidence that his course has been perfectly impartial toward both political parties, that he has rebuked them with equal fidelity, it is only necessary to add, that he is denounced, calumniated, proscribed by the leaders of those parties—now branded as a whig, and anon as a tory. Amid the din and heat of the conflict, however, he has neither quailed nor grown weary ; his rallying-cry has been heard above all clamorous sounds ; and again and again have the friends of the slave, animated by his warm appeals, met the shock of opposing hosts triumphantly.

Since the standard of emancipation was first flung out to the breeze, no local election in this country has excited so intense and wide an interest as that which is now pending in old Middlesex. It not only happens that the rival political parties are

nearly balanced, so that a very small *corps du reserve* can prevent a choice ; but it also happens that a large portion of the electoral strength in the District belongs to the abolitionists, who, it is estimated, if true to their principles, might easily cast some twelve or fifteen hundred votes. Holding, then, in their hands, the balance of power overwhelmingly, for them to allow any but a tried, undoubted friend of immediate emancipation to succeed, would be a burning disgrace to themselves, and make political abolition a hissing and a proverb. How faithfully they have withstood all attempts to put them in party traces,—with what ease they have twice defeated an election,—who that “hath ears to hear,” and eyes to see, has not heard and witnessed? Another trial is to be made on the first Monday in February, the same obnoxious candidates being in nomination. On the first trial there were more than 300, on the second more than 600 scattering votes cast. On the third, it is confidently expected the number will be greatly augmented—and so on, until one or both of the rival parties shall consult the rights of the North, and the claims of bleeding humanity, in nominating a suitable candidate.

If Messrs. Brooks and Parmenter had been *avowedly* hostile to the anti-slavery cause, a much stronger opposition would have been brought out against them. But every effort was made by their partizans, to induce the abolition electors to believe that they were “good men and true,” the fast friends of immediate emancipation. Some of the leading whig organs,—conspicuous, for the last five years, for their unmitigated opposition to our principles and measures,—gravely expressed their astonishment, that any fault should be found with the abolitionism of Nathan Brooks! It was pronounced to be of a genuine stamp, ultra even to the letting down of the heavens, if justice were only done! These story-tellers were too doltish to perceive, that *their* very endorsement of Mr. B’s anti-slavery character furnished strong circumstantial, not to say positive evidence of its unsoundness. In declaring his coin to be pure gold, they proved it to be counterfeit. On the other hand, the papers friendly to

William Parmenter asserted, that the spirit of his abolitionism was at least 100 per cent. better than that of Mr. Brooks! These strong but deceptive representations,—joined to that sorcery-spell of party, from which so few of the people have been able wholly to emancipate themselves,—doubtless induced a number of abolition voters, whose vision is yet somewhat imperfect, to cast their suffrages in favor of these candidates, according to their party predilections—while others refrained from going to the polls, deeming it a matter of small consequence which way the scale might turn. In profession, therefore, the entire District assumed to be abolition—a fact which “our southern brethren” are particularly requested to chronicle in their note-book.

In respect to political action, the following is the course marked out by abolitionists to be pursued, with an undeviating step:

First, to interrogate all candidates for a seat in Congress, respecting their views on the subject of slavery and the slave trade, the admission of new slave states, the right of petition, &c.

Second, to vote for no man who refuses to reply, or whose answer is evasive or unsatisfactory.

Third, to make the doctrine of immediate emancipation the test-question.

Fourth, to regard the cause of the bondman as paramount to all party considerations—and, therefore,

Fifth, to vote for the candidate who appears to be the most trustworthy, whether he be called whig or democrat, or by whatever party name.

Guided by these plain rules, no consistent abolitionist residing in the Fourth District, can vote for either of the candidates now in nomination.

The reply of Mr. Parmenter is radically defective upon the main question. He is, of course, in favor of free discussion and the right of petition. He is not in favor of admitting into the Union another slave state. In his opinion, “the powers possessed by Congress should be exercised to prohibit the interstate slave-trade, and to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia—~~whenever~~ such measures can be adopted consistently

with the safety of the nation." A man who is in doubt, whether it would be safe to stop the trade in "slaves and the souls of men" immediately—who hypothecates danger upon the act of letting the oppressed go free—has no claim to the title of a democrat, and is surely not qualified to represent a free and Christian people.

Mr. Brooks persists in refusing to reply to the interrogations propounded to him. In so doing, he does not wish to be considered as lacking in courtesy, but conscientiously scrupulous on the score of duty. However satisfactory his reasons may appear to himself, the fact that he is unwilling to avow his opinions on fundamental questions, justly and necessarily precludes him from receiving the suffrages of abolitionists. It is his misfortune, if not his fault, that he cannot speak out his thoughts on all topics of importance,—especially respecting the sundering of human yokes and fetters, and the rightfulness of delivering him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor.

It is not a pledge, but an expression of opinion, an avowal of present conviction, that is solicited of him—though, if he really apprehends and cherishes the "self-evident truths" of the Declaration of Independence, if he believes in the inalienable rights of man, he ought not to shrink, for one moment, in *pledging* himself, by his allegiance to God and his abhorrence of tyranny, that he will do all that in him lies to procure, forthwith and forever, the emancipation of the men, women and children, who are by a bloody edict of Congress held in chains and slavery.

He cannot excuse himself, for not returning an answer, on the ground that "actions speak louder than words." The very fact, that he is questioned by so large and respectable a body of his fellow-citizens, is decisive proof that they do not regard his actions as perfectly satisfactory. Nor can he plead that he is unwilling to announce his present convictions of duty, lest he may find occasion hereafter to change them. He is not asked, what will be his belief next year, but what is it now? And the question which is put to him, is not one that any additional light can possibly require a different answer. It relates to the in-

alienable rights of mankind, which are made apparent in exact proportion to the amount of light radiated upon them. Nor may he allege that a letter from him, on the eve of an election in which he is interested, would serve to degrade him as one eager to secure votes by gilded professions. These are solemn times, which do not admit of trifling. This is no electioneering trick, nor is it a local matter. The inquiries which are made of him embody all that is valuable in republicanism, and vital in Christianity. They are not put for the purpose of annoyance, nor to injure his election, but in justice to the bleeding slave, and the cause of liberty itself, now outlawed in a land boasting of its unequalled regard for freedom and equality. And well he knows, that his case is not a peculiar one. His antagonist has also been fairly and respectfully interrogated on the same points. All over the free States, the same form of inquiry has been put to political candidates of all parties. Mr. Brooks, therefore, is without excuse for his silence; nay, in that he is dumb when his voice should be heard in clear and distinct tones, he deserves to receive the suffrage of no freeman. For if—as some of his friends assert—he is in favor of instant manumission, why does he not respond with his lips to the feelings of his heart, in the intelligible and generous language of Ireland's distinguished champion:—"I am an abolitionist. I am for speedy, immediate abolition. I care not what caste, creed or color, slavery may assume:—I am for its total, its instant abolition. Whether it be personal or political, mental or corporeal, intellectual or spiritual, I am for its immediate abolition. I enter into no compromise with slavery. I am for justice, in the name of humanity, and according to the law of the living God."

These strictures are made, not merely with special reference to the case of Mr. Brooks, but as applying to many similar instances, in this and other States, in which candidates have refused to answer the queries submitted to them, on the ground that they cherished too high a regard for individual freedom and independence to make any pledge, or express any opinion, in relation to the manner in which, if elected, they will discharge

the highest and most solemn obligations that can rest upon accountable beings.

In order to breed mutual distrust and jealousy in the minds of the abolition voters in the Fourth District, it has been falsely asserted by the whig organs, that nearly all the scattering votes have been cast by the whigs; that democratic abolitionists have closely adhered to their party views; and that all this excitement is an artful manœuvre, on the part of democracy, to re-elect William Parmenter by the aid of whig votes. Not to be outdone in untruthfulness, the democratic papers have brought the same charge of treachery against the whig abolitionists. The infamous conclusion of all these organs is, that the slave should be left to perish in his chains; that, because the members of one political party are basely recreant to their principles and professions, it is the bounden duty of members belonging to the opposite party to imitate their scandalous example! The logic is on a par with its morality. What if it were true, that on one part there is arrant duplicity—on the other, perfect integrity? The fact, then, is as honorable to the one, as it is disgraceful to the other; and, instead of being an argument for universal profligacy, it imposes still higher obligations upon the “faithful among the faithless found” to be unyielding in their adherence to principle. Abolitionists are about equally divided among both political parties. They meet in convention just before an important election, and, seemingly in good faith, and with unusual solemnity, pledge themselves before God and the world, that, despite all party trammels and predilections, they will go to the polls, remembering those in bonds as bound with them, and bestow their suffrages upon whig or democrat who will go farthest in his opposition to slavery. It subsequently appears that there was no sincerity on the part of some, in making this pledge. With unblushing effrontery, the faithful and true are counselled, by those who would lead them by the nose obsequiously, to behave in the same treacherous manner, and thus show to the world that they neither fear God, nor regard the dying captive, whose cause they have pretended to commiserate. Monstrous

inhumanity ! The acme of devilish advisement ! As if hypocrisy in others be an all-sufficient reason why it should be exemplified in us ! As well might it be argued, that because one man has proved to be a thief, and a violater of social and governmental stipulations, all other members of the body politic are released from their moral obligations, and ought to turn thieves *en masse* !

But it is not true, that any hollow-heartedness, any fraud, has been evinced by the abolitionists of either party in the Fourth District, at either of the recent trials to elect a representative to Congress. On the contrary, it is demonstrated by the official returns, duly authenticated by the Governor and Council, that they have acted in good faith, and performed their duty well and truly. Indeed, the exact relative proportion of scattering votes to the whole number given by each political party, is a most gratifying and extraordinary coincidence—proving not only the general fidelity of abolition voters in that District to their cause, but also the equal prevalence of anti-slavery sentiments in both parties. On the last trial, the whole number of votes thrown was 8493 ; of which Nathan Brooks received 3862, and William Parmenter 3965. The number of scattering votes given was 658 ; of which 307 were cast by whig abolitionists, and 351 by democratic abolitionists,—as ascertained by the well known political character of the individuals for whom these votes were thrown. This result is as cheering to the friends of emancipation throughout the country, as it is disheartening to its enemies. Can it be doubted that those who have met with unbroken phalanx the united forces of the two great parties, and turned the tide of victory in favor of humanity, will remain steadfast to the end of the conflict, through a hundred onsets ?

DEFECTION IN CENTRAL NEW-YORK.

It cannot be denied, that, while the anti-slavery electors of Middlesex have thus honorably sustained their profession, others who have taken upon their lips the same promises, in some oth-

er parts of the country, have shamefully apostatized in the day of trial, and thus betrayed the cause they professed to regard as sacred. A most humiliating spectacle has been presented in central New-York, in the open desertion from our standard of a large body of abolition voters, belonging almost exclusively to the whig party. Men who could stand up unflinchingly in the midst of the Utica mob of 1835—who, from an early period, had been storm-proof against every assault—who even had found strength to snap asunder their sectarian ties, rather than abandon the slave—have been found unable to carry out their principles at the ballot-box, though they had in public assemblies, and over their own sign-manual, given a pledge to abandon all party considerations in their reverence for principle! This lamentable defection has well-nigh made shipwreck of our cause in that quarter. The contemplation of it is heart-sickening. It may, however, be overruled for good. In the end, nothing is lost by a separation of the true from the false; though, for a time, treachery may succeed in producing disastrous effects. If it must be so that only three hundred can be found disposed to lap water with their tongues, let them not fear; the Lord shall deliver the Midianites into their hands—for the battle is his, and he saveth not by sword and spear. But, notwithstanding the plottings of some, and the apostacy of others, there are thousands who have never bowed the knee to Baal. Even in central New-York, a goodly number went through that fiery ordeal, “unseduced, unterrified,” and came out without having so much as the smell of fire upon their garments. Among those who were most conspicuous for their zeal and devotion, their clear sightedness and loyalty, at that alarming crisis, was our fire-proof coadjutor **WILLIAM GOODELL**, editor of the “Friend of Man,” and that eminent philanthropist, **GERRIT SMITH**, of Peterboro’. All that men could do to reclaim the deserters, and prevent the utter ruin of our cause in that quarter, they manfully performed. They spoke trumpet tongued, and their notes of tender remonstrance and solemn warning were not heard in vain. Already some have repented, and brought forth fruits

meet for repentance. Others, convicted of sin in their own minds, and too proud or too corrupt to make any confession, have branded these excellent men with every odious epithet, and joined with our most bitter assailants in impeaching their pure motives, and traducing their spotless characters. In every great reform, there will occur apostacies and seditions, and those who remain the truest to its great purpose, must expect to be black-balled and reviled by the false-hearted, in the worst manner.

GERRIT SMITH'S NEW PLAN.

Afflicted by these sad developements, and somewhat disheartened in consequence,—and to prevent, if possible, their recurrence,—Mr. Smith proposes a new anti-slavery organization, which he thinks will remedy the evil. He says:

“ Let the abolitionists, who are determined to maintain their principles in all circumstances, and who are unwilling to have abolition fellowship with those professed abolitionists, who can lay down their principles at the bidding of a demagogue—let such, I say, organize themselves into new anti-slavery associations, whose constitutional laws shall forbid the members voting for pro-slavery men, for law-makers—for men, who refuse to avow their belief in the doctrine of immediate deliverance from the yoke of slavery. Let this be done, and the present anti-slavery societies will, of course, fall speedily to the ground; even more speedily than did the wine-tolerating temperance societies, after the introduction of the ‘new pledge.’ And then it will be understood, to the praise of an abolitionist, and to the glory and profit of his cause, that a member of an anti-slavery society is one who never, in any circumstances, or under any temptation, votes for a slaveholder, or a slaveholder’s apologist; and then slaveholders will as soon presume to offer to sell their slaves to Quakers, as profligate politicians will to offer their pro-slavery votes to members of anti-slavery societies.”

In anticipating the objections that might be raised to a new organization, Mr. Smith goes on to remark—

“ It may be further objected to my proposition, that the principles set forth in the constitutions of our present anti-slavery societies clearly and fully cover the whole ground of the political action, which is proper on the part of abolitionists. I admit it. I admit that he, who subscribes to the doctrine, that slavery is a palpable and an enormous sin, leaves himself entirely without excuse for voting for the abominable system. But, it must be remembered, that we live in a land where a decided majority of the public teachers of religion admit the plea of expediency for waiving

the application of even the fundamental principles of that religion. Whilst, on the one hand, many of them are constrained to admit, that there is sin in forbidding marriage and the reading of the Bible, and in marketing men as beasts; on the other, they are found pleading with paternal solicitude, that the system whence these blasphemies naturally and necessarily flow, may be spared a little longer. Living in such a land, where even the expounders of religion authorize the disjoining of practice and profession, we cannot safely infer a man's practice from his admitted principles. If we could, then you would have been contented with the joint declaration of the whig candidates for Congress in your district, 'that slavery is a moral evil.' But, living as you do, in a land of expediency—India-rubber-Christianity—this admission, that slavery is sin, gave you no sufficient reason, nor indeed any reason at all, for concluding that the candidates who made the admission would, if elected, treat slavery as a sin, and exert their influence for its immediate overthrow.

Let it be distinctly understood, that the form of the Constitution, which I recommend, is one that forbids the members of the society voting wrong, and not one that enjoins their voting right. For, whilst no honest man will knowingly vote against his moral principles, there are thousands of good men, who have conscientious objections against voting at all.

The point conceded by this earnest advocate of righteousness, that 'there are thousands of good men, who have conscientious objections against voting at all,' is one among the many strong reasons, which, in the opinion of the Board, may be urged against his plan. Such men, under the new organization, (and all the women, likewise, who are prohibited from voting,) would probably be excluded, and either remain unorganized, or constitute themselves into separate societies. Thus a wide, and, in one aspect at least, an invidious separation will be made between those who are *perfectly agreed upon fundamental principles*, and who are now joined heart to heart, and hand to hand. It is easy to perceive, that if any other test than that of PRINCIPLE be set up—if *modes of action*, about which there will certainly be conflicting opinions, be made 'parts and parcel' of the common standard—instead of being a united, we shall be a divided house: and a house divided against itself cannot stand. There would be room for invidious comparisons, for hurtful jealousies, for fatal rivalries. Our means would no longer flow into a common treasury, and our measures would cease to be harmonious.

Before making further criticisms upon this important proposition, (a proposition conceived in singleness of heart, and with a

noble object in view,) the Board would adduce its excellent originator as a witness to testify against its utility. After stating that the deliberations of Abolitionists long since resulted in the determination to refuse to vote for any other men than those who, if elected to the national and state legislatures, would do what they could towards effecting a repeal of the laws upholding the execrable slave-system, Mr. Smith proceeds :

“ Having determined upon this course, we resolved as was natural, over and over again, in our public meetings—in the meetings of our town and county and state Anti-Slavery Societies—and called on God to witness the sincerity and fixedness of our resolutions, that innocently we could not—and that therefore we would not—give our votes for a candidate for a seat in either the National or State Legislatures, who was unwilling to declare himself in favor of the great principles and measures of the anti-slavery association. In addition to this, our anti-slavery publications brought these resolutions, and the perfectly conclusive reasons for them, to the fire-side of every abolitionist.

We now began to hope confidently, that we should very soon see our State Legislatures composed of the friends of impartial and universal liberty, and very soon have an *abolitionized* Congress, that would rid the District of Columbia of Slavery—abolish the inter-state traffic in immortal beings—and shut the door of the Union against the further admission of slave holding States. But, alas! a dark cloud has come over our bright prospects. The abolitionists of the state of New York, in spite of their vows and pledges, and in spite of the upright example of a large proportion of their New-England brethren, have shown their willingness to sacrifice the holy cause of crushed humanity on the polluted altar of party politics.”

Here it will be seen, by Mr. Smith's own admissions, that, notwithstanding their assent to the principles of the anti-slavery organization—their resolutions in town, county and state meetings, not to prostitute their suffrages to party purposes—their solemn appeals to God to witness the sincerity of their hearts—they have (in the State of New York) ‘ shown their willingness to sacrifice the holy cause of crushed humanity on the polluted altar of party politics ’! What, then, is to be gained by a new organization? What stronger pledge can be made, what higher sanctions enforced, than those just recapitulated? If men calling themselves abolitionists can so easily break through all these restraints, and falsify all these promises, at the bidding of demagogues, and at the same time, by an ingenious process of political casuistry, satisfy themselves that they have not de-

parted from the faith, of what avail to such men will be a political clause in the constitution, binding them not to vote for proslavery candidates? It is not a political, but a moral lesson that is taught us by a defection so lamentable. If the abolitionists in central New York had been sound in principle, they would have been upright in practice; they would have faithfully redeemed their pledge. Hence they need to be converted, and become as a little child—to be baptized into the spirit of humanity—before any new promise from them may be relied upon. It is inward light that men need for their safe guidance in action. If the law be not written upon their own hearts, all outward stipulations, (whether graven upon tables of stone, or written upon parchment, or printed upon paper,) will avail nothing.

Mr. Smith is sanguine that the adoption of his plan cannot fail to produce the most salutary effects. His language is,— ‘ The members of the new societies would have happy fellowship, and act in useful concert with each other. Want of confidence, disgust and disunion have now taken the place of that fellowship and concert, which once characterized the great body of the abolitionists of the State.’ How all this evil is to be averted, and this happy fellowship ensured, by a mere political promise, it is difficult to perceive. A short trial only, the very next election, would expose the fallacy of the scheme. There is, there has been no reluctance, on the part of the professed friends of our cause, to *promise* to be faithful at the polls; but the grand difficulty is, to make all see eye to eye as to the abolition character of the several candidates. Those members of anti-slavery societies in New York, who voted in favor of the election of William H. Seward, doubtless persuaded themselves that they acted up to the spirit of their pledge. Nay, it is certain that they resented the impeachment of their abolition integrity as a libel. Other men, whose spirits were unshackled by party trammels, and whose vision was unclouded by party mists, beheld at a glance their glaring inconsistency of conduct. What is the remedy for this evil? Ten thousand new promises, on the part of such blind and pliant electors,

would be nothing better than empty breath in the trial-hour of their integrity. At every new election, they would try to satisfy their consciences, that their favorite candidates were the enemies of slavery, who would certainly vote right in all cases. Even in the Fourth District, there are whig abolitionists who persist in advocating the pretensions of Nathan Brooks, and democratic abolitionists who support William Parmenter. These men feel themselves deeply injured in being accused of abandoning the anti-slavery standard ; but that they are false to their professions, that they love party more than they regard the slave, who that has a perfect vision does not see ? It is the moral sentiment—the innate, abiding conviction of the awful criminality of slavery—that alone can regulate the elective franchise of the individual. But a mere agreement to do a certain act, sheds no new light upon the mind, quickens no moral instinct, informs not the understanding. We must build upon **PRINCIPLE**, or our labor will be in vain. It is the **HEART** we must conquer, and then we may trust the **INTELLECT**. If we rely upon a form of words, upon any organization, to keep us from pursuing a devious course, we shall at any time be in danger of falling away. If, in a cause, a struggle like this, our souls are not ‘fastened to the throne of God as with hooks of steel,’ we may not expect to be able to abide the day of visitation.

There is another serious objection to the plan of Mr. Smith. If specifications are essential in our Constitutions, respecting the manner in which abolitionists shall act as members of the **STATE**, they are not less essential in relation to the manner in which they shall act as members of the **CHURCH**. We shall need, therefore, a clause to this effect—that members, who are connected with any church, do pledge themselves that they will not hear any pro-slavery minister preach ; nor sit at a communion-table with those who proscribe their colored brother ; nor occupy a seat in any meeting-house in which a man is forced into an obscure corner on account of his complexion ; nor be connected with a church which fellowships slaveholders—&c.

How apparent it is, that if we once begin in this manner to make specifications, we shall not know when to end ! A huge volume would not suffice to contain them. This is to make a measure, instead of a principle, the basis of our organization. And is it not as essential that the CHURCH should be purified, as that the STATE should be reformed ? Is it not of as much importance to secure right religious, as it is right political action ? Is there not as frequent violations of integrity on the part of religious, as there is on the part of political anti-slavery professors ? Is it not true, that, comparatively, there are very few who are willing to stand by the sighing bondman under all circumstances, and in every extremity ? The simplicity, safety, efficiency of our organization, depend upon its continuing to be based upon certain fundamental principles, leaving the application of those principles to be settled by the judgment and conscience of its members.

There is yet another important consideration to be urged against the proposed organization. It would probably embody but a small portion of the moral power now existing in the present association ; for few besides legal voters, and those who believe it is their duty to engage in political action, would be likely to join it, by abandoning the present organization. If any attempt be made, directly or indirectly, (as is strenuously advised by certain abolitionists,) to declare that it is the duty of all abolitionists to go to the ballot-box, then it follows that those who think otherwise, must be treated as recreant to duty. The Board deny that it is competent for any anti-slavery society, by its votes or through its organ, to arraign either the political or religious views of its members. It may with no more propriety decide, that one man is morally bound to cast a vote at the polls, than that another man is morally bound to unite himself to the church. On this subject, there are many conflicting but honest opinions entertained by abolitionists. All that a society or its organ may rightfully do, is to entreat its members to abide by their principles, *whether in the church or out of it, at the polls or elsewhere* ; to vote for no man, who is not in fa-

vor of immediate emancipation ; to listen to no preacher, who apologises for slavery.

In a careful review, therefore, of the whole subject, the Board are satisfied that nothing will be gained by the new organization ; that much may be lost by it ; that it will not probably embody as much moral power as the old one ; that it presents no new motives for action, advances no new principles ; that it would seem to wear a political rather than a moral aspect ; and that the sanguine hopes of its noble projector would never be realized. They believe that the present anti-slavery societies are adapted to accomplish all that can be done by human organizations for the peaceful abolition of slavery ; that they are slowly, but surely, effecting great and salutary changes, both in Church and State ; that they are based upon the eternal principles of right and justice ; and, therefore, that it would not be good policy to abandon them for a doubtful and an untried experiment.

The Board desire not to be misunderstood in this matter. They have no faith in the efficacy of a political pledge, if adopted as the fundamental principle of anti-slavery organizations at their inception. The Board would not discourage its use as a temporary measure in particular districts, or on special exigencies. In these latter circumstances, the *application* of the rule recognized in the particular pledge, would be wholly free from difficulty. If adopted as one of the fundamental articles of the anti-slavery enterprise, the uncertainty of its application would soon render it futile ; and it would probably divide the strength and alienate the funds of those who now pour their contributions into a common treasury, and who are now unitedly endeavoring to overturn the whole system of American slavery.

Among the many important events which have transpired in this Commonwealth, since the last annual meeting, the holding of the Young Men's State Anti-Slavery Convention, at Worcester, in October last, is to be regarded as highly auspicious. More than four hundred delegates were in attendance—the pride and flower of the State. The spirit, the harmony, the lofty purpose of soul, the moral determination to stand by the

cause of outraged liberty at all hazards, which pervaded that rare and select assembly, have perhaps never been exhibited so fully in any preceding convention, excepting the one held in Philadelphia in 1833, from which was issued the Declaration of Anti-Slavery Sentiments. A series of resolutions on political action, drawn up by that great statesman and rare philanthropist, WILLIAM GOODELL, was very ably discussed, and adopted with perfect unanimity. One of these resolutions was expressed in the following solemn language :

Resolved, That, by the grace of God, no motives of political expediency, of partizan interest, of personal friendship, or any other consideration, shall tempt us, under any possible circumstances, to vote for slavery, by voting for members of the national or state Legislatures, who will not go to the utmost verge of their constitutional powers, in acting for its abolition; nor will any of us, who hold it right, in any case, to exercise the right of suffrage, neglect the opportunity to record our votes against slavery, whenever a candidate of good moral character, and heartily in favor of immediate emancipation, shall be nominated in the District of our location, irrespective of the political party to which he may belong, or of the pecuniary or partizan interests which may be supposed to be involved.

When this resolution was put for adoption, the whole body of delegates rose on their feet, en masse, in its support.

THE "WOMAN QUESTION."

In the progress of our holy cause, incidental occurrences are from time to time transpiring, which, though strictly in furtherance of its one great object, are calculated to create a lively sensation in our ranks. It is well that abolitionists should know what spirit they are of, and what is the nature of the ground upon which they stand. The more freedom they enjoy in their own souls, the better qualified they will be to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." Among the incidents alluded to has been a discussion upon what has been technically called "the woman question." It is remarkable that this subject was first agitated by the "Pastoral Association" of Massachusetts, in their spiritual Bull against the anti-slavery labors of those distinguished women, Sarah M.

and Angelina E. Grimke. It was thrust, therefore, upon the consideration of the great body of abolitionists. At the last annual meeting of the New-England Anti Slavery Convention, which was held in Boston, and attended by delegates from eleven States, it was

“Voted, That all persons present, or who may be present at subsequent meetings, whether men or women, who agree with us in sentiment on the subject of slavery, be invited to become members, and participate in the proceedings of the Convention.”

This was adopted without opposition ; but, subsequently, it gave rise to a long and animated discussion, on a motion to rescind it. The Convention, however, adhered to the vote by a very large majority ; and the consequence was, that eight clergymen (all of one denomination) desired their names to be expunged from the roll of that body. Seven individuals signed their names to the following Protest :

“The undersigned, being of opinion that the action of the New-England Anti-Slavery Convention now in session, inviting women to vote, debate, and aid generally as members of this body, and refusing to reconsider the vote by which it was done, is injurious to the cause of the slave, by connecting with it a subject foreign to it ; injurious as a precedent for connecting with it *other* irrelevant topics ; and an innovation upon our previous usage in regard to the constituent elements of the Convention ; ask leave to disclaim all responsibility in regard to said proceedings, by having this Protest endorsed upon the records, and published with the doings of the Convention.

CHARLES T. TORREY, Salem.

A. A. PHELPS, Boston.

THOMAS EDWARDS, Medon.

SAMUEL D. DARLING, Medon, N. H.

WM. THURSTON, Bangor, Me.

GEORGE TRASK, Warren, Mass.

C. SPARRY, New-York City.

This subject is certainly somewhat novel ; but, however inexpedient or improper it may be deemed by some, the Board do not see how it can be regarded as foreign or injurious to the cause of the slave. It is the grand object of the anti-slavery association to procure the liberation of two millions and a half

of human beings, of *both sexes* and all ages, from their prison-house of bondage. It aims to accomplish this humane work "through the foolishness of preaching,"—by the freedom of speech. The question then is, is it foreign to our object to allow in our meetings a free utterance of the soul, whether it be enshrined in a male or female form, on the subject of slavery? Can it be "injurious to the cause of the *slave*," in a meeting of those who subscribe to the same principles, and who aim to accomplish the same thing, to suffer all the friends of that helpless captive, without reference to sex, to plead his cause to the best of their ability? Do we not allow, nay, invite his *enemies* to show cause why he ought not to be emancipated? And shall we gag any of his *friends*, who may desire to lift up their voices in his behalf, merely because we have serious doubts, conscientious scruples it may be, as to the propriety of such a procedure? Shall we constitute ourselves the judges of this or that person's right to speak a word for God and humanity, in our meetings? Or shall we not leave every one to bear his or her own responsibility in the case, with all charity and long-suffering? True, it is pleaded by some, that their rights of conscience are invaded by conceding so much liberty to the other sex: but they forget, or do not choose to remember, that they in turn trample upon the consciences of those who desire to speak, and of those who think it right for them to speak, out of the fulness of sympathetic hearts. The only way, then, to adjust this "vexed question" harmoniously, is to differ in love, and let perfect toleration reign. Whichever way it may be deemed best to decide the question, if it be done by a majority, as is customary in our meetings, let the minority yield to the decision; being satisfied with having borne their testimony in accordance with their convictions of duty. Let there be no threats of withdrawal, no attempts to divide us, on this ground.

At the Convention alluded to, a committee of three persons was appointed, to prepare a memorial to be transmitted to the several ecclesiastical associations in New-England, beseeching them to testify against the further prolongation of the system

of slavery. One of the members of this committee was a female member of the Society of Friends, of superior talents, and great moral worth. In drawing up the memorial, the utmost pains seems to have been taken to be so guarded in language, so respectful in form, so particular in etiquette, as not to infringe upon the rights or privileges, even by implication, of any ecclesiastical assembly, nor to give any just cause of offence—as the following extracts will show :

The Fifth New England Anti-Slavery Convention, composed of delegates from all the New England States, assembled for the purpose of devising means to promote the abolition of American slavery, bound together by the strong ties of humanity, and actuated by a deep sense of responsibility to God, desires respectfully to call the attention of your body to that unfortunate portion of the human family, who, in this land of republicanism and christianity, and amidst the light of the nineteenth century, are held in degrading bondage ; and who have been pronounced by a southern church judicatory “ *the heathen of this christian country, who will bear comparison with heathen in any country in the world.*” In the performance of what they deem an imperious duty, the members of the Convention, as individuals and as a body, disclaim all right or intention to *dictate* to ecclesiastical bodies the course they ought to pursue. Far from it. They would address you, not because they have power as your constituents to demand any action on this or any other question ; but because, as moral beings, they believe it to be both right and proper for them to *beseek* those who profess to be the disciples of Jesus Christ, to bear a faithful testimony against the sin of oppression, and to open their mouths in behalf of the suffering and the dumb. As an ecclesiastical body, you are not amenable to them, but to your constituents, or to the Master whom you profess to serve ; and cherishing no disposition to invade even the smallest of your rights, they only ask the privilege of exhorting you, in the name of God and humanity, to “ remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them.”

Churches and ecclesiastical bodies exert a controlling influence over the public mind. The principles which they promulgate and the practices which they allow, fix the common standard of christian morality. Your memorialists are deeply impressed with the belief, that if the various denominations of professing christians in the free States would speak out on this question in a firm and decided tone, declaring slaveholding to be a heinous sin in the sight of God, and refusing, after proper admonition and remonstrance, to extend the hand of christian fellowship or to open their pulpits to those who are guilty of upholding it, they would thereby do much towards breaking the fetters of the slaves. They have seen with pleasure, that many churches and ecclesiastical bodies have already spoken out in this manner ; and it is their earnest desire and prayer, that such examples may be followed by others, until professing christians of every name and denomination shall be united together in self-denying and persevering efforts to advance the cause of immediate and universal emancipation. Your memorialists, therefore, respectfully but earnestly *entreat* your body to take this subject into serious and prayerful consideration, and to act concerning it as the great interests of humanity and of Christ's kingdom demand.

On the presentation of this excellent memorial in the Rhode-Island Congregational Consociation, and it being made known that a woman was on the committee which drafted it, a scene of excitement ensued, scarcely equalled in abusiveness of language and violence of spirit, by any thing that has transpired in either house of Congress, on the part of the slaveholding members, by the presentation of anti-slavery petitions. The memorial was treated with all possible indignity, and deemed an outrage upon ecclesiastical prerogatives too outrageous to be borne. The editor of the *Christian Mirror* was present, who gave an account of this extraordinary affair to his readers. Of course, as he is among the many implacable enemies of our association, his account is to be relied on, in this particular. No part of it has been denied by any member of that Consociation, since it appeared in print. He relates it as follows :

At first, there seemed a disposition to give the document a favorable reception; but as one thought it might be as well not to be hasty, and another expressed doubts whether any action at all were desirable upon it, the objections to it began to assume a positive character.

It was felt by Dr. Tucker, as an objection to its entertainment, that if ecclesiastical bodies were to receive, and discuss, and act upon any and every document which every *self-constituted* and *irresponsible* body, as such a convention was, chose to thrust before them, they might soon have ample business to fill up their time, without doing any part of that for which they were constituted and assembled. This objection was shown to be a weighty one, by the Doctor's remarks, and as such it was felt to be by the meeting.

It was urged by one of the corresponding members, that there was a scriptural objection in the way. Describing the condition of his ancient people, at a time of their lowest degradation, God, when he would express the consummation of their debasement, says—"As for my people, *children are their oppressors, and women rule over them!*" It was *humiliating enough* to come under such rule, *imperceptibly, or blindfolded*; but to *bow the neck with the eyes open, would be an aggravation of the disgrace and the humiliation*. My readers will understand that the Convention, from which the memorial, asking for ecclesiastical action, proceeded, was composed, in part, of women; and that of the Committees appointed to prepare it, one was a woman; and rumor had it, that when that committee reported, and exceptions were taken to the report, the question was carried by votes of the women.

Those brethren in the R. I. Consociation, who had been most earnest for the reception of the memorial, and for such action as it requested, on learning the character of its parents, united at once, in *turning the illegitimate product from the*

house, and in obliterating from the records all traces of its entrance. They were Christian and magnanimous enough to defer to scriptural principles, scriptural order, propriety, and decorum. "Duth not even nature itself teach you?" What man, who loves and honors his wife, would himself feel honored by having her closed in close consultation with two men, in the preparation of a public document? or in hearing her raise her voice in the debates of a deliberative assembly? Would it not be "all one as if she were shaven?"—shorn of her honor, her loveliness, her glory?

These things, in time, will work their own cure. "The Lord will smite with a scab the crown of the head" of these obtrusive daughters. He has already begun to do it.

If persons would control, or any way prompt the action of the church, let them first repent of their own sins, and become members of the church.

No deliberative assembly ever behaved in a more unseemly manner. Those who thus contemptuously trampled under foot the humble and most respectful petition in behalf of bleeding humanity, are the professed ministers of Him who came to preach deliverance to the captive, and the opening of prisons to those who are bound!—Because a christian female joined her voice with others in supplicating them "to take this subject into serious and prayerful consideration, and to act concerning it as the great interests of humanity and of Christ's kingdom demand," the shocking declaration is made—"The Lord will smite with a scab the crown of the head" of these obtrusive daughters! And it is further declared, that "He hath already begun to do it"!

What would become of the interests of our merciful enterprise, if the management of it were entrusted to men entertaining sentiments like these, and actuated by such a spirit? Yet these are the men, all over the land, who are striving, by the most dishonorable means, and by all clerical artifices and appliances, to get possession of it, that they may destroy its vitality, and put an end to all "agitation;" so that neither they nor the church shall be disturbed in their guilty repose. Thus do these watchmen prove, in the language of the prophet, that "they are blind: they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber. Yea, they are greedy dogs which can never have enough, and they

are shepherds that cannot understand: they all look to their own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter."

While such determined efforts are making by the ecclesiastical powers of this country to crush a cause upon which is suspended the destiny of millions, the Board cannot withhold the expression of their gratification and thanks, at the note of warning, on this subject, which has been recently sounded by the *Emancipator*, the organ of the Parent Society. It is as timely as it is bold, clear and distinct. The following is the strain:

A few months ago, it was the opinion of some of our friends, that the whole mass of the clergy, in the free states, were about to drop their hostility to the anti-slavery cause, and would then gradually come round to its support. We now fear that this hope is destined to prove delusive; and that *many* of the professed ministers of the gospel are settling down in a fixed hatred of the principles of liberty, and a settled determination to maintain, at every hazard, the lawfulness of slavery, and the criminality of efforts for its removal. And they are evincing a readiness to abandon every *principle*, to impugn every *doctrine*, to violate every *obligation*, to outrage every *feeling*, to sacrifice every *interest*, heretofore held dear or sacred, if it is found to afford countenance or strength to anti-slavery. The war ecclesiastical is intended to be a war of extermination. The leaders are bent upon imitating Bonaparte, who used to boast that he was "conquering a peace," and was successful only as there was none left to resist. "The peace of the church," in nearly all of our large organizations, and in many hundreds of individual congregations, is committed on this issue; and the leaders are determined that the "peace of the church" shall exist only by the suppression of abolition, and the silence of its advocates. The battle on that side has fallen into new hands. Before the abolition probe had reached the depths of the sore, the assumption was universal, that every body was opposed to slavery, but abolition was impracticable. Hence our opposers of that day, vied with abolitionists themselves in their expressions of abhorrence of slavery. But in proportion as the good providence of God has so signally illustrated the practicability and beneficial consequences of abolition, it has been found necessary to put the defence of *slavery as it is*, into the hands of men who had not too strongly committed themselves against *slavery in the abstract*. Hence the coming forth of Emerson, Spring, and others, who have heretofore kept aloof.

Referring to a series of pro-slavery essays published in the *Boston Recorder*, by the Rev. Ralph Emerson, D. D. of Andover, the *Emancipator* goes on to say:

We only saw a portion of them, from which we ascertained that the drift of his argument was substantially this; that since the adoption of measures for the abolition of slavery was likely to hurt the *reputation and influence of the clergy*, it was therefore the duty of abolitionists to give over their efforts, and leave slavery to abolish itself.

Alluding to a letter which Rev. Dr. Osgood, of Springfield, published in the Recorder, in reply, the Emancipator adds :

The letter referred to, appears to us to be highly valuable as a part of the history of the ecclesiastical branch of this great conflict; and as placing in a just light the merits of a question which, we fear, *is destined to shake the churches of the North as with an earthquake.* For, as the present defenders of slavery have gone too far to retract, and as we cannot suppose the friends of abolition will consent to support slavery in the church after it is repudiated in the state, we see nothing that is to prevent a radical convulsion and revolution, that shall bring those christians who are friendly to universal freedom and justice, away from the entanglements and pollutions of pro-slavery ecclesiastics. We apprehend that even now, *certain zealous abolitionists will find it difficult to show their own consistency*, who severely rebuke their brethren for supporting dumb representatives at the polls, and are themselves supporting *dumb pastors* in the pulpit, or dumb agents in the great national societies. "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partaker of her sins and her plagues," is already written on the great pro-slavery church, North and South, and consistent abolitionists will soon see it written as with a sun-beam.

To give due heed to this solemn warning, to follow implicitly his advice, will be the salvation of our cause. To disregard it will be to insure its ruin, and seal the fate of the republic of North America.

CONCLUSION.

It has not been deemed necessary to give, in this Report, even a synopsis of the numerous occurrences which have taken place in the republic during the past year, all deeply affecting the interests of the anti-slavery cause. These, with those which preceded them from the commencement of our struggle, must be left to the historian to arrange and elucidate. They are all placed on record in various publications, and are almost as familiar to those who are striving to abolish slavery, as "household words."

As legislative action is a fair criterion of the state of public sentiment, it may be well to state, that, since the last annual meeting of this Society, resolutions have been adopted by the Legislature of this Commonwealth, with entire unanimity, against the annexation of Texas—in vindication of the right of petition, and against the gag-act of Congress—in fa-

majority. The Legislature of Connecticut have repealed, by an almost unanimous vote, the infamous **BLACK ACT** which was passed by that body, in order to prevent the instruction of colored persons in that State from other sections of the country. They have also enacted a law, granting a jury trial to all persons claimed as runaway slaves ; and adopted resolutions against slavery in the District of Columbia, &c. &c.

Of the religious movements which have been made in New-England, the holding of a New-England Methodist Anti-Slavery Convention, in Lowell, in November last, and the thorough-going action of that body in opposition to slavery, may be regarded as among the most important. The **CALL** for that Convention was signed by **SEVENTEEN HUNDRED** persons, a large proportion of whom were local and travelling preachers, stewards, class-leaders, &c. !

On the first of August, 1838, complete emancipation was given to the apprenticed slaves in the West India Islands. The jubilee was observed with religious solemnities and joyful festivals. The "consequences" of this measure have been exceedingly beneficial. No blood has been shed, no plantation destroyed, no outrage committed, on the part of those, who, in one hour, were all "turned loose," by their masters, to "cut throats," or—"take care of themselves."

Of the most disgraceful and alarming occurrences which have transpired in the history of the abolition enterprise, the burning of **PENNSYLVANIA HALL** by a mob in Philadelphia, on the evening of the 17th May, by the consent of the inhabitants and authorities, stands out with startling prominence. For years, the friends of free discussion and of universal emancipation had been unable to obtain a suitable place, (though the city swarms with meeting-houses and public halls,) in which to prove that the North has something to do with slavery, and that slavery or the nation must be destroyed. Though their number was small, and their means limited, yet, with that resolution and enterprise which great emergencies inspire, they resolved upon erecting a building that should be an orna-

vor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the inter-state slave trade, and against the admission of new slaveholding States into the Union. In the Senate of Maine, resolutions of a similar character have been rejected ! They were adopted, however, by the House, by a very small ment to the city, and worthy of the cause of **FREEDOM** ; in which men of all parties, sects and opinions,—slaveholders, colonizationists, abolitionists,—might be allowed to give free utterance to their thoughts. At an expense of more than \$40,000, such a building was completed, and dedicated to “**VIRTUE, LIBERTY, INDEPENDENCE.**” From the hour that its corner-stone was laid, it was doomed to destruction by the demon-spirits of Slavery and Colonization, which have taken full possession of that polluted and oppressing city. The appalling facts, in relation to the burning of that noble edifice, are too well known to need recapitulation, in this connexion. In some respects, it evinced a more demoniacal spirit than even the dreadful tragedy at Alton. The murder of Lovejoy was probably not contemplated, as a part of their business, by the mob who destroyed his press ; nor did they attempt to fire the warehouse in which that press was stored, until late at night. But, in Philadelphia, even before the sun went down, the street was crowded with the rioters ; and scarcely had the orb of day disappeared beneath the horizon, before the torch was deliberately applied to the building, and by ten o’clock the wood-work of the hall was entirely destroyed. Not one drop of water was allowed to be thrown upon the flames by the mad populace. In the light of that conflagration, it is to be feared the fate of this guilty republic was visibly witnessed, when God shall arise to deliver the oppressed by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, and shall consume the nation by the fire of his wrath ; and when the people shall gnaw their tongues in agony, and call in vain for a drop of water to quench their consuming thirst, and none shall be able to deliver them out of **HIS** hands !

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
AT ITS
SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING,
HELD IN BOSTON, JANUARY 23, 1838.

In accordance with the terms of its Constitution, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society held its seventh annual meeting in the Marlboro' Chapel, Boston, on the 23d inst. FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Society, took the Chair at 10 o'clock, A. M. John Pierpont, of Boston, addressed the Throne of Grace.

On motion of Alanson St. Clair—

Voted, That all persons present, in favor of immediate emancipation, be permitted to take seats, and participate in the proceedings of this meeting.

On motion of Oliver Johnson—

Voted, That three persons be appointed to act as Secretaries.

Whereupon, J. A. Collins, of Andover, C. T. Torrey, of Salem, and Wm. Bassett, of Lynn, were appointed.

On motion,

Voted, That the chair appoint a Business Committee of 12.

Whereupon, Amos A. Phelps, Wendell Phillips, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Edmund Quincy, Amasa Walker, of Boston, Samuel J. May, of South Scituate, H. B. Stanton, of New York, Orange Scott, of Lowell, J. T. Everett, of Princeton, Wm. Bassett, of Lynn, C. P. Grosvenor, of Worcester, and ——— Fowler, of Westfield, were appointed.

On motion,

Voted, To appoint a committee of 5 to prepare a roll of the meeting.

Whereupon,

Oliver Johnson, Geo. W. Benson, J. V. Himes, J. W. Alden, and John E. Fuller, were appointed.

The Treasurer, H. G. Chapman, presented his report, which was accepted.

On motion of Alanson St. Clair—

Voted, That a committee of one from each county represented, be appointed to nominate officers of the Society for the ensuing year; and that said committee be appointed by the chair.

Whereupon, Messrs. Garrison of *Suffolk*, Phelps of *Middlesex*, Buffum of *Essex*, Fowler of *Hampden*, Williston of *Hampshire*, May of *Plymouth*, Austin of *Dukes*, Philbrick of *Norfolk*, Ballou of *Worcester*, Congdon of *Bristol*, and Bassett of *Barnstable*, were appointed.

On motion of H. G. Chapman,

Voted, To appoint a committee of finance.

Whereupon, Messrs. Wise, Chapman, Fuller, Johnson, and Coddington, were appointed.

The President read a letter from David L. and Lydia M. Child.

The Annual Report of the Board of Managers was read by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Corresponding Secretary; after which, the Society adjourned till afternoon.

HALF PAST 2 O'CLOCK, P. M.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment.

On motion of Wendell Phillips,

Voted, To lay the Annual Report upon the table for the purpose of taking up the proposition to establish a new anti-slavery paper.

Mr. Phillips, from the Business Committee, then submitted the following resolutions, remarking that the committee were not responsible for their contents, but that they brought them forward in order to afford opportunity for discussion upon a subject which had excited considerable interest.

Resolved, That the state of the Anti-Slavery cause in this Commonwealth, demands the establishment of an ably conducted, cheap, official organ, to be under the control of the Board of Managers of the State Society, issued weekly to subscribers; to advocate political as well as moral and religious action; to be exclusively confined to the objects of the Anti-Slavery cause, and edited by a man or men, who can conscientiously, heartily and consistently advocate all the anti-slavery measures, political as well as moral action; and that the salary of the editor or editors, together with all other necessary expenses thereof, be paid out of the funds of the Society.

Resolved, That the Board of Managers are hereby instructed to make arrangements, if practicable, with the proprietors and editor of the *Liberator*, to make that paper the organ aforesaid, and under the above restriction; or, if that cannot be done, that they take measures, as soon as practicable, to establish an organ, as recommended in the resolutions passed by the Worcester County North Division Anti-Slavery Society, at its late annual meeting in Fitchburg.

These resolutions elicited a warm and animated discussion, which lasted until the adjournment, and in which Messrs. St. Clair, Torrey, Phelps, Stanton, May, and others, took part.

EVENING SESSION.

Prayer offered by Daniel Wise.

On motion of E. G. Loring,

Voted, That no person speak more than fifteen minutes without leave, nor more than once, until all who wish to speak have spoken.

The resolutions respecting a new paper were then taken up, and discussed by Messrs. Loring, Stanton, Phillips, Garrison, Sprague, Browne, Codding, Hilton, Wright, Leavitt, Wise, and others; after which, at a late hour, they were *indefinitely postponed* by an immense majority. Adjourned to meet to-morrow morning, at half past 9 o'clock.

THURSDAY, A. M.

Prayer by Job H. Martyn, of Haverhill.

On motion of Daniel Wise—Voted, That each person present, who is able to do so, be requested to pay \$1.00 towards defraying the expenses of the meeting.

The nominating committee reported a list of officers, which was unanimously adopted.

After some remarks on the Annual Report, by Mr. Leavitt of New York, the Society adjourned to give opportunity for the members to attend the anti-slavery meeting in Fanueil Hall.

HALF PAST 2, P. M.

Prayer by Richard Thayer of Boston. Mr. Torrey of Salem introduced the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the part of the Annual Report in regard to the protest made in the New-England Convention, be referred to the Board, with instructions to amend it, by correcting the statement of facts in the case;—so as to make it appear that the signers of the protest and others withdrawing, were neither all clergymen, nor were the clergymen members of one denomination; nor did they all withdraw from the Convention.

Resolved, That the part of the Annual Report, in respect to political action, be referred to the Board with instructions to amend it, so as to conform to the original doctrines of this and other societies on this subject:—viz: That moral and political action are the appropriate and christian means of overthrowing slavery in our land.

The last of these resolutions was the subject of discussion until the hour of adjournment.

EVENING SESSION.

The Society met in the Representatives' Hall, which was crowded to overflowing. The meeting was addressed in a very able manner by Edmund Quincy, Wendell Phillips, Henry Colman and George Bradburn. Some remarks were also made by Mr. Hastings of Philadelphia, Dr. Brown of Amesbury, and E. N. Harris of Methuen.

The following resolutions were offered by Edmund Quincy, of Boston, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the resolutions recently adopted by Congress, and known emphatically as the Gag Resolutions,—introduced as they were by the degenerate son of a free state, and sustained by the prostituted votes of the representatives of free States,—while they reflect disgrace of the deepest dye upon the whole country, cover the people of the free States, who refuse to protest against them, with the most damning infamy.

Resolved, That it is the duty of every lover of freedom to labor, without ceasing, to procure the utter erasure of these and all similar gag resolutions, from the archives of the land.

The following was offered by Wendell Phillips, and unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That the progress of our cause has brought to light a fearful change in the public mind, in respect to the fundamental principles of our institutions, and the characteristics of the people of New England.

The following was offered by Henry Colman, of Boston, and unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That the cause of abolition is the cause of universal humanity.

The following was offered by H. C. Wright, and unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That we are as much as ever convinced of the cruelty and wickedness of the Colonization Society, and hereby renew our utter condemnation and abhorrence of that iniquitous scheme of expatriation and national ruin.

The following resolution was offered by Sylvanus Brown, of Amesbury, and unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That, as christian abolitionists, we rely, under God, on moral and spiritual power, exercised in conformity with our individual convictions of duty, for the overthrow of slavery throughout the world.

FRIDAY, 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by Jehiel C. Beman, of Boston.

That part of the Annual Report which relates to the subject of political action, on motion of Mr. Sprague, was again read by Mr. Garrison.

Mr. St. Clair introduced a resolution on the subject of political action, which elicited a warm discussion ; after which, the following substitute was proposed by Mr. Garrison, and adopted by a large majority.

Resolved, That those abolitionists, who feel themselves called upon, by a sense of duty, to go to the polls, and yet purposely absent themselves from the polls whenever an opportunity is presented to vote for a friend of the slave—or who, when there, follow their party predilections to the abandonment of their abolition principles—are recreant to their high professions, and unworthy of the name they assume.

Mr. Torrey withdrew the resolution, introduced by him, on the subject of political action.

J. H. Martyn, of Haverhill, introduced the following resolution :

Resolved, That so much of the Annual Report as relates to the subject of woman's rights be struck out.

Rejected by an immense majority.

Orange Scott moved to strike out so much of the Annual Report as related to Gerrit Smith's plan of political action ; which was rejected by a large majority.

It was then moved and seconded, that the Annual Report be accepted, and printed under the direction of the Board of Managers.

On this question, the yeas and nays were taken, and resulted as follows :

The following persons voted in the affirmative :

Wm. Lloyd Garrison,
M. A. W. Johnson,
Elizabeth Hayward,
Hannah Tufts,
Abigail H. Folsom,
Caroline S. Greenwood,
Benj. P. Bassett,
Sarah H. Southwick,
George M. Rogers,
Charlotte Hartford,
Oliver Johnson,
Francis Jackson,
J. V. Himes,
J. T. Hilton,
Thos. Cole,
J. B. Smith,
Wm. Lewis,
Wendell Phillips,
Edmund Quincy,
John Gregory, Jr.
H. G. Chapman,
Maria W. Chapman,
Catharine S. Barbadoes,
Margaret L. Jones,
Hannah S. Adams,
David Keith,
John Levi,
Wm. Waterhouse,
Joseph R. Hayes,
Wm. F. Channing,
Richard Thayer,
Robert F. Walcott,
Charles K. Whipple,
Henrietta Sargeant,

John Rogers,
Charles Follen,
Pamelia Morrill,
Adam Oswell,
Mary Pitts,
G. W. F. Mellen,
George Adams,
John Bancroft,
Deborah Weston,
Louisa Loring,
Roswell Goss,
J. W. Lewis,
Wm. Ashby,
George Little,
Benj. P. Chase,
Wm. Estes,
Pelatiah Purinton,
Joseph Breed, 3d.
James N. Buffum,
John H. Gove,
Wm. Luscomb,
P. R. Russell,
Elizabeth K. Purinton
Lydia G. Keene,
Aroline A. Chase,
Wm. Bassett,
Mary B. Bassett,
Martha Hallowell,
Lydia Thompson,
Lydia M. Johnson,
A. L. Breed,
Benj. Luscomb,
John Trask,
Abby C. Newhall,

Haldah B. Gibson,
 Abby M. Winslow,
 George W. Keene,
 J. W. Brown,
 Sampson Cummings,
 Edwin Thompson,
 Wm. Ford,
 Jesse Hutchinson,
 David G. Dow,
 Samuel Hallowell,
 Israel Buffum,
 J. A. Collins,
 P. C. Pettibone,
 Roswell Browne,
 John B. Pierce,
 D. J. Paul,
 Elbridge Sprague,
 Solomon Ford,
 Charles K. Hood,
 Sarah H. Earle,
 Moses Emery,
 H. E. Weston,
 Almira Little,
 Sarah G. Little,
 Elizabeth Lewis,
 Nathaniel H. Whiting,
 Samuel Philbrick,
 H. C. Wright,
 Atkinson Stanwood,
 Henry Lunt, Jr.
 John Bailey,
 Wm. C. Coffin,
 Mary T. Congdon,
 Anna M. Bailey,
 Reuben Pratt,
 George Bradburn,
 Wm. S. Jinnings,
 Susan H. Kingsbury,
 Angelina F. Wood,
 Thos. Haskell,
 John Park,
 Wm. Perkins,
 Osgood G. Boynton,
 George O. Harmon,
 Loa Richardson,
 Andrew B. Harlow,
 Amos Farnsworth,
 Luther Boutelle,

Geo. W. Bancroft,
 Willard H. Dow,
 Benjamin Hall,
 Alvan Ward,
 S. W. Wilson,
 Amos Daniels,
 Eunice Messenger,
 Joshua Coolidge, Jr.
 E. L. Capron,
 Lemuel Stevens,
 Nathaniel Harlow,
 Edwin Morton,
 Abigail Morton,
 Ruth S. Harlow,
 Johnson Davis,
 S. J. May,
 Geo. L. Clark,
 James Crawford,
 Wm. West,
 Abner Newhall,
 Isaiah Chase,
 John A. Chase,
 Hugh B. Lounge,
 Jehiel C. Beman,
 S. P. Fowler,
 Sarah Stearns,
 Zilpha Harlow,
 Thos. Henson,
 Eliza Logan,
 Isaac Knapp,
 Wm. Lawson,
 Lydia S. Ford,
 Mehitabel Ford,
 Royal Southwick,
 Wm. S. Bennett,
 John Wooldredge,
 Eunice R. Davis,
 John S. Smith,
 Sarah Norton,
 Charles Hadwin,
 Elizur Hayward,
 Dorcas Ann Amos,
 Mehitabel Hallowell,
 Julia A. Arnold,
 Eleanor Johnson,
 James Whitemore,
 Enoch Hoag,
 Nathan Jenkins,

Mary Weston,
Joseph Weston,
Wm. P. Peakes,
Wm. Carruthers,
Nahum Osgood,
Sylvanus Brown,
Seth Sprague,
George W. Benson,
John S. Hall,
Jairus Lincoln,

Thos. Wooldredge,
J. Reynolds,
Abigail Wooldredge,
Rebecca Reynolds,
Elisha J. Sherman,
Daniel Phillips,
Edward P. Little,
Anna Q. Thaxter,
Nathaniel Snow.

The following persons voted in the negative :

T. W. Durant,
John Dickinson,
Dexter Dickinson,
Samuel H. Fawcett,
James Porter,
Amasa Walker,
John E. Fuller,
Augustus M. Coburn,
C. T. Torrey,
Augustus Otis,
Joseph Barry,
Hiram Cummings,

George Russell,
Josiah Brackett,
Charles Grant,
Benj. Frost,
Geo. W. Simonds,
J. H. Martyn,
J. W. Alden,
Orange Scott,
Daniel Wise,
S. M. Coburn,
Preston Paul,
Urban Rice,

Ayes 183—Noes 24.

So the Report was accepted.

[We give the list of Ayes as we find them checked on the roll. One of the Secretaries, who kept tally, stated the number of those who voted in the affirmative to be 198; and it is not improbable that some might have answered 'Yes,' whose names, in consequence of the hurry and confusion of the 'moment, were not checked. The Noes correspond with the vote as it was declared at the time.]

Mr. May introduced the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That we approve the determination of the Executive Committee of the American A. S. Society, to summon a National Convention of the friends of immediate emancipation, to consider the duties of abolitionists in the present condition of our cause ; and we recommend a full attendance of the citizens of this Commonwealth.

Mr. Scott introduced the following, which was adopted :

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society to take measures to obtain an Essay or Essays on the sin of American Slavery under all circumstances, and the obligations of our General Government immediately to abolish slavery and the slave trade, wherever its jurisdic-

tion extends, and offer —— dollars as a premium for the best written Essay on these subjects, and —— dollars for the second best. Adjourned *sine die*.

NOTE.

The strictures of the Report, upon the new anti-slavery organization proposed by GERRIT SMITH, it must be observed, are predicated upon a series of objections, and not upon the ground that Mr. S. wishes to interfere with the rights of conscience. For the language of that great philanthropist is—"Let it be distinctly understood, that the form of the Constitution, which I recommend, is one that forbids the members of the society voting wrong, *and not one that enjoins their voting right.*" There are, however, in this quarter, some over-zealous abolitionists, who seem determined, if possible, to brand as recreant to the cause of bleeding humanity, all those members of anti-slavery societies, who, on account of their conscientious scruples, refrain from going to the polls on any occasion. Such conduct is despotic, and has already made a very unhappy state of things in this Commonwealth.

The objections to Mr. Smith's plan are, briefly—

1. It assumes that the present anti-slavery organization is radically defective; for, Mr. Smith says, let his plan be carried out, "and the present A. S. societies will fall speedily to the ground; *even more speedily than did the wine-tolerating temperance societies, after the introduction of the new pledge.*" Now, "the wine-tolerating temperance societies" were utterly defective in *principle*; and by this comparison of Mr. Smith, the implication would seem to be, that "the present anti-slavery societies" are equally defective in principle. This cannot be conceded, for one moment; nor is it to be supposed that Mr. Smith intended to bring so grave a charge against them; though his language certainly warrants such an inference.

2. The "thousands of good men, who have conscientious objections against voting at all," and also the "good women" who are not permitted to use the elective franchise, would feel no desire for a new organization, but would rather prefer the old one; so that, by adopting the new, an injurious division in our ranks might be the consequence.

3. If a single specification in our Constitutions, as to the *manner* in which abolitionists shall carry out their principles, is necessary, in order to secure right action in one particular,—then two, ten or twenty specifications, in other particulars, are quite as indispensable.

4. Unless abolitionists are men of unbending integrity, no reliance can be placed upon their pledges; and a mere general promise not to vote for a pro-slavery candidate will not obviate the difficulty—as experience has already shown—for every slave of party will be too blind to discriminate between candidates, in any case.

LIFE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

John Kenrick, Newton, (dec.)	Rev J. V. Himes, Boston,
Prince Farmer, Salem.	Joseph Southwick, "
John Remond, Salem.	Amasa Walker, "
Charles Stuart, England.	John C. Smith, "
George Thompson, "	Edmund Jackson, "
Edward S. Abdy, "	William Carleton, "
Samuel E. Sewall, Boston.	George B. Emerson, "
Daniel Gregg, "	I. S. Withington, "
Charles C. Barry, "	Henry Chapman, "
Ellis Gray Loring, "	Maria W. Chapman, "
James C. Odiorne, "	Samuel Philbrick, Brookline.
Isaac Knapp, "	Isaac Winslow, Danvers.
William H. Hayward, "	W. Farnsworth, Roxbury.
Increase Gilbert, "	Rev. A. Jackson, Kingston.
Rev. E. M. P. Wells, "	E. L. Capron, Uxbridge.
Wm. Lloyd Garrison, "	Moses Brown, Providence, R. I. (dec.)
Benjamin C. Bacon, "	Rev. G. B. Perry, Bradford.
Rev. Henry Jones, Cabot, Vt.	Rev. E. Sengrave, Attleborough.
Rev. D. T. Kimball, Ipswich.	Rev. Jotham Horton, Worcester.
Dr. I. Kittredge, Beverly.	Rev. Philemon R. Russell, Lynn.
Dr. C. T. Hildreth, Boston.	Richard Clapp, Dorchester.
Silas Osborn.	Rev. J. W. Cross, Boxborough.
Wm. Oakes, Ipswich.	A. F. Boston.
Ebenezer Dole, Hallowell, Me.	Angelina E. Grimke, Philadelphia.
John Taylor, Bath, Me.	Eliza Watson, Boston.
Edward Southwick, Danvers.	Daniel Henshaw, Lynn.
Joseph Tittson, Boston.	Thomas H. Atwill, Lynn.
Phineas Wheeler.	John Rogers, Boston.
Mrs. George Thompson, England.	Abraham Bowen, Fall River.
Mrs. Calvin Philco.	Harvey Chase, "
Mrs. Amos A. Phelps, Boston. (dec.)	Jacob Noyes, Boston.
Mrs. Increase Gilbert, "	Lydia B. Capron, Uxbridge.
Mrs. S. H. Winslow, Portland, Me. (dec.)	Gilbert E. Capron, "
Mrs. C. Winslow, "	Anne Bassett, "
Mrs. J. C. Smith, Boston.	Sarah Easton.
Miss Susan Paul, "	S. H. Peckham, Plaistow.
William Rotch, Jr. New Bedford.	Rev. N. Hervey, Marblehead.
Andrew Robeson, "	I. M. Wilder, Hanover.
Dr. Charles Follen, Boston,	Rev. Edward N. Harris, Methuen.
Rev. George B. Cheever, Salem.	Rev. Isaac Sawyer, South Reading.
Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, Worcester.	Drury Fairbanks, Boston.
Joseph Sewall, Esq. Boston.	Christopher Robinson, Lynn.
Francis Jackson, Esq. "	Calvin Temple, Reading.
Rev. Henry C. Wright, "	Mrs. Elijah Demond.
John Sullivan, "	Hiram A. Morse, Holliston.
Perez Gill, "	Josiah Hayward.
D. Chute, "	E. T. Pritchett, Amherst.
John S. Kimball, "	Rev. James Cushing, East Waverhill.
Marcus Whiting, "	Rev. Jonas Perkins, Weymouth.
Timothy Gilbert, "	Mrs. Venus Manning.
Rev. Baron Stow, "	Abner Sanger, Danvers.
George Cogswell, M. D. West Bradford.	Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, D. D. Franklin.
Rev. Joseph H. Towne, Boston.	Jno. S. White, West Wrentham.
Samuel B. Russell, Marblehead.	Sarah Clay, Lowell.
Nathan Heaton, Franklin.	John Burchen, West Bradford.
Mrs. Nathan Heaton, Franklin.	Rev. David Sanford, Dorchester.
Wendell Phillips, Boston.	Edmund Quincy, Boston.
Rev. Abijah Cross, West Bradford.	Rev. E. Smalley, Franklin.
Rev. Luther Wright, Woburn.	Eliza J. Kenney, Salem.
Sarah M. Grimke, Philadelphia.	Clarissa C. Lawrence, do.
Rev. Abel G. Duncan, Hanover.	Susan G. Roundey, do.
Mrs. Abel G. Duncan, do.	Robert Bartlett, Cambridge.
David Gregg, Acton.	Joseph Ricketson, New Bedford.
Roswell Goss, Boston.	Israel Perkins, Lynn.

Dr. { **Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in account Current** } **Cr.**
with Henry G. Chapman, Treasurer.

Sep. 28. 1839. Jan. 13.	<p>To payments from Jan. 22, 1838, to Jan. 18, 1839</p> <p>To paid Agents' Salaries and travelling expenses</p> <p>" for Printing and for Publications</p> <p>" for use of Halls</p> <p>" for Reporting</p> <p>" Advertising</p> <p>" Miscellaneous Expenses</p> <p>" Am. A. S. Soc. on acct. of State pledge</p> <p>" Mrs. Elijah P. Lovejoy, the balance of contributions in hand</p> <p>To balance to credit new account</p>	<p>2516 17</p> <p>849 02</p> <p>149 00</p> <p>67 25</p> <p>41 24</p> <p>112 98</p> <p>1690 41</p> <p>195 69</p> <p>165 84</p>	<p>1838</p> <p>Jan. 22</p> <p>Feb. 13</p>	<p>By balance of old account</p> <p>By donation from Worcester, North County Division A. S. Soc. for Mrs. Lovejoy</p> <p>By receipts for Publications</p> <p>By donations from 22d January, 1838, to January, 1839</p>	<p>\$ 178 81</p> <p>7 25</p> <p>90 74</p> <p>5500 80</p>
					\$ 5777 60

Boston, January 18, 1839.
E. E. HENRY G. CHAPMAN, Treasurer.

Borrow, Jan. 18, 1839.—I have examined the above account, and find the same properly cast and duly vouched, and that there remains a balance in the hands of the Treasurer, of one hundred and sixty-five dollars 84—100 due to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.
SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Auditor.

DURING THE YEAR 1838.

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Amount brought up	\$ 1652 96	Amount brought up	\$ 2949 69
Rev. L. Tracy, West Boylston	3 00	Mrs. J. P. Nichols	1 00
C. C. Barry, subscription for the year	15 00	Miss Hannah Richards	3 00
Harvey Newcomb	5 00	Miss Adeline Stone	1 00
Fall River A. S. Soc. by B. B. Sisson, Tr.	50 00	Mrs. Mary J. Holmes	1 70
Young Men's A. S. Soc. New Bedford,		N. B. Chamberlain	2 80
by Orange Scott	100 00	Mrs. Jane Swett	1 00
Friends in Fairhaven by O. Scott	38 67	Mrs. Maria Smith	50
<i>Collections by J. Tillson.</i>		Amos Smith	1 —
Dorchester A. S. Soc. quar sub. \$37;		Joseph S. Hart	50
A donation, \$,	39 00	James Tolman	4 —
Cambridgeport A. S. Soc. on quar. sub.		W. Blake on pledge of \$100, quar. sub.	25 —
64,00; donations and collections	33 50	Rev. Jno. Parkman, Greenfield	5 —
Lowell, donations and collections	40 55	Dr. H. J. Bowditch, 'to be devoted to	
Worcester A. S. Soc. quar. sub.	36 50;	the printing of abolition papers	
Collection and donations, 37 86;		written on Christian peace prin-	
Donation for disseminating Thome		ciples'	5 —
and Kimball's Journal, 3	77 36	Miss Irving of Boston	1 —
New Worcester A. S. Soc. quar. sub.		Miss Briard of Boston	1 —
13 75; Donations, 2 92	15 97	<i>Collections by Amos St. Clair.</i>	
Leicester A. S. Soc. on quar. sub. 17 75;		Franklin Female A. S. Society	15 —
Donations, 10 15; Donations for cir-		Amesbury A. S. Society	2 —
culating Thome and Kimball's Jour-		Rhode Island State A. S. Society	9 —
nal, 3	30 90	Pennsylvania " " "	8 50
West Royalston A. S. S. on quar. sub.		Winchendon A. S. Society	16 —
24 90; Donations, 4 77; by Mrs. J.		Marshfield A. S. Society	35 50
Lawrence, (six cents a week Soc.)		Persons unknown	6 92
1 50; Miss Mercy M. Winter (cent		A. St. Clair	5 —
a week Soc.) 1 46	32 63	Mrs. St. Clair	1 —
West Medway and Village, on quar.		Abington A. S. Society	40 25
sub. 17 85; Donations, 6 50; Col-		North Bridgewater A. S. Society	25 —
lections at Monthly Concert, 5 69	29 85	Milville Female A. S. Society	4 —
East Medway, Rev. M. Harding's Par-		Plymouth County A. S. Society, by	
ish to redeem pledge to Am. A. S. S.	25 00	Hon. Seth Sprague	6 39
Essex Co. A. S. S. by Abner Sanger	500 00	<i>Collections in Boston by J. Tillson.</i>	
N. P. Kemp	5 00	John Farquhar	1 —
Mrs. Oliver Fleher	1 00	Hugh B. Louge	4 —
Joseph Jewett	1 00	A friend in Boston	2 —
Daniel L. Haskell	5 00	J. V. Himes	50
Mrs. Hermon	1 00	Miss A. E. Mann	1 —
Mr. and Mrs. Giles Pease	2 00	Noah Gray	1 —
Mrs. A. Cummings	50	D. L. Carteaux	1 —
John Rupp	2 00	Dr. E. Whitney	1 —
Thomas Adams	1 00	Harriet Brummet	1 —
Miss C. P. Merritt	1 00	H. S. P. Weedon	2 —
Mrs. Ira Greenwood	5 00	Perez Gill	5 —
John Augustus	5 00	James Morrill	5 —
Miss Catharine Sargent	5 00	G. W. Porter	1 —
Miss Henrietta Sargent	5 00	J. G. Barbadoes,	1 —
George K. Cushing	1 00	Miss M. White	1 —
James Crawford	5 00	George L. Young	1 —
B. Loomis	1 00	William Rich	1 —
Mrs. M. P. Rogers	50	Hannah E. More	1 —
Mrs. Edward Prescott	1 00	James M. Hardy	1 —
J. B. Loomis	5 00	Mrs. Jane Putnam	50
Caroline S. Greenwood	2 00	E. M. Barlow	2 —
Mrs. Beck	1 00	Nathaniel S. Dayton	2 —
Miss L. A. H. Peterson	5 00	William S. Porter	1 —
Benjamin P. Bassett	1 00	Ira Greenwood	5 —
Rebecca Howland	50	Ira Crawford	5 —
J. W. May	1 00	Hannah Thompson	50
Daniel French	1 00	Keziah Grant	3 —
J. B. Wetherbee	10 00	R. Louge	2 —
Miss Sarah Mann	1 00	J. Louge	2 —
Mary Mann	1 0	Mrs. Louge	2 —
T. C. Tingley	5 00	Mrs. Todd	2 —
Mrs. Nancy C. Tingley	1 00	Mrs. Susan Holbrook	2 —
J. S. Withington	5 00	James Bryden	1 —
Mrs. Charles T. Hildreth	2 80	Primus Hail	2 —
Rachel Green	1 00	Wm. Lewis	5 —
Mrs. Jewett	1 00	Mrs. M. A. Whitney	50
Henry Manuel	1 00	J. A. Whitmarsh	1 —
J. A. Andrews	2 00	Rachel Dole	1 25
R. Smith	2 00	S. R. Alexander	2 —
\$ 2949 80		\$ 3149 70	

Amount brought up	\$ 3149 70	Amount brought up	\$ 3739 97
Mrs. Sarah Hayward	1 —	Cash paid at the Franklin Co. A. S. Meeting,	
Dr. Charles T. Hildreth	5 —	in Greenfield, Oct. 9, 1838.	
Joseph Thompson	12	Geo T. Davis, Greenfield,	7 50
Freeman Thomslyn	1 —	R. Leavitt, Charlemont,	5 00
Joseph Southwick	25 —	J. Amsden, Deerfield,	1 00
Harvey Newcomb	1 —	Apollos Cray,	2 00
Collection at Monthly Concert at Marlboro' Chapel	5 12	J. Bement, Ashfield,	10 00
Collections at Monthly Concerts in Roxbury, by J. Jones	9 —	Rev. Theo. Packard, Shelburne,	1 00
Medway and Village, by D. Nurse	15 50	Rev. B. Fowler, Barnardston,	1 00
G. M. Rice, Worcester, in ad. to qr. pl.	10 —	L. M. Child, Northampton,	1 00
Francis Jackson bal. due on qr. sub.	48 50	Rev. T. Packard, Jr. Shelburne,	2 00
Cambridgeport A. S. S. by A. A. Phelps	65 —	Rev. Wm. Riddle, S. Deerfield,	5 00
Monthly Concert at Marlboro' Chapel Oct. 29	4 67	Rev. C. A. Cooly,	1 00
J. M. Wilder, Hanover, pledge at Worcester	20 00	Rev. W. M. Richards,	1 00
Holliston A. S. S. by Timothy Daniels, Tr.	12 50	Rev. Sam'l Ware,	2 00
Westminster A. S. Soc. on acc. of pl. made at Worcester by Rev. Mr. Brown,	18 00	Martin H. Clapp, Montague,	1 00
Ruth Earle, Leicester, pledge at Worcester	5 00	Butler Wilmouth, Leaveritt,	1 00
Mary B. Earle, Worcester, 4 qrs. in adv.	16 00	G. W. Arms, Greenfield,	1 00
Amesbury and Salisbury, by Mr. Shepherd,	25 00	D. W. Alvord,	1 00
Francis G. Shaw, of Boston		S. Hox, Shelburne,	1 00
Rev. Jno. Parkman of Greenfield, to be added to his former payments to constitute him a life member of this Society	4 00	Cash paid at Ashfield, Oct. 8, 1838.	
Balance of pledges at Greenfield Convention, to Mr. St. Clair, by Rev. J. Parkman	6 00	Elijah Paine,	1 00
Reading Association, by C. Temple, quar.	20 12	Jared Bement,	1 00
D. Chute, of Reading,	10 00	Mrs. Eliza Bement,	
Mrs. T. Pratt, of Carver	25	Other persons in sums less than a dollar, and Jasper Bement to meet pledges in Ashfield, not paid,	10 22
Amesbury and Salisbury A. S. S. by I. Knapp	8 00	ACCOUNT OF MONEY	
Duxbury	10 00	Received at the Young Men's Convention, at Worcester, by O. JOHNSON.	
W. Boylston Fem. A. S. S. by D. D. Winter	13 00	Joseph S Wall, Worcester, Ex.	1 00
W. Brookfield Fem. A. S. S. by J. M. Fiske	13 42	S. A. Drake, Sturbridge,	7 50
Boxboro' A. S. S. by receipts to Nov. 25—Samuel Hayward	25 00	Dana Newton, Worcester,	1 00
Collections by A. St. Clair.		Elbridge G. Gates, Petersham,	50
At the Northampton Conv. Oct. 5, 1838	133 45	Mart Leavitt, Heath,	5 00
At Franklin Co. A. S. meeting, Oct. 9, 1838	44 50	Albert Kelley, Millbury,	1 00
At Ashfield, Oct. 8	18 22	Amos J. Ballou, Cumberland, R. I.	1 00
PARTICULARS AS FOLLOWS:		A friend,	2 00
Cash paid at the Northampton Convention, Oct. 5, 1838.		A friend,	1 00
A. S. & A. C. F.	50	J. Boutwell, Andover,	10 00
D. B. & J. R.	50	Salem and vicinity A. S. Soc. credit of the Essex Co. Society,	25 00
John Dickinson,	5 00	A friend,	1 00
Monthly Concert S. Deerfield,	2 50	Charles Davis, Worcester,	3 00
S. Hadley Canal A. S. S. Society,	25 00	Sandy Bay A. S. Soc. by W. P. Burns,	10 00
H. K. Starkweather, Northampton,	1 00	Edward Earle, Worcester, addition to quar. pl.	10 00
E. M. Brown,	1 75	David Hall, Oxford,	1 00
R. Leavitt, Charlemont,	5 00	John E. Fuller, Boston,	2 00
E. A. Breck, Northampton,	1 00	J. R. Barbour, Charlton,	2 00
J. Hayden, pd O. Scott, for Mass. S.	25 00	Peter Smith, Andover,	5 00
W. S. Howland, Amherst,	3 00	A friend,	2 00
B. Allyn,	5 00	Silliman Lothrop,	5 00
Geo. M. Tuthill,	1 00	Samuel Perry,	5 00
G. Dorrance,	2 00	Oliver Johnson,	1 00
C. McFarland,	2 00	Wm. Lloyd Garrison,	1 00
Josiah Parson, Northampton,	1 00	J. W. Hammond, Dudley,	2 00
R. Hubbard,	1 50	J. K. Ballou, Cumberland, R. I.	2 00
S. Warner,	1 00	John G. Burleigh,	2 00
Ansel Chapp,	10 00	Ashburnham A. S. Society, on quarterly sub.	10 00
D. L. Child,	1 00	Millbury A. S. Society,	10 00
L. M. Child,	1 00	Sarah Rugg, Groton,	5 00
D. Dickinson,	1 00	A friend,	93
Enos Clark,	2 00	Seth Lee, Barre,	3 00
A friend to the slave,	50	A friend,	9 00
Aaron Fisher, Westhampton,	2 00	John B. Pierce, Danvers,	10 00
M. P. Cook,	50	Individual from New Bedford,	5 00
Job Cadroot, Chesterfield,	1 00	E. Shepard,	2 00
O. Steel, Williamsett,	1 00	Northboro' A. S. Soc. balance of last quar. sub. by G. Valentine,	13 00
Heart Leavitt, Heath,	5 00	A friend who does not profess to 'remember them that are in bonds as bound with them,' but who gives all she has,	5 00
Ho ace Smith,	2 00		
Cash,	2 50		
Cash,	50		
Cash,	50		
Cash,	3 00		
Cash,	45		
Cash,	75		
Cash,	15 50		
\$ 3739 97		\$ 3914 90	

Amount brought up	\$ 3014 90
A friend,	13 00
Newell G. Morse, Holliston,	3 00
Two loco-foco abolitionists of Berlin,	2 00
Thos. J. Winchell, Worcester,	1 00
Friend in Middlebury,	1 00
Henry Haskell, Gloucester,	1 00
John W. Browne, Lynn, for expenses,	2 00
John Walker, Barre,	1 00
Stephen Albee, Mendon,	50
Charles H. Wilder, Sterling,	2 00
A friend,	2 00
John A. Innes, Salem,	2 00
Edmund Fisk, Sandwich, quar. sub.	2 00
Wm. Phelps, jr. Salem,	2 00
Assonet A. S. Society by E. W. Robinson,	5 00
S. R. Jackson, Worcester,	2 00
George W. Russell, do.	1 00
John T. Hilton, Boston,	2 00
West Brookfield A. S. Society, from Amos Gilbert, Treasurer,	15 95
Cash,	5 00
L. Wetherell, Ware,	5 00
A friend,	5 00
A friend,	2 00
Edward S. Leland, Upton,	25
R. G. Fairbanks, Charlton,	10 00
T. Daniels, Holliston,	1 00
Emery Albee, Attleborough,	1 00
D Roberts, Worcester,	75
Cash,	5 00
Cash,	1 00
Silas Walker, jr. West Boylston,	2 00
Lydia Earle, and Sarah S. Breed, Leicester,	5 00
Cash,	1 00
Albert Bancroft, Auburn,	2 00
Wm. Bassett, for expenses of Convention,	2 00
Wendell Phillips, do do do	2 00
A friend, Worcester,	1 00
From an ultra peace man, to fight with,	1 00
A friend,	1 00
John Walker,	1 00
A friend for expenses of Convention,	1 00
A friend,	1 00
B. P. Chace, for expenses of Convention,	1 00
A friend,	1 00
J. B. Sum, Lynn, for expenses of Convention,	2 00
A friend, " "	2 00
A friend, " "	1 00
George W. Bancroft, Groton,	5 00
A friend, Worcester,	1 00
A friend,	1 00
W. W. Linfield, East Randolph,	1 00
Thos. White, jr. " "	1 00
Diana Robinson, Worcester,	50
George T. Davis, Greenfield, for ex. of Convention,	2 00
Collection,	10 69
Josiah Gifford, Sandwich an. sub.	5 00
Rutland Anti-Slavery Society, by G. S. Flint,	12 00
And over Female Anti-Slavery Society by Cynthia Avery, Treasurer,	17 00
Collections in Boston, by Joseph Tilton.	
Lewis Finney,	2 00
James Johnson,	50
Dexter Dickinson,	5 00

4101 34

Amount brought up	\$ 4101 34
William H. Hayward,	5 00
At Monthly Concert,	2 46
Willis Howes,	5 00
Mary J. Webber,	1 00
J. V. Himes, quarterly sub.	50
Roswell Goss, quarterly sub 3 yrs,	75 00
James Morrill, quarterly sub,	5 00
Edmund Quilacy, quarterly sub, 4 yrs.	50 00
Walpole A. S. S. on quar. sub, by E. Shepard,	10 00
N. Worcester, do do do, by C. Hersey,	8 75
West Boylston do do do, by J. Davenport,	2 25
Holliston Female do do do, by Nancy L. Fitts,	5
Fitchburg Female do do do, by D. B. Thurston,	7 67
Jarius Stearns, Fitchburg, a donation,	20
Boston Juvenile A. S. S. by Wm Berry, Treasurer,	18 97
Weymouth A. S. S. by B. L. Pratt, Tr.	26 00
Middlesex North and Vicinity Charitable Association, by J. B. Adams, Treasurer,	1 78
<i>Monies received through A. A. Phelps.</i>	
Asa Day, pledge,	2 00
Collections by Geo. Russell, at Grafton,	7 62
Roxbury Ladies' A. S. S. quar. sub. by Mrs Jones,	10 50
Friend in Wrentham,	5 00
Joshua Perry, Hanson, by Rev. S. J. May,	5 00
Duxbury A. S. S. by Hon. S. Sprague,	7 50
Collection at Concord to defray expense of printing proceeds, &c.	16 34
Dedham A. S. S. by Dr Carpenter,	15 00
Foxboro' " "	18 68
Wrentham, " Abner Belcher,	16 00
Friends of the slave, in Berlin, by D. R. Lamson,	10 00
A. Melendy, Amherst, N. H.	1 00
Catharine J. Smith, Waltham,	2 00
Peter E. Sanborn, pledge for year on 1st Aug.	5 00
Edwin Thompson, donation,	5 67
Col ections by Edwin Thompson as follows :	
Reading, on gr. sub.	20 12
" Cash,	7 00
" Y. Men's A. S. Soc	9 00
Rev. T. B. Thayer, Lowell,	1 00
Loranna Riggs, " "	1 00
Concord, on quar. sub.	10 00
" Cash,	46 87
Framingham, on quar. sub.	6 25
" Cash,	7 82
Saxonville, Cash,	4 50
Polly D. Bradish, Treasurer cont a-week society in Upton.	9 00
Charles C. Bassett, of Philliston.	5 00
Ladies' Society, Worcester, by Sarah H. Earle,	50 00
Female Juvenile Soc of Am. slavery and Sab. by Sarah T. Osgood, Tr.	4 00
Boston Female A. S. S. by L. M. Ball Tr.	500 00
Srituate " " " by Daniel Wise.	27 00
Littleton A. S. Society, C. Blanchard Tr. by Daniel Wise.	5 00
<i>Collections in Weston, by Daniel Wise.</i>	
Rev. Mr. Hodges,	1 00
A friend,	50
Mr. Child,	50
Mr. Warren,	50
Mr. Jones,	50

\$ 5164 73

Amount brought up

\$ 5164 73

Wealthy C. Jones,
 A young man,
 Marshall Jones,
 Maria Cutter,
 Mr. Harrington,
 Joel Upham,
 E. O. Howe,
 Mr. Dunn,
 Mr. Hews,
 Mr. Upham,
 Mr. J. Upham,
 Mr. Rice,
 Mr. S. Hews,
 Charles Ledbetter,
 Charles Weston,
 Misses Jones,
 A friend in Wayland,
 Rev. Mr. Hyde, Wayland,
 Elijah Puffer, Saxonville,
 Monthly Concert, 31st Dec. at Marlboro'
 Chapel,
 Francis Jackson cr. sub.
 Samuel Philbrick of Brookline—2 quarters.

\$ 5327 60

Amount brought up

\$ 5327 60

50 Rev. Samuel May, of Leicester, do. 5 00
 50 Lorenzo Crowell, of Ware—pledge at Wor-
 cester, 2 00
 50 Freetown A. S. Soc. by Alden Hathaway,
 Treasurer, 5 00
 25 Ladies' Society, Upton, by P. R. Russell, 6 00
 25 Friends in Chelmsford, by do. 10 10
 25 Plymouth County A. S. Soc. S. Richmond,
 Tr. by the hands of I. Morton, 50 00
 25 Colored Sabbath School in Salem, to con-
 stitute Robert Cogswell a life member, 15 00
 25 Lewis Hersey of Boston, 1 00
 25 Anne W. Weston, of Weymouth, 2 00
 25 Andover Female A. S. Soc. by L. M. Ball, 10 00
 12 Fitchburg A. S. Soc. by B. Snow, Jr. to re-
 deem pl. dgs at Y. Men's Convention,
 Worcester, 40 00
 21 Sabbath School Society, S. Reading, by E.
 Emerson, 10 00
 53 Salem Juvenile (colored) Sewing Soc. to
 constitute Wm. B. Dodge life member, 15 00
 J. B. Smith, membership, 1 00
 Unknown, 1 20

Total,

\$ 5500 8

OFFICERS OF THE MASS. A. S. SOCIETY, FOR 1839.

President.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

Vice Presidents.

CHARLES NYE, Sandwich.
JAMES W. ROBBINS, Lenox.
JAMES H. DUNHAM, Pittsfield.
JOSEPH HURLBUT, Cartisville.
GAIUS CARTER, Becket.
ANDREW ROBESON, N. Bedford.
NATH'L B. BORDEN, Fall River.
DAVID TILTON, Edgartown.
CYRUS PIERCE, Nantucket.
THEO'S. PACKARD, Shelburne.
ROGER LEAVITT, Charlestown.
ASA HOWLAND, Conway.
GEO. T. DAVIS, Greenfield.
WM. M. RICHARDS, Deerfield.
WM. WHITTAKER, New Salem.
THOMAS LONGLEY, Hawley.
J. PARKMAN, Greenfield.
SAMUEL OSGOOD, Springfield.
ABEL BLISS, Wilbraham.
JOSEPH A. MERRILL, Webster.
S. WILLISTON, East Hampton.
WM. S. STODDARD, Northampton.
J. P. WILLISTON, do.

GARDNER B. PERRY, Bradford.
ISAAC WINSLOW, Danvers.
GILMAN PARKER, Haverhill.
WM. BASSETT, Lynn.
STILMAN LOTHROP, Watertown.
D. FAIRBANKS, Cambridgeport.
AMOS FARNSWORTH, Groton.
APPLETON HOWE, Weymouth.
SEWALL HARDING, E. Medway.
SAMUEL J. MAY, South Scituate.
NATHANIEL EDDY, Middleboro'.
SETH SPRAGUE, Duxbury.
JOS. CLEVERLY, Abington.
JOS. SOUTHWICK, Boston.
C. P. GROSVENOR, Worcester.
GEO. GOODYEAR, Ashburnham.
GEO. WATERS, Holden.
ADIN BALLOU, Mendon.
J. M. FISK, West Brookfield.
J. T. EVERETT, Princeton.
E. L. CAPRON, Uxbridge.
THOMAS W. WARD, Shrewsbury.
WILLIAM JACKSON, Newton.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY—WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

RECORDING SECRETARY—AMOS A. PHELPS.

TREASURER—HENRY G. CHAPMAN.

AUDITOR—SAMUEL E. SEWALL.

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DAVID H. ELA,
AMASA WALKER,
OLIVER JOHNSON,
JOSEPH H. EAYRS,
SIMON G. SHIPLEY,

JOHN T. HILTON,
JOSHUA V. HIMES,
NATHANIEL COLVER,
SAMUEL PHILBRICK,
WENDELL PHILLIPS,
EDMUND QUINCY.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Arthur Tappan, New York.
William Rawle, Philadelphia. (dec.)
Rev. S. J. May, Scituate, Mass.
Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, New Haven, Ct.
Rev. George Bourne, New York.
Hon. S. Crafts, Craftsbury, Vt.
Hon. A. Clark, Danville, Vt.
Rev. W. A. Chapin, Craftsbury, Vt.
H. Merrill, Esq. Peacham, Vt.
Moses Brown, Providence, R. I. (dec.)
Rev. O. S. Murray, Orwell, Vt.
J. Ridgway, Staffordshire, England.

William Ridgway, England.
Josiah Wedgwood, do.
Capt. C. Stuart, do.
Joseph Phillips, do.
William Wilberforce, do. (dec.)
Thomas Clarkson, do.
Henry Newman, do. (dec.)
William Crawford, do.
Edward S. Abdy, do.
George Thompson, do.
David Lee Child, Esq. Boston.
Rev. Amos A. Phelps, do.

CONSTITUTION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, we believe that Slavery is contrary to the precepts of Christianity, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and ought immediately to be abolished; and whereas, we believe that the citizens of New-England not only have the right to protest against it, but are under the highest obligation to seek its removal by a moral influence; and whereas we believe that the free people of color are unjustly oppressed, and stand in need of our sympathy and benevolent co-operation; therefore, recognizing the inspired declaration that God 'hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,' and in obedience to our Saviour's golden rule, 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;' we agree to form ourselves into a Society, and to be governed by the following:

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1. This society shall be called the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and shall be auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

ART. 2. The object of the Society shall be, to endeavor by all means sanctioned by law, humanity, and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States; to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.

ART. 3. Any person, by signing the Constitution, and paying to the Treasurer fifteen dollars as a life subscription, or one dollar annually, shall be considered a member of the Society, and entitled to a copy of all its official publications.

ART. 4. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor, and ten Counsellors, who shall be elected annually, by ballot, on the fourth Wednesday of January, or subsequently by adjournment, and shall hold their respective offices until others are chosen.

ART. 5. The foregoing officers shall constitute a Board of Managers, to whom shall be entrusted the disposition of the funds, and the management of the concerns of the Society. They shall have power to make their own by-laws, to fill any vacancy which may occur in their Board, and to employ agents to promote the objects of the Society.

ART. 6. There shall be a public meeting of the Society annually, on the fourth Wednesday of January, at which the Board of Managers shall make a Report of their doings for the past year, and of the income, expenditures, and funds of the Society.

ART. 7. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and of the Board of Managers, or in his absence, one of the Vice Presidents, or in their absence a President pro tem.

ART. 8. The Corresponding Secretary shall receive and keep all communications or publications directed to the Society, and transmit those issued by them, and shall receive of the Society or the Managers.

ART. 9. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, and keep the records of the same.

ART. 10. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions and donations to the Society, hold all its funds, and make payments according to the directions of the Managers; he shall keep a true account of the same, and render a statement to accompany the Annual Report of the Society.

ART. 11. Any Anti-Slavery Society, or any association founded on kindred principles, may become auxiliary to this Society, by contributing to its funds, and may communicate with us by letter or delegation.

ART. 12. The Society shall hold meetings on the last Monday of March, June, and September, for the transaction of any business which may be presented by the Board of Managers, or for addresses, or for discussion of any subject connected with the objects of the Society. Special meetings may be called by the Board of Managers, or by the Recording Secretary, on application from ten members of the Society.

ART. 13. This Constitution may be altered at the Annual Meeting for the choice of officers, provided the amendments proposed to be made, have been submitted to the Board of Managers, in writing, previously.

ERRATUM. The reader of the Report will perceive that there is some confusion in the pages towards the close of it. Just transfer the first five lines on the top of page 40 to the top of page 39, and order will be restored. The error was discovered too late to be remedied.

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